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MISCELLANEOUS

WORKS

OF

EDWARD GIBBON, Esquire.

WITH

MEMOIRS OF HIS LIFE AND WRITINGS,

COMPOSED BY HIMSELF:

ILLUSTRATED FROM HIS LETTERS,

WITH OCCASIONAL NOTES AND NARRATIVE,

By JOHN LORD SHEFFIELD.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

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THE following Pieces have already been noticed in the Introduction to the Firſt Volume. Many of them were juvenile performances; and under the perſuaſion that they will be candidly received as ſuch, they are now delivered to the Preſs. They certainly are entitled to greater indulgence than could be claimed for Compoſitions more finiſhed and elaborate, and written at the time of mature age.

The minute account of Mr. Gibbon's ſtudies each day, extracted from the Journal of his actions and opinions, and his obſervations on the ſeveral Works he had peruſed, evince a ſingular and unremitting induſtry.

In that view they may afford an uſeful leſſon and example to ſuch young readers as ſhall not already be convinced of the neceſſity of aſſiduous application in the acquiſition of every kind of learning.

My firſt intention was, to have given only a ſhort ſpecimen of the obſervations made by Mr. Gibbon, in the courſe of his reading; but I found them ſo intereſting, that I could not deſiſt, ſo ſoon as I intended, from making Extracts; and, upon the whole, I thought that the part to be publiſhed would be more curious, if given exactly as it ſtands in the Journal.

 I hope

I hope I ſhall not be thought to have publiſhed too much: in truth, there ſtill remain in my poſſeſſion many Papers which I think equally worth attention.

Mr. Gibbon's manuſcript Obſervations were much detailed, from the year 1754 to 1764; and he afterwards continued to write remarks and hints on all ſubjects, in various common-place books, on detached papers, and even on cards, till a ſhort time before his death, although not ſo copiouſly, nor ſo regularly and methodically, after his return from Italy, in the year 1765. His common-place books are voluminous. One of the largeſt has for title, "Common-place Book; in which I propoſe to write "what I find moſt remarkable in my Hiſtorical Readings; "begun at Lauſanne the 19th of March 1755." In this he introduces a great variety of Obſervations on almoſt every ſubject, particularly on Hiſtory.

In another Book, dated the 19th of January 1756, he ſays, "J'ai pris la réſolution de lire de ſuite tous les Claſſiques "Latins, les partageant ſuivant les matières qu'ils ont "traité. 1. Les Hiſtoriens. 2. Les Poëtes. 3. Les Orateurs; "dans laquelle claſſe je renfermerai tous les autres auteurs "qui ont écrit en proſe, ſans être ni Philoſophes ni Hiſto-"riens. 4. Les Philoſophes." He begins with Obſervations on Salluſt; then proceeds to the Commentaries of Cæſar, Cornelius Nepos, Livy, always mentioning the edition which he uſed.

There are other Books, containing various Diſſertations on ancient and modern Weights, Meaſures, Monies, Coins, Finance, Number of the People, Chronology, ancient Geography, and on ſeveral States of the ancient and modern World.——"Mémoire ſur la Monarchie des Medes, pour ſer-

" vir de Supplement aux Diſſertations de Monſieur Freret " et de Bougainville."——" Du Gouvernement Feodal, ſur- " tout en France."——" Remarks on, and an Abridgment of, " Blackſtone's Commentaries."——" Remarques Critiques " ſur le Nombre des Habitans dans la Cité des Sybarites."—— " Remarques Critiques ſur le nouveau Syſtême de la Chro- " nologie de Newton."——" Remarques ſur quelques Pro- " diges."——" Remarques Critiques ſur les Dignités Sacerdo- " tales de Jules Céſar."——" Remarques ſur quelques Paſ- " ſages de Virgil."——" Sur un Paſſage de Plaute."——" Ex- " amen de la Mort du Poëte Catulle."——" Réfléxions ſur " l'Etude des Belles Lettres, (*i. e.*) des Anciens, et de l'Anti- " quité Grecque et Latine."——" Remarques ſur les Mé- " moires de l'Academie des Belles Lettres."——A very con- ſiderable Work on Ancient Italy, intitled, " Nomina Gentef- " que Antiquæ Italiæ," with many curious Diſſertations on ſeveral Parts of that intereſting Country.——" Obſervations " on the Churches, Palaces, Pictures, Artiſts, Antiquities, &c. " of Italy."——" Index Expurgatorius."——" Chronological " Tables."——Many looſe ſheets on Geography *, the Greek and Arabian Coſmography, the Navigation of the Portugueſe, &c.——" Digreſſion on the Character of Brutus."——" In- " troduction à l'Hiſtoire Générale de la République des " Suiſſes."——Detached ſheets on the ſubject of the Anti- quities of Brunſwick, and many fragments on ſeparate papers.

His well-known and acknowledged learning may have made this diſplay of the proofs of his induſtry unneceſſary; but it may be acceptable to many to have a ſhort ſketch of

* His attention to Geography had always been very great, and few were better informed in that ſcience. His friend Major Rennell was of that opinion, and I cannot cite a higher authority.

the

the very various ſubjects on which he had occupied himſelf.

To protect the copy-right, the Bookſellers thought it neceſſary to procure a Tranſlation of the French part of the Journal, and alſo of ſome of the Letters. But that theſe Volumes might not be too much ſwelled, a Tranſlation of "l'Eſſai ſur l'Etude de la Littérature" has not been given, a Tranſlation having been already publiſhed.

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EXTRAITS RAISONNÉS *de mes* LECTURES.

" LA lecture eſt à l'eſprit ce que vos perdrix ſont à mes joues ;" diſoit le Duc de Vivonne à Louis XIV. En effet, la lecture eſt la nourriture de l'eſprit ; c'eſt par elle que nous connoiſſons notre Createur, ſes ouvrages, et ſurtout nous mêmes et nos ſemblables. Mais cette nourriture ſe change facilement en poiſon. Saumaiſe avoit lu autant que Grotius, peutêtre d'avantage. C'etoit la manière de lire qu'avoit fait, de l'un, un philoſophe eclairé, et de l'autre, tranchons le mot, un pedant bouffi d'une erudition inutile. A Douvres, le 14 Mars 1761.

Liſons avec ordre, propoſons nous un but, et rapportons y nos études. Pour ne pas obſerver cette regle, il y a tant d'ignorans qui ont beaucoup lû ; mais, voltigeant d'un ſujet à l'autre, ils n'ont jamais pû lier leurs idées.

Tant

[TRANSLATION.]

ABSTRACT OF MY READING; WITH REFLECTIONS.

" READING is to the mind," ſaid the Duke of Vivonne to Lewis XIV. " what " your partridges are to my chops." It is, in fact, the nouriſhment of the mind ; for by reading, we know our Creator, his works, ourſelves chiefly, and our fellow-creatures. But this nouriſhment is eaſily converted into poiſon. Salmaſius had read as much as Grotius, perhaps more. But their different modes of reading made the one, an enlightened philoſopher ; and the other, to ſpeak plainly, a pedant, puffed up with an uſeleſs erudition. Dover, 14th March 1761.

Let us read with method, and propoſe to ourſelves an end to which all our ſtudies may point. Through neglect of this rule, groſs ignorance often diſgraces great readers ; who, by ſkipping haſtily and irregularly from one ſubject to another, render

Tant de particules detachées ne peuvent former un tout. Cette inconſtance affoiblit même les forces de l'eſprit, le degoute de l'application, et ne lui laiſſe pas même les avantages d'un bon ſens naturel.

N'outrons cependant rien ; liſons avec ordre, ſans nous en rendre eſclaves. Propoſons nous un bût, mais que ce bût ne ſoit pas trop eloigné ; et quand nous l'avons atteint, permettons nous de paſſer à un ſujet different. Trop d'inconſtance ennerve l'eſprit ; une trop longue application au même objet le roidit. Nos idées ſe retreciſſent, et le genre auquel nous nous ſommes ſi long tems attachés devient le ſeul auquel nous puiſſions nous attacher.

D'aillieurs, gardons nous de ſacrifier l'ordre de nos pensées à celui de nos ſujets ; ce ſeroit ſacrifier le principal à l'acceſſoire. Nous ne devons lire que pour nous aider à penſer. En liſant quelque ouvrage, la lecture me fait naitre des idées, mais des idées un peu differentes du ſujet de cette ouvrage ; je veux les pouſſer, je m'ecarte de mon plan, et je me jette dans une autre lecture qui m'eſt neceſſaire, de-là, peutêtre, à une ſeconde, et une troiſieme. Enfin je vois ou mes penſees me menent ; c'eſt peutêtre à quelque choſe qui en vaut la peine, mais toujours ſaut il eſſayer. Si j'avois ſuivis mon grand chemin, au bout de ma longue carriere, j'aurois à peine pu retrouver les traces de mes idées.

Cette

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themſelves incapable of combining their ideas. So many detached parcels of knowledge cannot form a whole. This inconſtancy weakens the energies of the mind, creates in it a diſlike to application, and even robs it of the advantages of natural good ſenſe.

Yet, let us avoid the contrary extreme ; and reſpect method, without rendering ourſelves its ſlaves. While we propoſe an end in our reading, let not this end be too remote ; and when once we have attained it, let our attention be directed to a different ſubject. Inconſtancy weakens the underſtanding : a long and excluſive application to a ſingle object, hardens and contracts it. Our ideas no longer change eaſily into a different channel, and the courſe of reading to which we have too long accuſtomed ourſelves, is the only one that we can purſue with pleaſure.

We ought beſides, to be careful, not to make the order of our thoughts ſubſervient to that of our ſubjects ; this would be to ſacrifice the principal to the acceſſory. The uſe of our reading is to aid us in thinking. The peruſal of a particular work gives birth, perhaps, to ideas unconnected with the ſubject of which it treats. I wiſh to purſue theſe ideas ; they withdraw me from my propoſed plan of reading, and throw me into a new track, and from thence, perhaps, into a ſecond, and a third. At length I begin to perceive whither my reſearches tend. Their reſult, perhaps, may be profitable ; it is worth while to try : whereas had I followed the high road, I ſhould not have been able, at the end of my long journey, to retrace the progreſs of my thoughts.

This

Cette diſpenſation ne regarde point les premières etudes. La methode la plus ſevère ſuffit à peine pour faire comprendre des objets tout nouveaux. Elle ne regarde pas non plus ceux qui liſent pour ecrire. Ils doivent tout approfondir dans leurs ſujets, et ils n'en doivent pas ſortir. Au reſte, je fais ces reflexions ſans les garantir. Supposé même qu'elles ſoient juſtes, elles ne le ſont peutêtre que pour moi. Les eſprits different en temperament comme les corps. La meme methode ne peut convenir à tous. C'eſt à chacun à s'etudier la deſſûs.

Lire avec attention, ſe faire des definitions exactes des expreſſions de ſon auteur, ne paſſer jamais à la concluſion ſans avoir bien compris le principe, s'arreter ſouvent, s'interroger, reflechir ſur ce qu'on vient de lire, ce ſont là autant de conſeils qu'il eſt bien aisé de donner, et tres difficile de ſuivre. Il en eſt de même de ce conſeil preſque evangelique, d'oublier amis, patrie, religion, de louer le merite, et d'embraſſer la verité où qu'elle ſe trouve.

Mais que faut il lire ? C'eſt à chacun à ſe repondre la deſſûs ſelon l'objet de ſes etudes. Le ſeul precepte general que j'oſe donner, eſt celui de Pline *, " qu'on doit plûtot lire beaucoup, que beaucoup de choſes ;" ſe faire un choix de bons ouvrages, et ſe les rendre propres par des lectures reflechies

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This plan of reading is not applicable to our early ſtudies, ſince the ſevereſt method is ſcarcely ſufficient to make us conceive objects altogether new. Neither can it be adopted by thoſe who read in order to write ; and who ought to dwell on their ſubject, till they have founded its depths. Theſe reflections, however, I do not abſolutely warrant. On the ſuppoſition that they are juſt, they may be ſo, perhaps, for myſelf only. The conſtitution of minds differs like that of bodies. The ſame regimen will not ſuit all. Each individual ought to ſtudy his own.

To read with attention, exactly to define the expreſſions of our author, never to admit a concluſion without comprehending its reaſon, often to pauſe, reflect, and interrogate ourſelves ; theſe are ſo many advices which it is eaſy to give, but difficult to follow. The ſame may be ſaid of that almoſt evangelical maxim of forgetting friends, country, religion, of giving merit its due praiſe, and embracing truth wherever it is to be found.

But what ought we to read ? Each individual muſt anſwer this queſtion for himſelf, agreeably to the object of his ſtudies. The only general precept that I would venture to give, is that of Pliny *, " to read much, rather than many things ;" to make a careful ſelection of the beſt works, and to render them familiar to us, by

* Plinii Secundi Epiſt. lib. vii. epiſt. ix.

reflechies et reiterées. Sans m'etendre ſur ces bons ouvrages ſi connûs, je dirai ſimplement, qu'en fait de raiſonnement, ce ſont ceux qui ont augmenté le nombre des verités utiles; ceux qui ont decouvert des verités quelquelles ſoient; et enfin ces eſprits hardis qui, s'ecartant du ſentier battû, aiment mieux ſe tromper ſeuls, que d'avoir raiſon avec le peuple. Ceux-ci ajoutent au nombre de nos idées, et ſont ſouvent utiles à leurs ſucceſſeurs. Avec tout le reſpect qu'on doit à M. Locke, je voudrois ajouter encore ces academiciens qui detruiſent les erreurs mais qui n'eſperent pas de nous donner des verités à leur place. Dans les ouvrages d'imagination, c'eſt l'invention qui doit enlever nos ſuffrages; d'abord l'invention qui creé un nouveau genre; enſuite, celle qui trouve un ſujet, un caractere, une ſituation, un tableau, une penſée, un ſentiment nouveau. Mais cette invention eſt peu de choſe, ſi elle n'eſt pas accompagnée d'un genie qui s'aſſortiſſant au ton de ſon ſujet, ſoit tour à tour ſublime, pathetique, fleuri, gracieux, badin; d'un jugement qui ne faſſe rien dire qui ne convienne, et d'un ſtyle qui le faſſe toujours bien dire. Dans les compilations, qui ne conſervent que ce qu'on a dejà dit, je demande ſi on lui a donné de la clarté, ſi l'on a retranché l'inutile, ſi l'on a raſſemblé ce qui etoit diſperſé? et c'eſt ſuivant les reponſes que je me fais, que j'apprecie le prix de l'ouvrage.

Quand

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attentive and repeated peruſals. Without expatiating on the authors ſo generally known and approved, I would ſimply obſerve, that in matters of reaſoning, the beſt are thoſe who have augmented the number of uſeful truths; who have diſcovered truths, of whatever nature they may be: in one word, thoſe bold ſpirits, who quitting the beaten tract, prefer being in the wrong alone, to being in the right with the multitude. Such authors encreaſe the number of our ideas, and even their miſtakes are uſeful to their ſucceſſors. With all the reſpect due to Mr. Locke, I would not, however, neglect the works of thoſe academicians, who deſtroy errors without hoping to ſubſtitute truth in their ſtead. In works of fancy, invention ought to bear away the palm; chiefly that invention which creates a new kind of writing; and next, that which diſplays the charms of novelty, in its ſubject, characters, ſituations, pictures, thoughts, and ſentiments. Yet this invention will miſs its effect, unleſs it be accompanied with a genius, capable of adapting itſelf to every variety of the ſubject; ſucceſſively ſublime, pathetic, flowery, majeſtic, and playful; and with a judgment which admits nothing indecorous, and a ſtyle which expreſſes well, whatever *ought* to be ſaid. As to compilations, which are intended merely to treaſure up the thoughts of others, I aſk whether they are written with perſpicuity, whether ſuperfluities are lopped off, and diſperſed obſervations ſkilfully collected; and agreeably to my anſwers to thoſe queſtions, I eſtimate the merit of ſuch performances.

When

Quand on à bien lu, rien de plus utile pour en graver l'idée que des extraits. Je ne parle pas de ces recueils, de ces adverſaria qui ont leur uſage, mais d'extraits raiſonnés, tels que ceux de Photius, ou de nos journaux modernes. Je me propoſe de me rendre compte ainſi à moi-même de mes lectures. Mais ma methode ne séra pas toujours la meme. S'agit il d'un livre de raiſonnement, j'en expoſerai le plan general, les principes qu'on etablit, et les conſequences qu'on en tire. Le philoſophe merite peu ce nom, dont l'ouvrage ne gagne pas à etre vue dans l'enſemble. La ſeule liberté que je me permettrai, ce ſera qu'après avoir bien medité mon ſujet, je le rendrai peutêtre dans un ordre different de celui de mon auteur. Les ouvrages d'imagination ont leurs beautés de l'ordonnance et celles du detail; je m'attacherai aux uns et aux autres. L' hiſtoire, ſi elle eſt peu connue, merite un abregé; ſi elle n'eſt pas nouvelle, j'en detacherai les circonſtances qui le ſont. Partout, je dirai mon ſentiment avec la modeſtie qui me convient, mais avec le courage d'un homme qui ne veut pas trahir les droits de la raiſon. Je raſſemblerai ici toutes mes penſées detachées, reflexions de toute eſpéce qui ſe preſenteront à moi dans ma recherche de la verité. Car je rechercherai toujours la verité, quoique je n'aye guères trouvé juſqu'ici que la vraiſemblance.

When we have read with attention, there is nothing more uſeful to the memory than extracts. I ſpeak not of thoſe collections, or adverſaria, which may be ſerviceable in their own way, but of extracts made with reflection, ſuch as thoſe of Photius, and of ſeveral of our modern journaliſts. I purpoſe in this manner to give an account to myſelf of my reading. My method will vary with the ſubject. In works of reaſoning, I will trace their general plan, explain the principles eſtabliſhed, and examine the conſequences deduced from them. A philoſopher is unworthy of the name, whoſe work is not moſt advantageouſly viewed as a whole. After carefully meditating my ſubject, the only liberty I ſhall take, is that of exhibiting it under an arrangement different perhaps from that of my author. Works of fancy contain beauties, both of plan and of execution: I ſhall be attentive to both. Hiſtory, if little known, deſerves an abridgment. I ſhall extract ſuch particulars as are new. Throughout, I ſhall give my opinion with becoming modeſty, but with the courage of a man unwilling to betray the rights of reaſon. In this compilement, I ſhall collect my ſcattered thoughts, with the reflections of every ſort that occur in my ſearch for truth. For I ſhall continue to ſearch for the truth, though hitherto I have found nothing but probability.

A Beriton, le 14 Avril 1761.

RECHERCHES CRITIQUES ſur le Titre qu'avoit CHARLES VIII. à la Couronne de NAPLES *.

Incertitude des droits de ſucceſſion.

LE droit naturel a ſon reſſort, le droit civil a le ſien. Mais par quelles loix doit on regler les ſucceſſions des etats? Les regles ne peuvent etre les memes que pour les ſucceſſions privées; l'objet eſt trop different. Les conventions publiques ſont rarement aſſez determinées; on chicane ſur les traités. Les examples nous manquent, et puis chaque parti rejette ceux qui ne lui ſont pas favorables.

Diſputes des maiſons d'Anjou et d'Arragon.

Le Naples, et ſouvent l'Europe, ſe vit dechiré par les querelles des maiſons d'Anjou et d'Arragon. Les ſuccès furent bâlancés. Je vais rechercher qui

* Je medite une hiſtoire de l'expedition de Charles VIII. en Italie; evenement qui change à la face de l'Europe. Si je l'ecris jamais, ces recherches doivent y entrer, mais plus travaillées et moins longues. Pour à preſent, les livres et le loiſir me manque egalement. C'eſt pourquoi, ne pouvant alleguer les hiſtoriens originaux, j'aime mieux m'en rapporter à la notorieté de faits que de renvoyer aux compilations.

CRITICAL RESEARCHES concerning the Title of CHARLES VIII. to the Crown of NAPLES †.

Uncertainty of the rights of ſucceſſion.

NATURAL and civil law has, each of them, its principle; but by what maxim ſhall we regulate the ſucceſſion to ſtates? The rules of private ſucceſſion cannot apply to them, their object being ſo different. Public agreements are rarely ſufficiently determinate; treaties are liable to chicane; examples are wanting; and each party rejects thoſe examples which are not favourable to his cauſe.

Quarrels of the houſes of Anjou and Arragon.

The kingdom of Naples, and Europe itſelf, were often diſtracted by the quarrels between the houſes of Anjou and Arragon. Victory remained long doubtful. I am going to examine

† I meditate a hiſtory of the expedition of Charles VIII. into Italy; an event which changed the face of Europe. Should I ever undertake ſuch a work, theſe reſearches will find their place in it, but written with more care and preciſion. At preſent, both leiſure and books are wanting; for which reaſon, being unable to cite the original hiſtorians, I think it better to truſt to the notoriety of the tranſactions, than to refer the reader to compilations.

qui les meritoit. Les diſputes ſont paſsées. La maiſon de France renonça ſolemnellement à ſes pretenſions, dans les traités de Madrid et de Cambray, et le Pere Daniel * lui même n'etoit point obligé de les ſoutenir.

L'empereur Frederic II. étoit roi legitime de Naples.

Trouvons d'abord une propoſition reconnûe des deux partis. Avant le concile de Lyon, l'empereur Frederic II. étoit roi legitime de Naples; reconnû par le pape ſon ſeigneur ſuzerain, par ſes ſujets, et par tous les princes de l'Europe. Il avoit receuilli par ſa mere tous les droits de la maiſon Normande. Les empereurs Grecs, ſes ſeuls competiteurs, ne ſubſiſtoient plus.

La maiſon d'Arragon en deſcendoit. Leurs droits.

Ferdinand, dont Charles VIII. diſputoit le titre, étoit ſorti de la maiſon d'Arragon. Il s'appuyoit ſur le droit hereditaire. Pierre I. d'Arragon, ſon ancêtre, avoit epousé Conſtance, fille de Mainfroy, petite fille de l'empereur Frederic II. et l'unique heretiere de la maiſon de Suabe. Titre inconteſtable, s'il étoit net; mais la pureté du ſang avoit été ſouillée par deux deſcentes batardes, Mainfroy, et Ferdinand lui meme.

Raiſons pourquoi les batards ſont privés par les loix du droit de ſucceſſion.

L'inſtitution du marriage eſt neceſſaire dans les etats policés. La proprieté des terres entraine celle des femmes. Le moyen le plus aisé pour faire paſſer les biens d'une main à l'autre c'eſt la proximité du ſang, mais pour cela il la faut connoitre : il faut qu'un homme s'engageant à une femme par un contrat public, les enfans de cette femme ſoient censés lui appartenir.

Quoiconque

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examine by which of the contending parties it was merited. The conteſt is at an end. In the treaties of Madrid and of Cambray, the houſe of France ſolemnly renounced its pretenſions; and even Father Daniel * was not obliged to maintain them.

The emperor Frederic II. was lawful king of Naples.

Let us firſt diſcover ſome propoſition acknowledged by both parties. Before the council of Lyons, the emperor Frederic II. was lawful king of Naples; regarded as ſuch by the pope his liege lord or ſuperior, by his own ſubjects, and by all the princes of Europe. Through his mother he inherited all the rights of the Norman family. The Greek emperors, who would have been his only competitors, were no more.

The family of Arragon deſcended from him. Their rights.

Ferdinand, whoſe title was called in queſtion by Charles VIII. deſcended from the houſe of Arragon. He aſſerted the right of inheritance. Peter I. of Arragon, his anceſtor, had married Conſtance, the daughter of Mainfroy, the grandchild of the emperor Frederic II. and the ſole heireſs of the houſe of Swabia: a title incontrovertible, had it been pure; but Ferdinand's blood was defiled by two baſtardies, that of Mainfroy, and his own.

Reaſons why baſtards are deprived of the right of ſucceſſion.

The inſtitution of marriage is neceſſary in civiliſed countries. Hereditary property in land implies the appropriation of women; ſince the beſt means of tranſmitting property is by proximity of blood; which muſt therefore be aſcertained by marriage, the public engagement of one man with one woman, whoſe children are regarded as his ſucceſſors.

Whoever

* V. la Grande Hiſtoire du P. Daniel, tome v. p. 196. et p. 259.

Quoiconque viole cet ordre de la ſocieté en doit être puni dans ſon enfant, et cet enfant, dont la naiſſance eſt un outrage fait aux loix, n'eſt point enfant de la ſocieté, et ne doit pas participer aux biens dont elle garantit la ſucceſſion. Telles ſont les loix que la raiſon a dicté à tous les peuples. Les mœurs, ſouvent plus fortes que les loix, ſont ici d'accord avec elles. Elles fletriſſent à jamais cet enfant malheureux, dont le pere ne peut qu'etre incertain, et qui ne connoit ſa mere que par ſon crime. Mepris cruel et ſalutaire! La vertu des femmes, l'education de la jeuneſſe, et la paix de la communauté, en dependent. Or ſi les loix et les mœurs de tous les pays declarent les batards incapables des ſucceſſions privées, comment pourront ils poſſeder des etats? Le titre d'un ſouverain ne peut etre trop nêt, ni ſa naiſſance trop reſpectée.

Fletris par l'opinion publique.

Ils ne peuvent être ſouvrains par droit de ſucceſſion.

Les loix ſont ſourdes. Elles ne ſongent qu'à la juſtice, et au bien general. C'eſt aux princes à juger ſuivant les circonſtances, s'il les faut adoucir ou les executer à la rigueur. Lorſque le malheur de la mere, ou le merite du fils, ont plaidé pour lui, la clemence du ſouverain le rend à la ſocieté en effacant la tâche de ſa naiſſance et lui rendant ſes droits.

Mais en appliquant ces principes à la maiſon d'Arragon, il ſe preſente une foule de difficultes que je ne puis que ſentir. 1^rement^. Comment reconnoitre la legitimation d'un enfant par le prince. Ferdinand fut legitimé par

Difficultés ſur la legitimation.

1^re^. A quoi l'on la reconnoit.

Whoever violates this law ought to be puniſhed in his deſcendant, whoſe birth being an outrage to ſociety, he cannot be conſidered as its child, nor participate in the property of which it ſecures the ſucceſſion. Such are the laws which reaſon has dictated to all nations. Manners, often more powerful than laws, here corroborate and confirm them; condemning to perpetual ignominy the unhappy baſtard, whoſe father muſt ever be uncertain, and who knows his mother only by her crime: a cruel, but ſalutary puniſhment, ſince on it depend the chaſtity of women, the education of children, and the peace of the community. If then both laws and manners declare baſtards incapable of inheriting private eſtates, on what principle ought they to ſucceed to kingdoms? The title of a ſovereign cannot be too clear, nor his birth too much reſpected.

Their diſgrace in the public opinion.

They cannot ſucceed to kingdoms.

Laws are deaf to every voice but that of juſtice and the public good. But it belongs to princes to judge, according to circumſtances, whether they ought to ſoften, or rigorouſly to enforce the laws. When the repentance of his mother, or his own merit, have efficaciouſly pleaded for an illegitimate ſon, the clemency of a prince may remove the ſtain from his birth, and thus reſtore him to ſociety and his rights.

But in applying this maxim to the houſe of Arragon, a multitude of difficulties occur, of which it is impoſſible not to feel the force. 1. By what means is legitimation by a prince to be aſcertained. Ferdinand was legitimated by a ſolemn act; but

Difficulties concerning the right of legitimation.

par un acte ſolemnel; mais je ne ſache pas que Mainfroy le fût jamais. Son père à la verité lui légua la principauté de Salerne, et même la ſucceſſion du royaume. Il reſte a ſavoir, ſi lorſqu'un prince maître de faire une certaine grace, accorde à quelqu'un une dignité dont il ne peut jouir ſans cette grace préalable, il eſt cenſé la lui avoir accordé; c'eſt à dire, ſi la forme emporte le fonds, ou le fonds la forme *. 2. Si un prince peût legitimer ſes propres enfans. Un prince eſt ſujet aux loix, ainſi il eſt tenu d'en ſubir la peine lorſqu'il les viole. Mais le bien public veut que ſa perſonne en ſoit exempte. Ici il les viole, et en peut être puni dans les perſonnes de ceux qui lui ſont les plus chères. Or peut on dire, qu'il eſt obligé de ſubir cette punition dont cependant il peut ſe faire grace, s'il le veut. 3. Si cette legitimation peut s'etendre

2. Un prince peut il legitimer ſes enfans,

* Voici un exemple ou il s'agit du même raiſonnement. Le chevalier Raleigh fût condamné à mort pour crime de haute trahiſon. Après pluſieurs années de priſon, le roi Jacques I. lui donna le commandement d'une eſcadre deſtinée à exploiter une mine d'or dans l'Amerique Meridionale. L'enterpriſe manqua; et à ſon retour Jacques I. fit couper la tête au chevalier Raleigh ſur l'ancienne ſentence. La nation en murmura hautement, et diſoit que cette commiſſion d'admiral valoit bien des lettres d'abolition; puis qu'on ne pouvoit donner cette autorité et cette confiance à un traître qu'on deſtinoit à la mort †.

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but I know not whether that was the caſe with Mainfroy: his father indeed bequeathed to him the principality of Salerno, and even the inheritance of the kingdom. It remains to determine, whether a prince, entitled to perform an act of favour and mercy, actually does ſo by conferring an office of dignity, which cannot be enjoyed unleſs the act of mercy has previouſly been obtained; that is to ſay, whether the ſubſtance ought to prevail over the form, or the form over the ſubſtance *.—2. Can a prince legitimate his own children? Being ſubject to the laws, he cannot violate them without being amenable to juſtice; though the public good requires that his perſon ſhould not be liable to puniſhment. But, in the ſuppoſed caſe, his violation of the laws may be puniſhed in the perſons of thoſe who are moſt dear to him: it cannot ſurely be ſaid, that he is obliged to ſubmit to a puniſhment which his own pardon can forgive.

Can a prince legitimate his children,

* The following is an example where the ſame reaſoning occurred. Sir Walter Raleigh was condemned to death for treaſon. After a confinement of many years in priſon, he received from James I. the command of a fleet to be employed in diſcovering a gold mine in South America. The enterpriſe failed; and, at Sir Walter's return home, James ordered his head to be cut off, according to the ſentence formerly paſſed againſt him. The nation murmured loudly, aſſerting that the commiſſion of admiral was equivalent to a formal pardon, ſince it was impoſſible to beſtow that authority and confidence on a traitor condemned to death †.

† V. Rapin, Hiſt. d'Angleterre, tome vii. p. 122.; et Hume, Hiſt. of the Stuarts, vol. i. p. 74. Howell's Letters, vol. i. ſ. 1. lett. iv.

3. et les appeller à la ſucceſſion, 4. avant ſes heretiers collatéraux ?

s'etendre juſqu'au droit de ſucceſſion à la couronne *. 4. Si ces enfans legitimés rentrent parfaitement dans tous leurs droits de fils du roi-regnant, et de plus proches heretiers de la couronne, ou bien s'ils n'en ſont que les derniers, après toutes les branches collatérales. Il ſemble qu'on ne peut faire grace qu'après avoir fait juſtice : Louis XIV. lui même s'il violoit les droits de la nation, reſpecta pourtant ceux de la maiſon royale.

Jean l'oncle de Ferdinand.

Cette dernière queſtion eſt tres importante. Alphonſe, le père de Ferdinand, laiſſa un frere nommé Jean, qui lui ſuccéda dans le royaume d'Arragon. Il eſt vrai que Jean ne conteſta point la ſucceſſion de ſon neveu au royaume de Naples, mais pouvoit il renonçer pour ſa poſterité ? C'eſt un queſtion dont nous ne touchons point la deciſion après tant de diſputes †.

Un prince peut il renonçer ſa poſterité ?

Toutes ces reflexions donnent de grands ſoupçons à l'égard du titre de la maiſon d'Arragon, et ſurtout de Ferdinand. Mais dans les ſiècles de fer où cette diſpute s'eleva, les coutûmes leur etoient plus favorables. Dans ces ſiècles auſſi vicieux qu'ils etoient ignorans, les princes s'abandonnoient à une vie

* Cette queſtion tient aux mêmes principes que celle de l'adoption que j'examinerai bientôt.

† Elle a fait un grand bruit il y à un demi ſiècle, à l'occaſion de la ſucceſſion d'Eſpagne, à laquelle Louis XIV. renonça dans le traité des Pyrennées, et que ſa famille revendiqua dans la ſuite.

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and call them to the ſucceſſion, before collateral heirs ?

forgive.—3. Does this legitimation extend to the right of ſucceſſion to the crown * ?—4. Do legitimated children recover completely the rights of lawful offspring, and of the neareſt heirs to the crown ; or rather, ought they not to be the laſt in the order of ſucceſſion after all the collateral branches ? It is not fit that we ſhould be bountiful, before we have been juſt. Even Lewis XIV. when he trampled on the rights of the nation, ſtill reſpected thoſe of the princes of the blood.

John the uncle of Ferdinand.

This laſt queſtion is extremely important. Alphonzo, the father of Ferdinand, left a brother named John, who ſucceeded to him in the kingdom of Arragon. John did not indeed diſpute his nephew's right of ſucceſſion to the kingdom of Naples, but could *his* renunciation bind his poſterity ? This is a queſtion, with the deciſion of which we ſhall not now meddle, ſince it was formerly the occaſion of ſo many diſputes †.

Can a prince renounce for his poſterity ?

Theſe reflections create juſt ſuſpicions concerning the title of the houſe of Arragon, particularly of Ferdinand : but in the ages of iron, when this conteſt aroſe, the prevalent cuſtoms of the times were more favourable to their claim. In thoſe ages, as wicked as they were ignorant, princes diſgraced themſelves by a life of profligacy ; and

* This queſtion depends on the ſame principles with that of adoption, which I ſhall ſhortly examine.

† This queſtion was much agitated half a century ago, in the buſineſs of the Spaniſh ſucceſſion, which Lewis XIV. renounced by the treaty of the Pyrenees, but which his family afterwards claimed and vindicated.

vie dereglée, et s'ils n'avoient point d'enfans legitimes, leurs ſeigneurs réconnoiſſoient ſans peine les droits de leurs fils bâtards. Auroient-ils pu mépriſer un nom qu'il ſe faiſoient quelquefois glôire de porter eux mêmes *, ou meconnoître un droit qui etoit ſi ſouvent le leur? Un partiſan de la maiſon d'Anjou ne pouvoit attaquer le titre de ſes rivaux ſans revoquer en doute les droits des rois d'Angleterre, de Caſtille, et de Portugal †. Je ne ſais ſi dans les choſes de convention les exemples n'ont pas plus de force que les raiſons. Dans la lumière du XVIII. ſiècle, les pretenſions des Arragonois peuvent être très mauvaiſes, ſans laiſſer d'être très ſoutenables dans l'ignorance du XV.

Dans le moyen age les bâtards ſuccedoient ſouvent aux couronnes ; en Angleterre, en Caſtille, en Portugal.

Je ne crois pas avoir rien ſupprimé des pretenſions de la maiſon d'Arragon, ni des objections qu'on y pouvoit faire. Il eſt vrai que Mainfroy uſurpa la couronne ſur ſon neveu Conradin ; mais comme Conradin mourut ſans enfans, le crime lui etoit perſonel, et ne s'etendoit pas à la poſterité de Mainfroy.

Mainfroy uſurpateur, ſa poſterité ne l'etoit pas.

Les

* On lit quelquefois dans les vieilles chartres, Ego —— baſtardus ; il devenoît un ſurnom. Du tems de Philipe de Comines, on faiſoit très peu de difference en Italie entre les enfans legitimes et ceux qui ne l'etoient pas. Mem. de Philipe de Com. l. vii. c. 2.

† Guilliaume le Conquerant, dans le XI. ſiècle ; Henri de Traſtamare, et Jean Grand Maître de l'ordre d'Avis, tous les deux dans le XIV. ces trois monarques etoient tous bâtards.

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and when they had not any legitimate children, their barons were eaſily prevailed on to acknowledge the rights of their *baſtards*. How could the barons deſpiſe an appellation which they often prided themſelves in bearing *, or diſavow a right which was often their own? A partiſan of the houſe of Anjou could not attack the title of his rivals, without challenging the rights of the kings of England, Caſtile, and Portugal. In matters merely conventional, examples are more powerful than principles. Amidſt the light of the XVIIIth century, the pretenſions of the houſe of Arragon may appear extremely unjuſtifiable; but might have worn a very different aſpect during the ignorance of the XVth.

In the middle ages, baſtards often inherited crowns; in England, Caſtile, and Portugal.

I am not ſenſible of omitting any of the arguments either for or againſt the title of that houſe. Mainfroy indeed uſurped the crown, to the prejudice of his nephew Conradin; but as Conradin died childleſs, Mainfroy's crime was merely perſonal, and extended not to his poſterity.

Mainfroy's poſterity not uſurpers, though he himſelf was one.

The

* We ſometimes read in old charters, Ego —— baſtardus. The appellative became a ſurname. In the time of Philip Comines, there was little diſtinction made in Italy between natural and legitimate children.

† In the XIth century, William the Conqueror; and in the XIVth, Henry of Traſtamare, and John Grand Maſter of the Order of Avis, were all baſtards.

Droits de Charles VIII.

Les droits de Charles VIII. etoient beaucoup plus compliqués. La dépoſition de Frederic II. par le pape, et l'inveſtiture de Naples qu'il donna à Charles I. etabliſſoient les droits de la première maiſon d'Anjou. L'adoption de Louis d'Anjou par la reine Jeanne I. les fit paſſer à la ſeconde branche dont Charles VIII. les herita par le teſtament de Charles, dernier comte de Provence, et roi titulaire de Naples. Ce ſont trois chainons, qu'il s'agit d'eprouver ſeparément.

La depoſition de Frederic II. par le pape, A. D. 1245.

La depoſition de Frederic II. par le pape Innocent IV. ſouleva l'Europe contre ce prince malheureux. Le grand nombre loua cette ſeverité ſalutaire qui n'epargnoit pas les ſouverains eux mêmes, s'ils etoient ennemis de l'egliſe. À peine s'en trouvoient ils quelqu'uns qui condamnoient cette ſentence, non comme injuſte, mais comme trop cruelle : ils trouvoient que le pape ôtoit les couronnes trop legerement, mais ils convenoient qu'il avoit droit de les ôter *.

Principes de la philoſophie.

La bonne philoſophie nous feroit rire de ce droit pretendû, s'il n'avoit pas été trop funeſte. La partie la plus membreuſe de toute ſocieté en fixe la religion

* Voyez la conduite équivoque de Louis IX. Il blamoit la ſeverité du pape, il tachôit de faire la paix : mais ce concile de Lyon etoit toujours pour lui un tribunal dont Frederic ne pouvoit appeller.

The rights of Charles VIII.

The rights of Charles VIII. were far more complicated. The depoſition of Frederick II. by the pope, and the inveſtiture of Naples granted by him to Charles I. formed the title of the firſt houſe of Anjou. The adoption of Lewis of Anjou by queen Joan tranſmitted this title to the ſecond branch, from which Charles VIII. received it by the teſtament of Charles, the laſt count of Provence, and titular king of Naples. Theſe are the three links of the chain, which muſt be ſeparately examined.

The depoſition of Frederick II. by the pope, A. D. 1245.

The depoſition of Frederick II. by pope Innocent IV. ſtirred up Europe againſt that unhappy prince. The multitude commended a ſalutary ſeverity, which did not ſpare even ſovereigns themſelves, when they became the enemies of the church. A very few only condemned the pope's ſentence, not as unjuſt, but as too harſh: they thought that his holineſs took away crowns with too little ceremony, but they acknowledged that he had the right of taking them away *.

Principles of philoſophy.

Sound philoſophy would teach us to ſmile at this pretended right, had it not been productive of too melancholy conſequences. The moſt numerous portion of every community

* Obſerve the equivocal conduct of Lewis IX. He blamed the pope's ſeverity; he endeavoured to make peace; but the council of Lyons he always conſidered as a tribunal from which Frederick was not entitled to appeal.

religion dominante. Le magiſtrat eſt chargé d'etablir des miniſtres pour l'enſeigner au peuple, et en pratiquer le culte. Il en regle les fonctions, l'hierarchie, les gages ; et l'ordre eccleſiaſtique ne lui eſt pas moins ſoumis que l'ordre des juges, ou celui des guerrièrs. Mais ſans recourir à ces principes qui ne ſeroient pas généralement admis, les maximes de l'egliſe Gallicane peuvent ſervir de reponſe à ces pretenſions ultramontaines. Chez elle, l'egliſe, il eſt vrai, n'obeit pas à l'etat, mais elle ne lui commande pas. Ce ſont deux puiſſances independantes, mais alliées, qui doivent s'entre-aider ſans attenter à leurs droits reciproques. Le pape ne peut pas plus depoſer l'empereur, que l'empereur ne peut faire des deciſions de foi. L'excommunication eſt toute ſpirituelle, et l'excommunié pour n'être plus Chretien, n'eſt pas moins père, maître, ou prince. L'empereur Frederic II. n'etoit pas moins roi de Naples après le concile de Lyon, qu'auparavant; et tout ce qui ſe fit, le ſuppoſant lui et ſa famille dechus de la royauté, etoit nul de toute nullité.

L'egliſe ſoumiſe à l'etat.

Maximes de l'egliſe Gallicane.

L'autorité du clergé toute ſpirituelle.

Le pape ne peut pas depoſer un ſouverain.

Mais ſi le pape Innocent ne pouvoit depoſer Frederic comme ſouverain pontife, il etoit ſeigneur ſuzerain de Naples, et en cette qualité, ſi ſon vaſſal lui manquoit de fidelité il pouvoit lui ôter ſon fief. Ce droit eſt beaucoup plus ſpecieux. Les conquerans Normans, par devotion ou par politique, avoient

Le pape pouvoit depoſer Frederic comme ſon ſeigneur ſuzerain.

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community determines the prevailing religion : the ſovereign eſtabliſhes miniſters to practiſe its rules, and to teach its precepts to the people : the ſovereign alſo regulates its functions, hierarchy, and appointments ; eccleſiaſtics being not leſs ſubject to his authority than judges and ſoldiers. But without recurring to principles which would not be univerſally admitted, the maxims of the Gallican church afford a ſufficient anſwer to thoſe tranſalpine pretenſions. According to theſe maxims, the church, it is true, is not bound in obedience to the ſtate ; but neither has the former any controul over the latter. They are two independent, but allied, powers ; which ought always to contribute their mutual aſſiſtance, without ever infringing their reciprocal rights. The pope can no more depoſe the emperor, than the emperor can paſs deciſions of faith. Excommunication is of a nature entirely ſpiritual ; and the perſon excommunicated, though no longer a Chriſtian, ceaſes not to be a father, a maſter, or a king. The emperor Frederick II. was not leſs king of Naples after the council of Lyons than before ; and whatever was done on the ſuppoſition that he and his family were diveſted of the rights of ſovereignty, was completely null.

The church ſubject to the ſtate.

Maxims of the Gallican church.

The clergy's authority entirely ſpiritual.

The pope cannot depoſe a ſovereign.

But if Innocent could not, as ſovereign pontiff, depoſe Frederick ; yet, as lord paramount of the kingdom of Naples, he could deprive a rebellious vaſſal of his fief. This right is far more ſpecious. The Norman conquerors, through devotion or policy,

The pope could depoſe Frederick, as his lord paramount.

avoient reçu toutes leurs poſſeſſions en Italie du pape Nicholas II. à titre de fief du Saint Siege, qui leur en donna l'inveſtiture auſſi bien qu'aux empereurs Suabes, leurs ſucceſſeurs.

Reponſes d'un partiſan de Frederic.

Cependant, en faiſant valoir ce droit de ſouveraineté ſuivant les loix du ſyſteme feodal, je ne ſai ſi un partiſan de Frederic auroit été reduit au ſilence. Il auroit pu dire.

1. Le pape n'agit que comme ſouverain pontife.

1. C'eſt à la conduite du pape à nous faire voir s'il agiſſoit en cette qualité. Eſt ce dans un concile general d'evêques, par une excommunication ſolemnelle, en deliant les ſujets de leur ſerment de fidelité, qu'un ſeigneur fait condamner ſon vaſſal? y mele-t'on au crime de felonie, des accuſations de perfidie, de ſacrilege, et d'hereſie? Une aſſemblée des pairs, de tous les grands vaſſaux du S. Siege, un roi d'Angleterre à leur tête, etoit le ſeul tribunal dont Frederic etoit juſticiable; et le crime de felonie etoit le ſeul qu'on dut porter devant ce tribunal. Mais au concile de Lyon je ne vois dans Innocent IV. que le ſouverain pontife.

2. La ſentence n'etoit point dans les regles.

2. Jamais tribunal ne merita moins ce nom; on n'entendit ni les accuſateurs ni l'accuſé; on refuſa à celui-ci le moindre delai, quoique ſes miniſtres chargés de pleins pouvoirs s'avancoient vers Lyons à grandes journées. On prononca la ſentence avant leur arrivée; et cette ſentence portoit, non ſur une notorieté de droit, des preuves juridiquement conſtatées, mais ſur un pretendûe notorieté

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licy, had conſented to hold their Italian poſſeſſions as fiefs of the Holy See; which conferred their inveſtiture on thoſe princes, and on the Swabian emperors, their ſucceſſors.

Anſwers of Frederick's partiſans.

Yet in examining this right of ſovereignty by the principles of the feudal law, I know not whether Frederick's partiſans needed to have given up the cauſe. They might have ſaid,

1. Innocent acted merely in his character of pope.

1. It belonged to the pope to ſhow by his conduct, whether he really acted as lord paramount. Is it by a ſolemn excommunication, in a general council of biſhops, and by abſolving ſubjects from their oaths of fidelity, that a ſuperior condemns his vaſſal? In ſuch condemnations is it uſual to join with the crime of felony, the accuſations of perfidy, ſacrilege, and hereſy? An aſſembly of peers, and of all the great vaſſals of the Holy See, with a king of England at their head, was the only tribunal to which Frederick was amenable; and felony was the only crime of which that tribunal could take cogniſance. But in the council of Lyons,

2. The ſentence was irregular,

Innocent IV. appears under no other character than that of ſovereign pontiff.

2. Never did any court of juſtice leſs deſerve the name. It heard neither the accuſation nor the defence; and refuſed to grant to the perſon accuſed the ſmalleſt delay, although his miniſters, entruſted with full powers, haſtened to Lyons. Sentence was pronounced before their arrival; a ſentence founded neither on acknowledged law, nor on judicial evidence, but on a pretended notoriety of facts, vague reports, and public

rieté de fait, des oui-dire, des bruits publics. 3. Le fond n'etoit pas moins defectueux que la forme. Frederic ne meritoit point d'être privé de ſon fief. Tout vaſſal qu'il etoit du Saint Siege, il n'en etoit point ſujet. Un vaſſal d'un grand fief y regnoit en maitre ſouverain; abſolu dans ſon etat, il n'en devoit à ſon ſeigneur que l'homage, le ſervice par lequel il le tenoit, et l'obligation de ne pas porter les armes contre lui. Encore avoit il tant de latitude à remplir ces obligations qu'il etoit difficile de le convaincre d'y avoir manqué. Si le ſeigneur *lui veoit ſa cour* (c. a. d. lui refuſoit juſtice) il pouvoit ſe la faire par force, et ſes propres vaſſaux etoient tenus de le ſuivre contre ce prince dont ils etoient eux mêmes les arrieres vaſſaux *. A plus forte raiſon, ſi le prince l'attaquoit, pouvoit il ſe defendre par les armes. Or les papes etoient aſſurement les aggreſſeurs, ſi, excommunier Frederic, offrir ſes etats à tous les princes de l'Europe, precher contre lui une croiſade, ſolliciter ouvertement à la revolte ſes ſujets du Milanois, de Ravenne, et de la Marche Treviſane, peut juſtifier ce nom. 4. Si le pape pouvoit repreſenter à ſon gré le ſouverain pontife, ou le ſeigneur du royaume de Naples, Frederic pouvoit auſſi choiſir entre ſes titres. Roi des deux Siciles, il relevoit de la cour de Rome; empereur des Romains, il ne relevoit que de Dieu ſeul; et dans la querelle pour la Sardaigne, querelle de l'egliſe et de l'empire,

3. Elle etoit injuſte.

Obligations d'un vaſſal.

Frederic n'avoit fait que ſe defendre.

4. Frederic comme empereur pouvoit faire la guerre au pape quoique ſon vaſſal d'ailleurs.

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public rumours. 3. The ſubſtance was not leſs defective than the form. Frederick had not deſerved to be ſtripped of his fief. Though a vaſſal of the Holy See, he was not its ſubject. The vaſſal of a great fief reigned over it with abſolute ſovereignty; owing nothing to his paramount but homage, military ſervice, and the negative duty of not bearing arms againſt his liege lord. Theſe duties, beſides, were defined ſo looſely, that it was difficult to convict him of their violation. If his ſuperior refuſed to do him juſtice, he might aſſert it by force of arms; and his own immediate vaſſals were bound to follow him into the field againſt a prince, of whom they were themſelves the rear-vaſſals *. By ſtill ſtronger cogency of reaſon, the vaſſal, when attacked by his lord, was entitled to defend himſelf by arms. But the pope ſurely was the aggreſſor; if this appellation could be merited by excommunicating Frederick, by offering his ſtates to all the princes of Europe, and by openly exciting the revolt of his ſubjects in the Milaneſe, Ravenna, and the Treviſan march. 4. If the pope could at pleaſure aſſume the character of ſovereign pontiff, or of prince paramount of the kingdom of Naples, Frederick alſo was juſtified in uſing the ſame right of option between his titles. As king of the two Sicilies, he held of the court of Rome; but as emperor of the Romans, he was ſubject to God only; and in a quarrel between the church and empire about Sardinia, he had not any account to give

3. and unjuſt.

Duties of a vaſſal.

Frederick had only defended himſelf.

4. Frederick, though a vaſſal of the pope, could make war on him, as emperor.

* Hainault, Abregé Chronol. de l'Hiſt. de France, p. 617.

l'empire, il pouvoit tirer l'épée ſans en devoir compte à perſonne. Il pouvoit même ſans manquer à ſon devoir, employer les forces du royaume de Naples, deſque ce pays n'etoit pas l'objet de la diſpute. Ces diſtinctions paroiſſent ſubtiles, et mêmes contradictoires. Elles peuvent l'être, mais auſſi je les tire de l'ouvrage de la barbarie et du hazard, de ce ſyſteme foedal où le ſouverain pouvoit être le vaſſal de ſon ſujet. Sans elles qu'on m'explique comment les rois d'Angleterre depuis Guillaume I. juſqù'à l'Edouard III. pouvoient faire la guerre à la France. Comme ducs de Normandie ou d'Aquitaine, ils en etoient vaſſaux; cependant ces guerres etoient reconnûes pour legitimes; et dans les traités de paix il n'etoit jamais queſtion de pardon ou d'amneſtie.

Exemple des rois d'Angleterre ducs de Normandie.

De la depoſition de Frederic II. depend l'inveſtiture de Charles d'Anjou. Le royaume de Naples étoit bien alors entre les mains d'un uſurpateur; mais ſi le jeune Conradin n'avoit pas perdu ſes droits par le crime de ſon ayeul, l'autorité du pontife ne pouvoit s'etendre qu'à faire rendre ſon heritage à ce jeune prince. 2. Charles s'empara du royaume de Naples, et le laiſſa à ſa poſterité. Il etoit triſayeul de Jeanne I. ſi connue par ſa debauche effrenée. Cette princeſſe prête à ſuccomber ſous les armes de ſon couſin Charles de la Paix, mecontente de ſes plus proches parens, appella à ſon ſecours

L'inveſtiture de Charles d'Anjou tient à la depoſition de Frederic 1265.

Louis d'Anjou adopté par la reine Jeanne I. 1380.

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give of the employment of his arms. He was even entitled, conſiſtently with his duty, to make uſe of the forces of Naples itſelf, when that kingdom was not the object of diſpute. Theſe diſtinctions appear to be too ſubtile, and even contradictory. They may really be ſo; but they are deducible from that work of barbariſm and chance, the feudal ſyſtem, which admitted that a ſovereign might be the vaſſal of his own ſubject. Without ſuppoſing this, let it be explained, how the kings of England ſince William I. to Edward III. could levy war againſt France. As dukes of Normandy or Aquitaine, they were vaſſals of that kingdom; yet theſe wars were acknowledged as lawful, ſince in the treaties of peace which followed them, there is not any mention of pardon or amneſty.

Example of the kings of England dukes of Normandy.

On the juſtneſs of Frederick's depoſition depends that of the inveſtiture of Charles of Anjou. The kingdom of Naples was then indeed poſſeſſed by an uſurper; but if Conradin could not loſe his title by the crime of his grandfather, the authority of the pontiff could not be lawfully exerted but in reſtoring his inheritance to that young prince. 2. Charles acquired the kingdom of Naples, and left it to his poſterity. He was anceſtor, the fourth in aſcent, to Joan, ſo well known by her infamous debaucheries. This princeſs, when ready to be overwhelmed by the arms of her couſin Charles de la Paix, and diſſatisfied with her neareſt relations, applied for aſſiſtance to

The inveſtiture of Charles of Anjou dependant on the depoſition of Frederick in 1265.

Lewis

ſecours Louis duc d'Anjou, frere de Charles V. roi de France, et par ſes lettres patentes datées du château d'Oeuf à Naples, le 29 Juin 1380, elle l'adopta pour ſon fils, et l'inſtitua ſon heritier univerſel *.

Oſerai-je cependant demander ſi un prince Européen peut faire un ſi beau don; s'il peut ſe choiſir un fils et un ſucceſſeur? Le nom de roi eſt fort uſité partout; mais on y attache des idées bien différentes. Chez le peuple de l'Orient c'eſt un envoyé du Ciel, revêtu d'une puiſſance deſpotique, et diſpoſant a ſon gré de la vie et des biens de ſes ſujets. Sous un tel gouvernement, le ſouverain peut donner ſes états par la même raiſon qu'un berger peut donner ſon troupeau. Ils lui appartiennent. Mais il y a d'autres nations, plus dignes du nom d'homme, qui ne voyent dans le ſouverain que le premier magiſtrat, établi par le peuple pour le rendre heureux, et comptable à lui de ſa conduite. Un tel magiſtrat ne pouvoit transferer à un autre un pouvoir dont il n'etoit que l'uſufruitier. A ſa mort il étoit dévolu au peuple, ſi le gouvernement étoit élective; s'il étoit héréditaire, au plus proche héritier, ſuivant les loix que la nation avoit établies; et ſi la maiſon

Si un prince peut donner ſes états?

Un deſpote Aſiatique le peut. Pourquoi?

Un prince Européen ne le peut pas. Pourquoi?

* Dans mes compilations le conſentement des états à cette adoption ne paroiſſoit point. C'étoit cependant une circonſtance très eſſentielle. Mais j'ai vu depuis, que l'exact Giannone n'en dit rien non plus.

Lewis duke of Anjou, brother to Charles V. king of France; and by letters patent, dated from the caſtle of Oeuf at Naples, the 29th June 1380, adopted him for her ſon, and appointed him heir to all her poſſeſſions *.

May I be permitted, however, to inquire, whether an European prince is entitled to make ſo fair a preſent; and whether he enjoys the right of chooſing for himſelf a ſon and a ſucceſſor? The name of king is univerſally uſed; but in different countries it is taken in very different acceptations. Among the natives of the Eaſt, a king is the vicegerent of Heaven, inveſted with deſpotic power over the lives and properties of his ſubjects. Under ſuch governments a king can diſpoſe of his people for the ſame reaſon that a ſhepherd can diſpoſe of his flock. They are his property. But there are other nations, more deſerving the name of men, who ſee in a ſovereign nothing more than the firſt magiſtrate, appointed by the people for the purpoſe of promoting public happineſs, and reſponſible to the people for his adminiſtration. Such a magiſtrate cannot transfer to another, a power with which he is entruſted only for his own life. At his demiſe, this power, if the government be elective, returns to the people; if the government be hereditary, the ſame power devolves on the

Can a prince give away his dominions?

An Aſiatic deſpot may. Why?

A European prince cannot.

* In my compilation the conſent of the ſtates to this adoption is not mentioned. This, however, was a very eſſential circumſtance. But I have ſince found, that the accurate Giannone is alſo ſilent reſpecting it.

maiſon royale devenoit éteinte, le peuple rentroit dans tous ſes droits. Ces dernieres maximes étoient aſſurément celles des peuples du nord, fondateurs de preſque tous les royaumes de l'Europe. Sentez la gradation par laquelle leurs princes rendirent héréditaire leur puiſſance toujours ſoumiſe aux loix. Leurs chefs n'étoient d'abord choiſis que pour l'occaſion; peu à peu ils devinrent perpetuels. La reconnoiſſance bornoit les élections à quelque famille diſtinguée; le fils ſuccedoit ordinairement au pere, mais il falloit une élection ſolennelle; le ſilence et l'obéiſſance étoient ſensés exprimer le conſentement de la nation, mais elle ſe reſervoit toujours le droit de changer la ſucceſſion toutes les fois que le bien public le demandoit. Je vois même quelque lueur de cette liberté parmi les peuples qui croupiſſent dans le plus vil eſclavage. Les monarques Orientaux qui choiſiſſent leur ſucceſſeur, ſont obligés de le choiſir dans la maiſon royale, et les ſujets n'obéiroient point à un étranger, quoique revêtu de l'autorité de leur dernier ſouverain. Un ſentiment confus leur inſinue que la loi eſt encore au deſſus du prince.

Ils ne devinrent héréditaires que peu à peu.

Cette puiſſance bornée chez les princes les plus abſolus.

Cependant (car je ne cherche que la verité) l'on voit d'un autre côté, dans les monarchies Européennes une certaine autorité reconnue, dans les diſpoſitions que les princes ont fait de leurs états. Charles II. d'Eſpagne ſe croyoit maître de nommer ſon ſucceſſeur, il nomma Philipe de Bourbon.

Cependant les peuples de l'Europe ſemblent le leur accorder quelquefois.

Teſtament de Charles II. d'Eſpagne.

La

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the neareſt heir, according to the law of the land; and ſhould the royal family be extinct, the people would reſume all their rights. Theſe maxims, ſurely, prevailed among the northern nations, who founded almoſt all the kingdoms of Europe. Obſerve the ſteps by which they rendered their kings, though always ſubject to the laws, hereditary. Theſe kings were originally only temporary and occaſional chiefs. By degrees they came to hold their offices for life. Gratitude confined the ſphere of election to ſome diſtinguiſhed family; the ſon commonly ſucceeded to the father, but the ſolemnity of an election was ſtill requiſite; ſilence and obedience were finally thought to imply the conſent of the nation; which always, however, reſumed to itſelf the right of changing the order of ſucceſſion, when the public good demanded an alteration.

Theſe princes became hereditary by degrees.

I perceive a glimpſe of this liberty even among people languiſhing in the vileſt ſervitude. The monarchs of the Eaſt, who name their ſucceſſors, muſt chooſe him from the royal family; and their ſubjects would not obey a ſtranger, though inveſted with authority by their late king. They have a confuſed perception that the law ought to be above the prince. Yet (for I am in ſearch only of the truth) it may be obſerved on the other ſide, that the authority of European princes has been acknowledged to extend to the power of transferring their dominions. Charles II. of Spain, believing himſelf entitled to appoint his ſucceſſor, named Philip of Bourbon. France

The power of transferring kingdoms bounded among the moſt ſlaviſh nations.

Yet the nations of Europe ſeem to acknowledge this power.

The teſtament of Charles II. of Spain.

accepted

La France accepta le teſtament, l'Eſpagne s'y ſoumit, et les alliés ſe virent réduits à révoquer en doute ſon authenticité. Je ne vois pas même, ſans accorder aux ſouverains quelque droit de cette eſpece, ſur quoi fonder la force des traités, ou ils cedent, non à un parent, à un ami, mais à un étranger, à un ennemi, l'obéiſſance d'une partie de leurs ſujets. Le droit public de l'Europe enviſage ces ſujets comme rebelles, s'ils refuſent de ſe ſoumettre à leur nouveau prince. La fameuſe diſtinction de domaine et de frontiere bien approfondie, ne ſe trouvera que des mots en l'air.

Autorité des traités de ceſſion.

3. L'adoption de Jeanne I. ne valut aux princes de la ſeconde branche d'Anjou que la comté de Provence. Après avoir diſputé Naples quelque tems avec la premiere branche de leur maiſon, ils ne purent le défendre contre la maiſon d'Arragon. Ils ſe refugiérent en France, faiſant de tems en tems des entrepriſes malheureuſes. René le petit fils de Louis I. avoit à choiſir entre Charles le fils de ſon frère, et René de Vaudemont duc de Lorraine, le fils de ſa fille. Il choiſit le premier; et ce Charles, roi titulaire de Naples, et comte de Provence, ſe voyant ſans enfans, inſtitua pour ſon légataire univerſel Louis XI. roi de France, et pere de Charles VIII.

Teſtament de René et de Charles IV. d'Anjou.

Charles VIII. leur héritier univerſel. 1481.

La lecture réflechie d'un chapitre de Philipe de Comines (Mem. L. viii. c. 1.) m'a fourni quelques propoſitions, qui m'y parroiſſent clairement énoncées.

1. René

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accepted the teſtament; Spain ſubmitted to it, and the allies felt the neceſſity of calling its authenticity in queſtion. Without acknowledging a power of this kind in princes, I know not how we can juſtify thoſe treaties, in which a king transfers, not to a kinſman or friend, but to a ſtranger or enemy, the obedience of a portion of his ſubjects. The public law of Europe conſiders thoſe ſubjects as rebels, when they refuſe to ſubmit to their new prince. The famous diſtinction between domain and frontier, when examined to the bottom, will be found to contain more ſound than ſenſe.

The authority of treaties of ceſſion.

3. By the adoption of Joan I. the ſecond branch of the houſe of Anjou obtained only the county of Provence. After contending with the eldeſt branch of their family about the crown of Naples, they found themſelves unable to defend it againſt the houſe of Arragon. They fled into France, making from thence various expeditions that were unſucceſsful. René, the grandſon of Lewis I. had no other choice to make than that of Charles his brother's ſon, or that of René of Vaudemont duke of Lorraine, the ſon of his daughter. He preferred the former; and this Charles, titular king of Naples, and count of Provence, dying without children, bequeathed all his rights to Lewis XI. king of France, and father of Charles VIII.

Teſtament of René and Charles IV. of Anjou.

Charles VIII. their heir.

An attentive peruſal of a chapter of Philip Comines (Mem. L. viii. c. 1.) ſuggeſts the following propoſitions, which appear to me inconteſtible. 1. René of Anjou

René duc de Lorraine, ſes prétenſions à la couronne de Naples.

1. René de Anjou avoit établi Charles ſon neveu, et Charles Louis XI, leurs héritiers univerſels. 2. Le roi de France convenoit que ces princes n'avoient pas le droit de violer l'ordre de la ſucceſſion par leur teſtament. 3. Louis XI. et Charles VIII. ne ſe mirent en poſſeſſion de la Provence, que parcéqu'étant un fief qui ne deſcendoit qu'aux mâles dont la ligne étoit éteinte, René de Vaudemont n'y avoit aucun droit. 4. Bien loin de conteſter le droit du duc de Lorraine au royaume de Naples, ou il n'y avoit point de loi Salique, la cour de France fit agir tous ſes ambaſſadeurs en ſa faveur, et lui permit de mener ſa compagnie de cent lances à l'expédition qu'elle y fit. 5. Quelques perſonnes déterrent d'anciens teſtamens de Charles I. et d'autres princes de la maiſon d'Anjou, par leſquels ils réuniſſoient irrévocablement le royaume de Naples et la comté de Provence, teſtamens dont l'authenticité ne fut jamais bien conſtatée. 6. Charles VIII. en concluoit, que puiſqu'il étoit comte de Provence par le teſtament de Charles IV. d'Anjou, au défaut d'héritiers mâles, il étoit auſſi roi légitime de Naples. Dès ce moment il ne fut plus queſtion des droits du duc de Lorraine. Cependant ce duc ſi mépriſé, ne pouvoit il pas demander, puiſqu'on vouloit régler les deux états par la même loi de ſucceſſion, pourquoi la comté devoit faire la loi au royaume plutôt que de l'en recevoir?

La cour de France les reconnoit d'abord.

Les diſputes enſuite fondées ſur de vieux teſtamens.

Si la loi Salique devoit être rejettée en Provence où avoir lieu à Naples.

Nauroit

René duke of Lorraine, his pretenſions to the crown of Naples.

appointed his nephew Charles, and Charles appointed Lewis XI. heirs to all their rights. 2. The king of France acknowledged that theſe princes were not entitled to alter the order of ſucceſſion by their teſtaments. 3. Lewis XI. and Charles VIII. took poſſeſſion of Provence only becauſe it was a male fief; and that the male line being extinct, René of Vaudemont could not have any legitimate claim. 4. Inſtead of diſputing the title of the duke of Lorraine to the kingdom of Naples, where the Salique law was unknown, the court of France ordered its ambaſſadors to eſpouſe his cauſe, and permitted him to lead his company of an hundred lances in the expedition againſt that country. 5. A diſcovery is made of ancient teſtaments of Charles I. and other princes of the houſe of Anjou, by which they irrevocably unite the kingdom of Naples and the county of Provence; but the authenticity of theſe teſtaments was never clearly aſcertained. 6. Charles VIII. concluded, that becauſe he was count of Provence by the teſtament of Charles IV. of Anjou, failing his male iſſue, he therefore alſo became lawful king of Naples. From this time, there was no longer any mention of the rights of the duke of Lorraine. Yet this duke, ſo much deſpiſed, might ſurely have aſked, ſince the two ſtates were to be ſubject to the ſame law of ſucceſſion, why the county ought to ſerve as a rule for the kingdom, rather than the kingdom for the county? Would it not have been more conſiſtent with juſtice to

The court of France at firſt acknowledges them.

The ſubſequent diſpute founded on old teſtaments.

Whether the Salique law ought to have

reject

Nauroit il pas été plus équitable de rejetter la loi Salique en Provence, parcequ'elle l'étoit à Naples, que de l'admettre à Naples parcequ'elle étoit admiſe en Provence ?

Mais il ne faut qu'adopter une maxime du P. Daniel, pour terminer la controverſe ſur le champ. Le duc de Lorraine n'étoit pas en état de pourſuivre ſon droit, le roi de France l'étoit. Sa puiſſance lui donnoit la préférence. Je ne ſai cependant ſi on peut adopter une maxime, laquelle généraliſée revient à celle ci. " Si l'héritier légitime ne peut faire valoir ſes " prétenſions, elles ſont annéanties et le plus proche héritier ſans ſon con- " ſentement prend ſa place, et peut pourſuivre et obtenir l'héritage pour " lui même et ſa poſtérité."

Maxime du P. Daniel, miſe au jour.

Tels ſont les droits principaux des maiſons d'Anjou et d'Arragon à la couronne de Naples. C'eſt au lecteur à prononcer, mais avant qu'il le faſſe qu'il jette les yeux ſur quelques autres droits des uns et des autres, trop peu certains, ou trop mal fondés pour mériter d'être traités au long. 1. La maiſon de France pouvoit alléguer que par l'acte d'inveſtiture de Charles I. ſes droits lui étoient dévolus. Je n'en dirai rien. Le moine qui dreſſa cet acte avec une préciſion ſcholaſtique, l'a ſi bien embrouillé que je ne puis voir ſi ces droits étoient retournés au pape, s'ils avoient paſſé à la branche de Bourbon, où à celle de Valois.

Autres droits des deux maiſons.

L'acte d'inveſtiture de Charles I.

2. Le

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reject the Salique law in aſcertaining the ſucceſſion to Provence, becauſe that law was unknown in Naples, than to introduce a new law at Naples becauſe it was admitted in Provence ?

been rejected in Provence, or introduced at Naples.

But we need only adopt a maxim of Father Daniel, to terminate the controverſy at once. The duke of Lorraine had not force to maintain his right; the king of France had; and this force entitled him to a preference. Yet I know not whether we can juſtly adopt a maxim, which may be thus expreſſed in general terms. " If a " lawful heir cannot maintain his pretenſions, they become of courſe extinct; and " the next perſon in the order of ſucceſſion may aſſume his place, aſſert and obtain " the inheritance for himſelf and his poſterity."

Maxim of Father Daniel explained.

Such are the principal titles of the houſes of Anjou and Arragon to the crown of Naples. It belongs to the reader to pronounce ſentence; after firſt caſting his eye on ſome other rights of both parties, too weak or uncertain to merit a long diſcuſſion. 1. The houſe of France might aſſert that by the pope's inveſtiture of Charles I. the rights of that prince devolved to the family of Anjou. I pretend not to decide. The monk who prepared that act with ſcholaſtic formality, ſucceeded ſo well in perplexing it, that I cannot perceive whether thoſe rights returned thereby to the pope, or deſcended to the family of Bourbon or to that of Valois.

Other titles of both houſes.

The act of inveſtiture of Charles I.

2. The

Droit de conquête.

2. Le droit de conquête ; droit odieux, qui n'eſt propre qu'à faire de grands ſcélérats, et qui ſe déclara pour chaque maiſon à ſon tour.

Droit d'adoption par Jeanne II.

3. Le droit d'adoption par la reine Jeanne II. Mais comme elle adopta ſucceſſivement Louis d'Anjou, et Alphonſe d'Arragon, l'une des quantités (pour parler avec les Algébriſtes) détruit l'autre.

Droit de poſſeſſion.

4. Le droit de poſſeſſion. La maiſon d'Arragon l'avoit depuis ſoixante ans. Mais la maiſon d'Anjou n'avoit jamais laiſſé dormir ſes prétenſions : elle les avoit revendiquées dans toutes les occaſions.

Droit du conſentement des ſujets.

6. Le droit du conſentement des ſujets, le plus beau de tous les droits. Les Arragonois pouvoient alléguer l'obéiſſance générale ; mais ſelon le parti contraire, leurs cruautés et les murmures du peuple faiſoient voir combien cette obéiſſance étoit forcée.

Seul droit au-deſſus des objections.

Le droit de conquête n'eſt fait que pour les bêtes féroces. Le droit de ſucceſſion bien imaginé en lui même, n'a pas de principes fixes. Le ſeul droit au-deſſus de toutes les objections, eſt celui qui ſort de la voix d'un peuple libre.

Right of conqueſt.

2. The right of conqueſt ; an odious right, fit only to make illuſtrious criminals ; which alternately favoured both parties.

Right of adoption by queen Joan II.

3. The right of adoption by queen Joan II. But as ſhe ſucceſſively adopted Lewis of Anjou and Alphonzo of Arragon, the one of thoſe quantities, to ſpeak in the language of algebra, deſtroys the other.

Right of poſſeſſion.

4. The right of poſſeſſion. The houſe of Arragon enjoyed it ſixty years. Yet the houſe of Anjou had never relinquiſhed its pretenſions ; but, on the contrary, ſeized every opportunity of aſſerting them.

Title ariſing from the people's conſent.

6. The conſent of the ſubjects, the faireſt of all titles. The princes of the houſe of Arragon might allege the univerſal obedience paid to their authority ; but, according to the oppoſite party, the cruelties exerciſed by that houſe, and the murmurs of the people, clearly proved their obedience to be involuntary.

The only title not liable to objection.

The right of conqueſt is only made for wild beaſts. The laws of ſucceſſion, though well contrived in themſelves, are deſtitute of fixed principles. The only title not liable to objection, is the conſenting voice of a free people.

IDÉE de quelques SUJETS pour une COMPOSITION HISTORIQUE.

Au camp auprès de Wincheſter, le 26 Juillet 1761.

Je mépriſerois tout écrivain indifférent à l'utilité de ſes lecteurs: J'admirerois celui qui uniquement touché de cette utilité compta pour rien ſa propre gloire. Je ne ſuis ni l'un ni l'autre. Mon inclination, celle de mon ſiecle, me décident pour l'hiſtoire. Convaincu de ſon mérite, ma raiſon ne me fait point rougir de mon choix. Mais ce n'eſt pas tout; ſuis je propre à marcher dans une carriere que Tacite à cru digne de lui, et dont Pline a douté s'il étoit digne? * Le rôle d'un hiſtorien eſt beau, mais celui d'un chroniqueur, ou d'un couſeur de gazettes eſt aſſez mépriſable. A cet égard je ne puis connoître mes forces qu'en les eſſayant, et pour les connoître bientôt je dois choiſir quelque ſujet d'hiſtoire qui me faſſe honneur, s'il eſt bien exécuté, et qui ne me laiſſe pas le regret en cas d'un malheur, d'avoir trop employé de tems dans un genre qui n'étoit pas le mien. Je vais

HINTS of ſome SUBJECTS fit for HISTORY.

Camp, near Wincheſter, 26 July 1761.

I would deſpiſe an author regardleſs of the benefit of his readers: I would admire him who, ſolely attentive to this benefit, ſhould be totally indifferent to his own fame. I ſtand in neither of theſe predicaments. My own inclination, as well as the taſte of the preſent age, have made me decide in favour of hiſtory. Convinced of its merit, my reaſon cannot bluſh at the choice. But this is not all. Am I worthy of purſuing a walk of literature, which Tacitus thought worthy of him, and of which Pliny doubted whether he was himſelf worthy *? The part of an hiſtorian is as honourable as that of a mere chronicler or compiler of gazettes is contemptible. For which taſk I am fit, it is impoſſible to know, until I have tried my ſtrength; and to make the experiment, I ought ſoon to chooſe ſome ſubject of hiſtory, which may do me credit, if well treated; and whoſe importance, even though my work ſhould be unſucceſsful, may conſole me for employing too much time in a ſpecies of compoſition for which I was not well qualified. I proceed therefore to review ſome ſubjects

* V. Plin. Secund. Epiſt. Lib. v. Ep. viii.

vais parcourir quelques ſujets d'hiſtoire, marquer leurs avantages et leurs défauts, tels qu'ils m'ont paru, et montrer celui auquel je me ſuis arrêté.

L'hiſtoire de la croiſade de Richard I. d'Angleterre.

L'hiſtoire de Richard premier d'Angleterre, et ſa croiſade contre les Sarraſins, plairoit du côté du merveilleux. Un roi d'Angleterre combattant à la tête des Anglois et des François réunis ſous les murs d'Aſcalon ! Les matériaux ſuffiſent au deſſein. Sans parler des chroniques générales, l'on a deux hiſtoriens contemporains et exacts ; et ce qui eſt d'un grand prix pour un ami de la verité, l'un Chrétien, et l'autre Mahometan ; je veux parler de Guillaume de Tyr, et de l'Arabe dont M. Schultens à traduit l'hiſtoire de Saladin. Deux auteurs au moins, nous ont laiſſé des deſcriptions particulieres de cette croiſade, et deux autres moines l'ont célébré par des poemes hiſtoriques. Mais auſſi que ce Richard étoit un digne héros pour des moines ; la férocité d'un gladiateur, et la cruauté d'un tyran, employées ſans ſuccès dans une cauſe ou la ſuperſtition impoſoit ſilence à la religion, a la juſtice, et a la politique, et contre un prince des plus accomplis dans l'hiſtoire ! Que Richard nous intéreſſeroit peu ! D'ailleurs cet événement eſt trop éloigné, trop enfoncé dans les ténebres du moyen age, pour s'attirer beaucoup d'attention aujourdhui.

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jects for hiſtory ; to indicate their advantages and defects ; and to point out that ſubject which I may think fit to prefer.

The hiſtory of Richard I. of England's cruſade againſt the Saracens.

The hiſtory of Richard I. of England, and his cruſade againſt the Saracens, is alluring by the marvellous. A king of England fighting at the head of an allied army of Engliſh and French under the walls of Aſcalon ! There are good materials for executing ſuch an undertaking. Without ſpeaking of the general chronicles, we know two contemporary and accurate hiſtorians ; and what is of great importance to a lover of the truth, the one a Chriſtian, and the other a Mahomedan ; I mean William of Tyre, and the Arabian whoſe hiſtory of Saladin is tranſlated by Mr. Schultens. Two monkiſh authors, at leaſt, have left particular deſcriptions of this cruſade ; and other two monks have celebrated it in hiſtorical poems. But, on the other hand, this Richard was a fit hero only for monks. With the ferocity of a gladiator, he united the cruelty of a tyrant ; and both were unſucceſsfully employed in a cauſe where ſuperſtition ſilenced religion, juſtice, and policy ; and againſt one of the moſt accompliſhed princes in hiſtory. How little are we intereſted in the exploits of Richard ! Beſides, this tranſaction is too remote, and too deeply buried in the darkneſs of the middle ages, to attract much notice at preſent.

Aug. 24th, 1761.] I Read Mr. Bonamy's Reflections upon the Geographical Errors occaſioned by Alexander's Hiſtorians, Mem. xxv. p. 40—54; *very ſolid:* and M. de la Bleterie's Mem. upon the tribunitian power of the Emperors, Mem. xxv. p. 392—440; much inferior to his former diſſertations.

25th.]—I read M. de la Nauze's Diſſertation upon the ancient Roman Calendar, Mem. xxvi. p. 219—257; *moſt excellent:* I never underſtood the Roman Calendar before.

26th.]—I read M. de la Nauze a ſecond time, and meditated him thoroughly.

28th.]—I read M. de Guigner's Memoir upon the Deſtruction of the Greek Monarchy in Bactriana, Mem. xxv. p. 17—34; *ſingular:* and M. d'Anville's, upon the Nation and Religion of the Getæ, ib. p. 34—47; *judicious.*

Sept. 1ſt.]—I read the firſt Diſſertation of the Count de Caylus, upon antient Painting.

2d.]—I read the Count de Caylus's ſecond Diſſertation.

3d.]—I began M. de la Nauze's Memoir upon the Manner Pliny has treated of antient Painting.

4th.]—I finiſhed it.

5th.]—I read M. de Caylus's third Diſſertation. Though Caylus has a much higher reputation, I ſhould myſelf prefer de la Nauze; in French I ſhould ſay, Celui-ci a ecrit en homme de lettres amateur, celui-la en amateur homme de lettres. De la Nauze is learned, methodical, full of taſte, perhaps ſometimes not preciſe enough. Caylus's obſervations are without any plan, too minute, and ſometimes, when ſtripped of their technical dreſs, injudicious. However, his compariſon of the antient and modern painters ſhews a knowledge of the beauties and maſters of the art. They are both contained in tom. xxv. Mem. p. 149—302. I read the firſt Memoir of M. de Caylus upon antient Sculpture.

6th.]—I read the ſecond Memoir upon Sculpture, tom. xxv. p. 302—368. They are much ſuperior to thoſe upon painting; as the author probably never practiſed ſculpture, he attaches himſelf leſs to the manual exerciſe of the art.

7th.]—I read M. de Caylus upon the Mauſoleum, tom. xxvi. p. 321—335.

8th.]—I read four parts of the Bibliotheque des Sciences et des Beaux Arts, from July 60, to July 61; a plain, ſenſible journal.

11th.]—I read M. Freret's Obſervations upon the Marble of Paros, tom. xxvi. p. 157—219: the general remarks, intereſting; the enquiry into the date of the death of Darius, ingenious and ſatisfactory; the whole very profound: and M. de Belley's Explanation of a Camayeu in the D. of Orleans's cabinet; very probable: tom. xxvi. p. 475—486.

12th.]—I read Belley's Explanation of an Agate in the D. of Orleans's cabinet; *like the former:* tom. xxvi. p. 486—504: and M. d'Anville's Enquiry into the Source of the Nile; tom. xxvi. p. 34—46; leaves it as obſcure as ever.

Oct. 2d.]—I ran over M. de la Beau's Memoir upon the Roman Legion, in tom. xxvi. of the Academy: one or two Epiſtles of Horace; with Dacier and Sanadon; and Soame Jenyns's Enquiry into the Origin of Evil; and peruſed for the ſecond time, with infinite pleaſure, M. de la Nauże's fine Memoir upon antient Painting.

Feb. 8th, 1762.]—Having finiſhed Hurd's Horace, given a ſecond peruſal to two principal diſcourſes, and thoroughly meditated the whole ſubject, I began to make an *Extrait raiſonné* of it. At the ſame time I employed my leiſure moments in going through the famous *Argenis* of Barclay, with which I was much entertained; and, with a view to Homer, peruſed for the ſecond time a very conſiderable part of Mezeriac's Ovid.

Q. HORATII FLACCI EPISTOLÆ, ad Piſones et Auguſtum; with an Engliſh Commentary and Notes. To which are added, two Diſſertations; the one on the Provinces of the Drama; the other on Poetical Imitation; with a Letter to Mr. Maſon: in two volumes, 12mo. The ſecond edition. Cambridge, 1757. Devizes, Feb. 8th, 1762.

Mr. Hurd, the ſuppoſed author of this performance, is one of thoſe valuable authors who cannot be read without improvement. To a great fund of well-digeſted reaſoning, he adds a clearneſs of judgment, and a niceneſs of penetration, capable of taking things from their firſt principles, and obſerving their moſt minute differences. I know few writers more deſerving of the great, though proſtituted name, of critic; but, like many critics, he is better qualified to inſtruct, than to execute. His manner appears to me harſh and affected, and his ſtyle clouded with obſcure metaphors, and needleſsly perplexed with expreſſions exotic, or technical. His exceſſive praiſes (not to give them a harſher name) of a certain living critic and divine, diſguſt the ſenſible reader, as much as the contempt affected for the ſame perſon, by many who are very unqualified to paſs a judgment upon him.

Horace's Art of Poetry, generally deemed an unconnected ſet of precepts, without unity of deſign or method, appears under Mr. Hurd's hands, an attempt to reform the Roman ſtage, conducted with an artful plan, and carried on through the moſt delicate tranſitions. This plan is unravelled in Mr. Hurd's Commentary. If ever thoſe tranſitions appear too finely ſpun, the concealed art of epiſtolary freedom will ſufficiently account for it. The leaſt Mr. Hurd muſt convince us of, is, that, if Horace had any plan, it was that which he has laid down. Every part of dramatic poetry is treated of, even to the ſatyres and the attellanes; its metre, ſubject, characters, chorus, explained and diſtinguiſhed. The reſt of the epiſtle contains thoſe precepts of unity of deſign, accuracy of compoſition, &c. which, though not peculiar to the dramatic poet, are yet as neceſſary to him as to any other.

I ſhall ſay little more of the Epiſtle to Auguſtus, than that the ſubject matter is much plainer than in the other, but the connection of parts far

more perplexed. In the two lines from 30 to 32, a critic muſt be very ſharp-ſighted, to diſcover ſo complicated an argument as Mr. Hurd finds out there: however, his own Commentary is far ſuperior to that on the Art of Poetry; and riſes here into a very elegant paraphraſe. As my buſineſs lies more with Mr. Hurd than with Horace, I ſhall only ſelect one of the numerous beauties of this Epiſtle; it is that elegant encomium upon the modern poets, which extends from v. 113 to 139. Every one muſt obſerve that fine gradation, which, from deſcribing the poet as a happy, inoffenſive creature, exalts him at laſt into a kind of mediator between the gods and men. But an art more refined, and nicely attentive to its object, only employs thoſe praiſes, which belong equally to good and to bad poets. Every one complained of the multitude of bad poets; even theſe, replies Horace, are not to be deſpiſed; ſuch poetry is an employment, which makes its poſſeſſor good and happy, by abſtracting him from the cares of men; he may turn it to the uſeful purpoſes of a virtuous education; and the gods, who attend more to the piety, than the talents of the bard, will liſten with pleaſure to his hymns.

I ſhall now conſider ſome of Mr. Hurd's notes upon theſe Epiſtles, and then paſs to his larger diſcourſes.

Vol. i. p. 68—77. Upon v. 94, he ſtarts a new train of thought upon the uſe of poetical expreſſions in tragedy. The herd of critics allow them to the hero in his calmer moments, and forbid them in his more paſſionate ones. On the contrary (ſays Mr. Hurd, and I think with reaſon) it is that very paſſion that calls them forth, by rouzing every faculty, and exciting images ſuitable to the grandeur of his ſituation. Anger indeed, which exalts the mind, inſpires more bold and daring images; thoſe of grief are more weak, humble, and broken: but when paſſion ſleeps, it is fancy alone that can create figures, and fancy is a very improper guide for the ſevere genius of dramatic poetry.

Perhaps the natural correſpondency between paſſion and the poetical figures, may be more exactly aſcertained, by defining what is properly meant by poetical figures. It is (if I am not miſtaken) a compariſon, either expreſſed or underſtood, between two objects, about one of which the mind is particularly engaged, and which it perceives bears ſome affinity to another. The compariſon, properly ſo called, expreſſes every feature of that reſemblance at full length, the alluſion points it out in a more ſlight

and general manner, and the metaphor, diſdaining that ſlow deduction of ideas, boldly ſubſtitutes to the object of the compariſon, that to which it is compared. In the inſtance Mr. Hurd has taken from Tacitus, " Ne veſtis " ſerica viros *fœdaret*," we may note this difference between the three ſpecies of figures. In a compariſon he might have ſaid, " that a ſilken garment " was ſo diſgraceful to a man, that it was like a pollution to his body." Had he ſaid, " that a ſilken garment, like a pollution, was to be avoided by a " man," it would have been an alluſion: but, dropping every intermediate idea, he reports the law by which no ſilken garment was to pollute a man. This is a metaphor, and of his own creation; but there are many where ſpiritual faculties, and operations, are expreſſed by material images, which, though figurative in their origin, are, by time and uſe, almoſt become literal. Theſe are the figures of poetry. I am ſenſible there are rhetorical ones alſo, but thoſe, I believe, relate rather to the expreſſion and diſtribution of the former.

Let us now, from theſe principles, inveſtigate the workings of paſſion. It has been often obſerved, that the higheſt agitation of the mind is ſuch as no language can deſcribe; ſince language can only paint ideas, and not that ſentimental, ſilent, almoſt ſtupid, exceſs of rage or grief, which the ſoul feels with ſuch energy, that it is not maſter of itſelf enough to have any diſtinct perceptions; ſuch paſſion baffles all deſcription: but when this ſtorm ſubſides, paſſion is as fertile in ideas, as it was at firſt barren: when ſome ſtriking intereſt collects all our attention to one object, we conſider it under every light it is ſuſceptible of; even that rebel attention, chained down with difficulty to any range of ideas, endeavours as much as poſſible to enlarge the ſphere of them; and as the agitation of our mind crouds them upon us, almoſt at the ſame inſtant, inſtead of preſenting them ſlowly and ſingly, we cannot avoid being ſtruck with many compariſons ſuitable to our ſituation. The paſt, the preſent, the future, our misfortunes, thoſe of other men, our friends, our enemies, our anceſtors, our poſterity, form within us numberleſs combinations of ideas, either to aſſuage or irritate the reigning paſſion *. But thoſe of the firſt ſpecies, though they ſtrike us with force,

* When Marius, proſcribed by the party of Sylla, was obliged, after a thouſand dangers, to take refuge on the coaſt of Africa, the prætor of that province ſent him an order to leave it immediately: the lictor found him plunged in thought, and ſitting on ſome ſtones on the beach. When he aſked him what anſwer he ſhould carry back to the prætor, " Tell him, (replied Matius,) that thou haſt ſeen Marius ſitting upon the ruins of Carthage." This implied.

force, we reject as much as in our power; and therefore the poet who expreſſes them in words, ought rarely to go farther than an alluſion, or a metaphor: thoſe indeed are in general the darling figures of paſſion, as it loves to paſs with rapidity from one idea to another. However, in thoſe conjunctions of ideas which feed and irritate the paſſion, ſhe will ſometimes dwell with complacency upon them, and purſue them to the minuteſt reſemblances of a ſimile. I appeal to the breaſt of every one for the evidence of theſe poſitions; and as to the laſt, I ſhall inſtance the noble ſpeech with which Juno opens the Æneid, and rouſing herſelf to vengeance, from the compariſon of her behaviour with that of Pallas, collects every circumſtance of it which could ſtimulate her more ſtrongly to the execution of it.

Vol. i. p. 81—87.

To return to Mr. Hurd's Notes. He employs ſeveral paſſages to prove, what I fancy no one would have diſputed him; that though the words, pulchrum, beau, beautiful, are often uſed to expreſs the general conception of beauty, they are ſometimes made to ſignify that particular ſort of beauty which pleaſes the imagination, oppoſed to that which affects the heart.

Ariſtotle had blamed the Iphigenia of Euripides, as a character ill-ſupported; ſo timid at firſt, afterwards ſo determined. The general opinion had extended the ſame reproach to his Electra. Mr. Hurd undertakes their vindication. If Electra feels ſo much remorſe after the murder of her mother, though the principal author of it, we muſt conſider that ſhe is no where deſcribed as devoid of natural tenderneſs; though the thirſt of revenge, ſupported by the maxims of her times, ſuch as the doctrine of remunerative juſtice, of fate, and of the heinouſneſs of adultery, had for a time ſubdued it. Beſides, her hatred was chiefly pointed at Ægiſthas, and her remorſe is greatly exaggerated. As to Iphigenia, her timidity, when acquainted ſhe was to be ſacrificed, is eaſily accounted for; as ſhe was ſurprized, and, at that time, ignorant of the reaſons which required it. Even to the laſt, her conſtancy is yet mixed with ſome regret and repining.

Vol. i. p. 110—112.

Upon v. 148, Mr. Hurd attempts to account for, and eſtabliſh one of the moſt important rules of Epic poetry. A poet may either tell his ſtory in the natural hiſtorical order, or, ruſhing at once into the middle of his

plied compariſon between his fall, and that of a once powerful city, diſplayed on the ſame ſpot, is poetically bold. Yet paſſion and real misfortune, joined to the coincidency of place, could ſuggeſt it to Marius, a rough illiterate ſoldier. Is not this a ſtriking illuſtration of Mr. Hurd's theory?

his ſubject, he may afterwards introduce, by way of epiſode, the events previous to it. Which method ſhould he obſerve? Homer, at leaſt in one of his poems, has preferred the laſt*; and in that, as well as in moſt other things, has been followed by his ſucceſſors; by Virgil, by Milton, by Voltaire, and (in this inſtance I may call him an epic poet) by Fenelon. But as many things that have ſtood the teſt of time, cannot endure that of reaſon, I ſhall venture to ſtart ſome objections to this method, and to conſider, in a few words, Mr. Hurd's defence of it.

1ſt, Suppoſing the rule founded on reaſon, it is too vague to reduce to practice. Since the greateſt part of the poem is to conſiſt in a recital, where the poet himſelf ſpeaks, when is that recital to begin? with the principal action? But in thoſe great, though ſimple ſubjects, that alone are worthy of the epic muſe; ſuch, for example, as the eſtabliſhment of Æneas in Italy; there are a great number of previous events, which either haſten or retard the cataſtrophe. Are *they* part of the ſubject? They are intimately connected with it, and no critic ever required unity of place in the epopœa. Are they not? How then can the loves of Æneas and Dido be juſtified? And if they can, why may not Æneas's meeting Andromache in Epirus, be as much a part of the principal ſubject, as his meeting Dido at Carthage? I might in this manner follow the thread of the epiſodical ſtory, perhaps to the beginning of the ſecond, but certainly to the beginning of the third book of the Æneid, (and were I to take the Odyſſey, or any other epic poem, it would be the ſame,) and aſk at every pauſe, why the bard might not begin his invocation from thence, like Horace himſelf:

——— Demo unum, demo et item unum,
Dum cadat, eluſus ratione ruentis acervi.

But enough has been ſaid on this head.

2dly, When, without any preparation, we are thrown at once into the midſt of the ſubject, unacquainted with the characters or ſituation of the hero; ſuch a conduct can be productive only of a ſurprize and perplexity to the reader, which, if they are any beauties, are at leaſt beauties of an inferior

* In the Odyſſey. As to the Iliad, properly ſpeaking, he has followed neither. The events previous to the ſubject, the anger of Achilles, he neither relates himſelf, nor throws into an epiſode; but as they were few and ſimple, he leaves the reader to collect them from occaſional hints diſperſed through the poem.

ferior ſpecies of poetry. Nor is this all; this very ignorance and perplexity of the reader diminiſhes the intereſt of that part of the poem; for how can we love beauties we are yet ignorant of, or tremble for misfortunes of which we have a very faint idea? Nor can it be ſaid that the nature of an epic ſubject preſerves it from this inconveniency; ſince it always is, or ought to be, ſome ſtory already famous. It may be ſo; but we are not yet acquainted with the alterations it may have ſuffered under the hands of the poet: nor can the ſimilar example of dramatic poetry be alleged. It is there an unavoidable defect; but we ought not therefore voluntarily to transfer it to another ſpecies of poetry.

3dly, When this objection begins to vaniſh, and the reader, intereſted in the preſent misfortunes of the hero, has little or no curioſity to inquire into his paſt ones, it is then the poet chooſes to tell them. I ſuppoſe we have read the firſt book of the Æneid; it is impoſſible to read it as it deſerves, without taking the greateſt part in the important ſcene which begins to diſcloſe itſelf; ſo romantic a meeting of a Trojan chief and a Tyrian princeſs, upon the ſhores of Africa, and the gods themſelves employing every artifice to inſpire them with a mutual paſſion, and prevent the eſtabliſhment of the Roman empire. At the inſtant we are impatient to know the event, and expect the poet ſhould haſten to it, we are entertained with a long recital of the ſack of Troy, and the voyages of Æneas. After this is at laſt ended, and we return to Dido, we have almoſt forgot who ſhe was. Is this conſulting the pleaſure of the reader? and that pleaſure ought to be the aim of every writer. I do not know whether I may not have expreſſed myſelf too ſtrongly in ſaying, we have little, or no curioſity, to learn the paſt fortunes of the hero; but, however, let it be conſidered, 1ſt, That before they are told us in a regular narration, a thouſand hints of them muſt have been dropped, which betray the ſecret; ſo that we only come to it with that languid curioſity, of learning the particulars of what we have already a general idea. 2dly, That we are not to conſider our poſitive degree of curioſity, to know the events previous to the beginning of the poem, but to compare it with the deſire we feel of purſuing the ſequel, which muſt be far more ardent; for in every operation of the mind there is a much higher delight in deſcending from the cauſe to the effect, than in aſcending from the effect to the cauſe. In the peruſal of a fable, it is the event we are anxious about, and our anxiety increaſes, or diminiſhes,

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as that event is known or unknown to us. It is eaſy to apply this to the preſent argument.

4thly, and laſtly, (for though I endeavour to be conciſe, I am frightened when I look back,) The ſtyle of the poet will ſuffer as much by this inverſion as his plan. Bold figures and poetical imagery are the eſſence of the epopœa; but with what propriety can they be introduced into that epiſode, where it is the hero, not the poet, that ſpeaks? There are two ſources of theſe figures; ſtrong paſſion, and a fine imagination. The firſt can operate, in any ſtrong degree, only during the actual influence of the misfortune which gave birth to it; and though the recollection of the latter may call forth ſome ſparks of the former, yet it will be a faint, reflected heat, very unequal to that great effect, of tranſporting both the ſpeaker and the hearer. On the other hand, a fine imagination is no eſſential part of a hero. Homer and Achilles are very different characters; nay, ſhould the chief perſonage, like Ulyſſes, be a celebrated orator, even that will not authorize his employing the beauties of poetical language, ſince his recital, to be properly introduced, muſt be unpremeditated, and occaſional: not like the poet, who, beſides the fire of natural genius, is indulged with every advantage of time, labour, and a particular inſpiration of the gods*. The epiſodical ſtory muſt, therefore, be ſimple, unadorned, and far inferior, as to ſtyle, to the reſt of the poem. I am ſenſible the Æneas of Virgil is as great a poet as Virgil himſelf; but either the principles I have laid down are falſe, or this example is a ſtrong proof of the inconveniencies of the method; ſince it obliged ſo correct a writer, to offend either the judgment, or the imagination of his readers.

* When Antenor, in the third Iliad, points out to Priam, Ulyſſes among the Grecian chiefs, he deſcribes the nature of his eloquence:

Αλλ' ὁτε δὴ πολυμηλις αναϊξειεν Οδυσσευς
Στασκεν, υπαι δε ιδεσκε καλα χθονος ομμαλα πηξας,
Σκηπτρον δε ου' οπισω, ουδε πεοπεκνες, εναιμα,
Αλλ' ασεμφες εχεσκεν, αϊδρει φωτι εοικως·
Φαινης κεν ζακοτον τινα εμμεναι, αφρονα θ' αυτως·
Αλλ' ὁτε δη ξ' οπα τε μεγαλην εκ στηθεος ιει,
Και επεσι, νιφαδεσσιν εοικοτα χειμεριησιν,
Ουκ αν επειτ' Οδυσηϊ γ' ερισσειε βροτος αλλος. Iliad iii. v. 216—223.

Out of the ſeveral teſtimonies to the eloquence of Ulyſſes, collected by Dr. Clarke, I ſhall only ſubjoin that of Quintillian: "Sed ſummam adgreſſus, *(Homerus)* ut in Ulyſſe facundiam, "magnitudinem illi junxit; cui orationem nivibus hybernis, et copia verborum, atque impetu "parem tribuit. Cum hoc igitur nemo mortalium contendet." Quintil. xii. C. 10.

I cannot paſs to Mr. Hurd's arguments, without mentioning a difficulty which ſeems to affect my ſecond objection, viz. this ignorance and perplexity is an objection only to the firſt peruſal. It is true; but, if precepts are to direct the compoſition of the writer, it is certainly that firſt peruſal, and the effects it may produce, that he ſhould principally conſider; eſpecially as to what relates to the clearneſs of his plot: and ſhould it be ſaid, that in my third objection our curioſity to know the event can be likewiſe only baulked on the firſt peruſal, to the preceding anſwer I muſt add, that whoever conſiders the power of imagination, will find that reply by no means exact. Although, when we can coolly reflect, we are acquainted with the event, yet the true poet, by intereſting our paſſions, chains us down to the preſent moment, and prevents our ſeeing any thing beyond it. When I read the tragedy of Iphigenia for the twentieth time, I know Iphigenia will not be ſacrificed; but the ſtruggles of Agamemnon, the rage of Achilles, the deſpair of Clytemneſtra, make me ignorant, and tremblingly anxious for the event.

Let us now hear Mr. Hurd, who, employing the particular example of the Æneid, juſtifies this common method from two reaſons. 1. The nature of an epic poem; and, 2. The ſtate and expectation of the reader.

1. The nature of an epic poem obliges the poet to relate, at full length, every event he himſelf relates. Now, the deſtruction of Troy, related in this manner, muſt have taken up ſeveral books. By that time it would have taken ſuch hold of the imagination of the reader, that the remainder of the poem would have appeared little more than an appendix to it. The concluſion is certain; but on what is the principle founded? upon an aſſertion advanced without the leaſt proof. I ſhould rather think, that, as an epic poem muſt preſerve an unity of hero, and of action, every event, inſtead of being related at full length, need only occupy a ſpace proportionate with its importance and degree of connection with the principal ſubject. This is at leaſt the rule of hiſtory; and if poetry ſhould only deviate from it, for the ſake of making the fable one, connected, marvellous, heroic, and anſwering to our notions of juſtice *, I do not ſee how the poet is diſpenſed from it in this inſtance. If from reaſon we go to authority, does not Virgil himſelf diſpatch in ſixty lines, the ſtate of Italy at the arrival of the Trojans, with the anceſtors, hiſtory, and character of Latinus?

Æneid, L. vii. v. 45—105.

* Lord Bacon, and Mr. Hurd himſelf, agree that poetry is an imitation of hiſtory, deviating however from it, ſo as to anſwer the above-mentioned ends.

Mr. Hurd, vol. ii. p. 160—162.

2. I do not ſee any material difference between this and the laſt argument. To find any, I muſt ſuppoſe Mr. Hurd means that, had Virgil begun the poem with the taking of Troy, that ſtory, however conciſely told, would have engroſſed too much of the reader's attention. I believe it would; but no rule can be founded upon this particular inſtance, where the preliminaries of the poem happen to be incomparably more important than the ſubject matter of it. When a poet finds himſelf under ſuch a difficulty, I think the common method may be very ſerviceable to him.

I flatter myſelf I have now proved this rule never eſſential to the epopœa, and in general hurtful to it. But has it no advantages? The only one I can diſcover is, that making the hero tell part of his own ſtory, gives the poem a more varied, and dramatic air, brings the reader more familiarly acquainte with the chief perſonages, and furniſhes the writer with unaffected ſtrokes, rather indeed of manners and of character than of paſſion. To theſe ends it may be ſerviceable. Let it however be remembered, that the poet who has obtained them the moſt completely, has done it, in one of his poems, without the aſſiſtance of this method.

Mr. Hurd, though a very rational admirer of antiquity, looks upon the chorus as eſſentially neceſſary to tragedy, and blames the moderns for having rejected it. The ſubject is curious, and, I think, has never been well conſidered; but, as ſuch a diſcuſſion would lead me too far, I ſhall defer it till another opportunity, and only report here the ſubſtance of Mr. Hurd's commentary.

The chorus, rejected by us notwithſtanding the authority of Ariſtotle and Horace, joined to the example of the ancient tragedians, and of our own Milton and Racine, has many advantages to recommend it. The principal are, 1. The chorus interpoſing in the action, and bearing a part of it, gives it an air of probability, and real life, and fills up that vacuity which is ſo ſenſibly felt upon the modern ſtage. 2. The chorus is as uſeful to the ethics, as to the poetry of the ſtage. It is a perpetual moral commentary upon the drama, enforcing every virtuous ſentiment, rectifying every vicious one; and pointing out the important leſſons which may be drawn from the cataſtrophe. Nor can it be ſaid that the audience do not want this aſſiſtance. A ſharp-ſighted Athenian audience, even with the help of the chorus, could not diſtinguiſh between the real ſentiments of Euripides and thoſe he was obliged to ſuit to his characters. Theſe uſes of the chorus naturally aſcertain its laws. 1. Its ſongs muſt be animated with a ſpirit of virtue

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and morality; and 2. Their ſubject matter muſt be relative to and connected with the plot of the play and the actual ſituation of the perſonages. The Greek tragedians, who invented the chorus, have ſcarce ever deviated from the ſpirit of it. But Seneca, who ſeems to have endeavoured by his faults to illuſtrate the admonitions of Horace, has often miſtaken it in the groſſeſt manner. Mr. Hurd ſelects his Hippolitus, one of his beſt plays, and examines it act by act upon theſe principles. Every where his chorus bears a moſt idle and unintereſting part. The example of the third act, which contains the falſe accuſation of Hippolitus, and the too eaſy deception of Theſeus, may ſuffice. What had the chorus to do here? but to warn againſt the too great credulity, and to commiſerate the caſe of the deluded father. Yet it declaims in general upon the unequal diſtribution of good and ill. Mr. Hurd traces the ſource of theſe blunders to an injudicious imitation of ſome paſſages of Euripides, without any attention to character or ſituation.

Vol. i. p. 120 —127.

The ſecond law of the chorus is without exception; but ſeveral things may be ſaid to explain or modify the firſt. 1. The uſe of modern ſentences is not only neceſſary, but peculiar to the chorus. That is their proper place; if they were frequently put into the mouths of the ſpeakers, it would only give the drama an air of ſtiffneſs and pedantry, very oppoſite to real life. If the Greeks (eſpecially Euripides) have acted otherwiſe, they were only to be juſtified from the manners of their age. That age was peculiarly addicted to moral ſentences, from a ſingular mixture of ſimplicity and refinement. Their ſimplicity inſpired them, as it does always, with a ſpirit of moraliſing, expreſſed in ſhort proverbial ſentences: at the ſame time, moral philoſophy was never more univerſal, and even faſhionable. Both theſe cauſes operating upon the manners and converſation of the Greeks, could allow the poet, without offending againſt probability, to extend thoſe maxims to the perſonages of the drama which ſucceeding times ſhould confine to the chorus. Accius and Pacuvius indeed, and after them Seneca, injudiciouſly copied the Greeks in this inſtance; though writing to a nation whoſe manners were very different. 2. Though the chorus ſhould always take the ſide of morality, it muſt not be ſo much that of a pure, philoſophical morality, as of the popular ſyſtem of ethics of that age and country. This reſtriction will be a reply to many cavils. We are ſhocked in the Medea, when we ſee a virtuous chorus not only conceal, but even abet the cruel deſigns of that princeſs, againſt her huſband, her rival, and the

Vol. i. p. 155 —163.

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the tyrant Creon; deſigns moſt juſtly repugnant to the purer lights of modern religion and philoſophy: but we muſt conſider that, in the Pagan world, the ſevereſt revenge for ſuch injuries as the violation of the marriage bed, ſo far from being a crime, was almoſt an act of duty; and that ſince poſitive laws allowed it to the huſband, a chorus of women might very well think no natural law forbade it to the wife. 3. Great allowance muſt be made for bad politics, as well as bad ethics: a chorus of free citizens will be virtuous and independent; but ſhould they (as in the Antigone) be compoſed of the ſervile miniſters of a tyrant, their words, and even their thoughts, will be ſlaviſh, and the will of their maſters their only rule of right and wrong; their depravity will be the fault of the ſubject, not of the poet. Nay this depravity will convey a fine moral leſſon of the baleful influence of arbitrary power. Vol. i. p. 127—131.

Mr. Hurd thinks the verſes from 202—220, which are generally conſidered as a cenſure on the corruption of the modern muſic, are in fact an encomium on its improvement; couched under an irony, by which he ſneers at the too great auſterity of thoſe who blamed it without a ſufficient attention to the alteration of manners, and the mixed company a public aſſembly is made up of.

The account our commentator gives of the Satyrs, Mimes, and Attellanes, is as curious as it is new. I ſhall only report the ſubſtance. 1. The attellanes were originally a Roman entertainment; ſo called from Attella, a town of the Oſci, in Campania; for which reaſon, both the language and characters were Oſcan; and the introduction of an old provincial dialect was a ſource of pleaſantry very oppoſite to the unpoliſhed taſte of thoſe ages. 2. In the ſeventh century of Rome, Pomponius began to write Latin attellanes; preſerving however an antique caſt of expreſſion. This reformation, and a more moral turn which he gave his attellanes, procured him the name of inventor of them; and the honour of being imitated by the dictator Sylla. 3. Soon after, and before Horace wrote, the Oſcan characters, now become abſurd, had diſappeared, and made way for the Greek ſatyrs. 4. Horace finding this entertainment eſtabliſhed, and even neceſſary for the populace of Rome, undertook to regulate it, and to ſubſtitute to the groſs ribaldry of the attellanes, the poignant wit of the Greek ſatyrs. 5. If it is aſked, in what that wit conſiſted, it may be anſwered, principally in the double character of the ſatyrs themſelves, who, though ruſtic and groteſque perſonages, were ſuppoſed in antient mythology to be great maſters

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of civil and moral wiſdom: but ſhould Horace be cenſured, as he has been, for preferring theſe attellanes to the elegant mimes of Laberius, it may be replied, that we rate too high the merit of theſe mimes. Cicero deſpiſed them, and the beſt antients repreſent them as a confuſed medley of comic drollery, on a variety of ſubjects, without any order or deſign; delivered by one actor, and heightened with all the licence of obſcene geſticulation.

Vol. i. p. 165—184.

This inelegancy (to paſs to another remark of Mr. Hurd) was the general character of antient wit, which conſiſted rather in a rude illiberal ſatire, than in a juſt and temperate ridicule, reſtrained within the bounds of decency and good manners; Cicero and Horace themſelves, though maſters of every other part of elegant compoſition, joke with a very ill grace. A favourite topic of antient raillery was corporal defects; a deciſive proof of the coarſeneſs of their humour; and this practice was recommended by rule, and enforced by the authority of their greateſt maſters. After this we muſt not be ſurprized if they preferred thoſe authors, whoſe wit was like their own, rough and coarſe: Plautus to Terence, Ariſtophanes to Menander. We muſt follow Mr. Hurd for a few moments into his enquiry into the cauſes of this defect. 1. The free and popular governments of antiquity. Theſe, by ſetting all the citizens on a level, took off thoſe reſtraints of civility which ariſe from a fear of diſpleaſing; and which can alone curb the licentiouſneſs of ridicule. The only court to be paid was from the orators to the people. Theſe were to be entertained with the coarſe banter proper to pleaſe them; and, deſign paſſing into habit, theſe orators, and after them the nation, accuſtomed themſelves to it at all times. The old comedy was therefore an excellent ſchool for an orator, and always recommended as ſuch: but when arbitrary power had moulded the Roman manners to more obſequiouſneſs and decency, Terence and Menander began to receive a deſerved applauſe; though even then, antient wit was never thoroughly refined; for, 2. The old feſtal entertainments ſtill ſubſiſted, the Panathenæa and Dionyſiæ of the Greeks, the Bacchanalia and Saturnalia of the Romans; and preſerved always an image, as well of the frank libertine wit of their old ſtage, as of the original equality and independency of their old times. Upon this ſubject I agree with Mr. Hurd; but I think this influence of government upon the manners and literature of a nation, might be the ſubject of a very original enquiry. I

Cic. de Orator. L. xi. C. 59 and 66.

have

have a good many ideas myſelf, though, as the Abbé Trublet calls it, "*Je n'ai pas achevé de les penſer.*"

Upon v. 404. Mr. Hurd explains his author differently from his predeceſſors. They extended that encomium to all poetry, which Horace meant only for the lyric. In fact it is only adequate to that ſpecies which is beſides ſo particularly pointed out by "*Muſa lyræ ſolers, et cantor Apollo.*" This is a delicate ſtroke of Horace, after his panegyric upon dramatic poetry, to ſhew the lyric had alſo its merit, and to prevent the Piſo's from deſpiſing the choice he had made. Vol. i. p. 234—237.

Theſe are the principal notes upon the Art of Poetry. On the Epiſtle to Auguſtus, I find but two worthy much notice.

The firſt is the explanation of a magnificent allegory, which opens the third Georgic. Virgil, after apologizing for the meanneſs of his ſubject, breaks away, with a poetical enthuſiaſm, to foretel his ſucceſſes in the future great work of the Æneid. He ſhadows it under the idea of a triumph, in which he is to lead captive all the Grecian muſes: the monument of the triumph is to be the uſual one, a temple conſecrated by games and ſacrifices, and every ornament of which alluded to the tutelary divinity Auguſtus. Thus, under the popular authorized veil of the apotheoſis of that prince, he lets us at once into the whole ſecret of his plan. This explanation is exquiſitely fine; but if my memory is good, the P. Catrou had ſtarted it before Mr. Hurd. Vol. ii. p. 30—50.

2diy, The other remark is to explode a practice, familiar to Ovid, and not unknown to more correct writers; that of coupling two ſubſtantives to a verb which does not ſtrictly govern both, or which at leaſt muſt be taken in two different ſignifications. He proves very copiouſly, againſt the profeſſor d'Orville, that ſuch a practice breaks the natural connection of our ideas, and turns the attention of the reader from the ſubject, to a diſcovery and admiration of the art of the writer. He therefore pronounces it unworthy of ſerious poetry. Vol. ii. p. 61—75.

As yet I have only ſpoke of Mr. Hurd's notes. His diſcourſe upon the ſeveral provinces of the drama is a truly critical performance; I may even ſay, a truly philoſophical one. From ſimple definitions of each ſpecies, he deduces a very extenſive theory. To touch the heart by an intereſting ſtory, is the end of tragedy; to pleaſe our curioſity, and, perhaps our malignity, by a faithful repreſentation of manners, is the purpoſe of comedy. To excite laughter is the ſole, and contemptible, aim of farce. Vol. i. p. 247—308.

Theſe

Theſe enquiries are delicate; ſometimes we think we are reaſoning upon things, when in fact we are only cavilling about words. It is more eſpecially ſo with regard to thoſe ideas which do not repreſent ſubſtances, but only modes of thinking, and moral combinations. There we can be only guided by practice and experience. They are out of the province of reaſon. If Plautus and Ariſtophanes have given the name of comedy to a ſpecies of entertainment of which the eſſence was ridicule, they had a right to do it. If their ſucceſſors Terence and Menander have given the ſame name to their more ſerious drama, we muſt either prove theſe definitions not incompatible, or give ſome other appellation to the object of the laſt. All that reaſon can do upon this head is, dropping names, to inveſtigate the ſources of our pleaſures, to claſs them, and to ſee how far they agree, or interfere, with each other.

It is very natural that the contemplation of human life ſhould be the favourite amuſement of man. It is his eaſieſt, and yet leaſt mortifying, method of ſtudying himſelf. This contemplation can be only conſidered in two different lights, manners and actions. We muſt allow, though we cannot explain it, that our humanity makes it hurt and yet pleaſed with the misfortunes of our fellow-creatures; and that the recital of a ſtory, terrible or pathetic, rouzes every faculty in the human heart. On the other hand, daily experience convinces us that our reflections and converſations never turn upon any ſubject ſo often, and with ſo much pleaſure, as the various characters of mankind. It is to give us theſe pleaſures, leſs ſtrongly perhaps, but, through the means of fiction, more completely, that two entertainments have been invented, to the firſt of which we may hypothetically give the name of tragedy; and to the ſecond, that of comedy. The laws of each ſpecies are to be deduced from their ends: but in following Mr. Hurd, I ſhall only mention thoſe particular to what we have juſt now called comedy.

The firſt law of comedy muſt relate to the choice of character. They muſt be mixed ones. Human nature never deals in manners perfectly good or completely bad: but the poet is not confined to thoſe characters only which excite contempt and ridicule; virtuous, amiable perſons, who inſpire us with ſentiments of love and approbation, may be properly introduced, ſince all probable domeſtic manners lie within the province of comedy. Theſe characters will not indeed occur ſo often as thoſe of another kind, not only becauſe they are leſs frequent in real life, but becauſe they admit of leſs

variety. For reaſon and virtue purſue a ſteady uniform courſe, while the extravagant wanderings of vice and folly are infinite: however, when properly brought upon the ſtage, they will occaſion more pleaſing ſenſations there than in ſociety; whereas the ridicule of a ſcenical character is much weaker than that of a real one: perhaps our malignity may furniſh a reaſon for this difference. 2dly, Another rule of comedy relates to the management of characters; they are to be diſplayed in a natural manner, and, as much as may be, the perſonages are to give their own characters; but that by undeſigned actions or expreſſions, by which they lay themſelves open without knowing it. Nor is that character always to appear, ſince it cannot always exiſt, but as the ruling paſſion is modified by others, or called forth by circumſtances. A contrary method, though too common, is turning a man into a ſingle paſſion; a man, ſuch as nature never made, ſince thoſe who are the moſt under the dominion of a ruling paſſion, act and talk, upon many occaſions, like the reſt of mankind. Actions are the province of tragedy, and manners that of comedy; this forms their diſtinctive difference. However, they cannot avoid running a good deal into each other. Without manners no action can be carried on, ſince we act according to our paſſions: nor could it affect us much, ſince our terror, or our pity, depends chiefly upon our love and hatred. On the other hand, how could manners be repreſented without a probable ſeries of events, contrived to call them forth in a natural manner. We can only ſay, therefore, that in tragedy the action is the principal, manners an acceſſory circumſtance; in comedy manners are the principal, action the accceſſory circumſtance. In both the poet muſt take care that the end be not loſt in the means. For this reaſon the complicated plots of the Spaniſh writers have been juſtly laid aſide as contrary to the true genius of comedy. It may be worthy of ſome notice, in ſpeaking of characters, that the moſt natural ones are comic; many highly ſo, are unfit for tragedy. Tragedy requires characters, good or bad, but of a power and energy equal to the greateſt effects: but many paſſions, (the paſſions of weak minds,) ſuch as vanity, can never with truth be raiſed to that dramatic importance; the actions produced by ſuch paſſions will be always, like themſelves, puny and inſignificant: but the energy of the ſtronger paſſions may be ſoftened and reduced to the level of common life. Cruelty and ill-nature may diſturb either a family or a nation; beſides, there are other paſſions, the power of which, though great, is vilified by their object. The various ſpecies of avarice have produced the moſt tragic events; but the love

of money is of ſo vile and groveling a nature, that it would degrade the moſt pathetic tragedy that turned upon it.

This difference of the two ſpecies cannot well be diſputed: but it has been aſked, whether they have not been diſtinguiſhed by the rank, as well as the character, of the perſonages; or in other words, whether tragedy is confined to the public and exalted characters of kings and generals, and comedy to the humbler ſtations of private life? Without any regard to authority, I ſhall examine this queſtion, mixing indifferently my own reaſons and Mr. Hurd's.

As to tragedy, it may indeed be ſaid, that we are the moſt affected by thoſe misfortunes which might happen to ourſelves; and that therefore the diſtreſſes of a private family muſt touch us more nearly than thoſe of a monarch: but to counteract that advantage we may remark, that the ſtory of thoſe whom we are accuſtomed to look upon with awe and veneration, attaches us in the ſtrongeſt manner, and awakes our terror and pity much more than the wretchedneſs of private men. Theſe indeed are popular notions; but the poet's buſineſs lies in complying with thoſe notions, not in reforming them. Beſides, the misfortunes of the great, though not ſuperior in themſelves to thoſe of the multitude, are yet far more important in their conſequences, which heighten the diſtreſs, by extending the influence of it to the whole community. To theſe general remarks I may add a particular one, that in the nobleſt ſubjects, thoſe founded upon ambition, love of our country, &c. the rank of the perſonages cannot be too exalted; ſince upon that depends the greatneſs of the prize for the one, and of the ſacrifices in the other; and conſequently great part of the importance of the action and ſtrength of paſſion.

But cannot comedy admit of monarchs? they have their private life, and may not the ridicules of it be diſplayed upon the ſtage? I think not; but I muſt give my reaſons.

1. The firſt will be taken from the ſpectators. We love comedy, becauſe it offers to us a faithful repreſentation of what we meet with in life. It muſt be therefore the life of the moſt conſiderable part of the audience, that the poet ſhould repreſent: but what is that part? The queſtion is eaſily reſolved, by looking through human ſociety, and obſerving that inſenſible gradation from the man of quality to that degree immediately above the mechanic and the labourer; every link, from the higheſt to the loweſt, enough connected with the others to have ſome acquaintance with their manners;

manners; and enough improved by education, to laugh at theirs, and their own follies. Theſe then are the manners a poet ſhould copy in their different appearances: ſhould he touch thoſe of the prince or peaſant, they muſt either be the ſame or different. If the ſame, why go out of the way for them? if different, who will be found to underſtand or reliſh them? This is particularly true of the manners of princely life. With thoſe of the loweſt we are better acquainted; and the poet may find ſome archetypes among the ſpectators: but the groſſneſs of them will diſguſt every one whom he can deſire to pleaſe.

2. But are the manners of princes different from thoſe of their ſubjects? are there any qualities peculiarly royal? I know but one; that is, the thinking that there are ſuch: in other words, I mean a fondneſs for flattery. That ridicule can, I confeſs, be no where ſo well repreſented as on the throne; ſince thoſe will always receive, and love, the moſt extravagant adulation, who have it moſt in their power to reward and puniſh: but ſtill I think it a better ſubject for ſatire than comedy. It would be difficult to put in action the follies of a monarch; the great theatrical reſource is, the oppoſition and contraſt of characters that diſplay each other. The ſeverity of Demea, and the eaſineſs of Micie, throw a light upon one another. Should we be half ſo well acquainted with the miſanthropy of Alceſte, were it not for the faſhionable, complaiſant character of Philinte? But the poet would be almoſt deſtitute of this reſource, if he laid his ſcene in courts, which offer one uniform ſet of manners moulded upon the example of the prince. What contraſt could be found to ſet off *his* character? None; ſince ſuch a contraſt ſuppoſes freedom and equality. This I take to be the true reaſon; not merely that politeneſs which in high life obliges even equals to conceal from each other their real characters. This is rather an advantage: we purſue with pleaſure the various arts of concealment which it inſpires, and when, as it muſt often happen, chance, familiarity, paſſion, intereſt, throw it off its guard, and diſplay the man in his true colours, the long conſtraint gives them a new vivacity, and the diſcovery gives a higher reliſh to our entertainment.

3. But the moſt important objection to theſe characters ſtill remains. They can have no private life. They have doubtleſs many things ridiculous and inſignificant in themſelves, hardly any thing that is ſo in its conſequences. Every action of theirs is important by the influence it has upon

the community; and if we paint their follies, thoſe follies, rendered vices by their tragical effects, would in themſelves excite contempt, and indignation for their conſequences; and, as the firſt of theſe paſſions is as repugnant to tragedy, as the ſecond is improper for comedy, could produce only a very motley and diſagreeable compoſition. Therefore, when M. de Fontenelle aſks, whether Auguſtus, in his laſt ſickneſs, ſurrounded by aruſpices, who promiſe him a ſpeedy recovery; by Parthian ambaſſadors, who reſtore to him ſtandards about which he is totally indifferent; fawned upon by Livia, who is impatient for his death; whether all this would not make as good a comedy as the *malade imaginaire*; the anſwer will not be difficult: No. Becauſe the follies and weakneſſes of the laſt, as they are innocent, divert us; while the fawning of Livia, and her power over her huſband, fill us with horror and indignation; when we reflect that, by ſetting Tiberius on the throne, they made the world unhappy for three-and-twenty years, and finiſhed the ruin of the liberty and nobility of the republic.

The practice of M. de Fontenelle, though very happy, is rather a confirmation of this theory. In his comedies he endeavours to reconcile us to thoſe great perſonages, but he is continually reduced to ſhifts of lowering our idea of their importance, and diveſting them of their power and majeſty, before he can make them real comic characters. His common expedients are, making them of mean extraction, though raiſed to the throne; not putting them in poſſeſſion of the crown till the end of the play; and laying his ſcene in Greece, in order to fill their court with ſimple citizens inſtead of with nobles.

I cannot help thinking that farce (the third ſpecies of Mr. Hurd's) is rather a corruption, than a diſtinct ſpecies of comedy. Is not his own definition a proof of this? That, as comedy is a faithful, ſo farce is an exaggerated picture of human life: if they are diſtinct, there is little occaſion to fear any encroachments into the province of comedy from farce: but many comic writers, to pleaſe the corrupt taſte of the multitude, have deſcended to all the extravagance of farce. There is another ſubject, which farce has preſerved from the old comedy. This is the painting perſonal, individual characters: but that practice, ſeldom followed, and never authorized upon the modern ſtage, rather deſerves the animadverſion of the magiſtrate than of the critic. As to follies, not confined to a man, but to an age or country, I think Mr. Hurd too ſevere in baniſhing them into farce: he

he ſeems ſenſible of it himſelf; and, in the inſtance of the Alchymiſt, attempts to ſoften his ſentence by a diſtinction rather chimerical.

I have, though without deſign, already ſo much extended this extract, that I ſhall abridge the other diſcourſe of Mr. Hurd far more than its merit would otherwiſe juſtify. The ſubject of it is extremely curious; poetical imitation examined upon very original principles; a queſtion in which the reputation of all the great writers ſince Homer is vitally concerned. It is thus ſtated by Mr. Hurd: "Whether that conformity of phraſe or ſentiment between two writers of different times "which we call *imitation* may not, with probability enough, for the moſt "part, be accounted for from general cauſes ariſing from our common "nature; that is, from the exerciſe of our natural faculties upon ſuch ob- Vol. ii. p. 105—207.
"jects as lie common to all obſervers."

It has often been obſerved, with truth, that as our capacities are narrow, and the materials of obſervation the ſame to all men; it is impoſſible that in ſo great a number of thoſe who have thought, and publiſhed their thoughts, ſome ſhould not have coincided in the ſame opinions, without any knowlege of each other. I believe that I may appeal to every man of letters, whether ſometimes he has not met with things in books, which he had obſerved before he had ever ſeen thoſe books; and things too of an uncommon and particular nature. Even in thoſe ſublimer mathematics, ſo different by their evidence and univerſality from our other ſpeculations, the ſame diſcoveries have been made by different men, who ſeem rather to have coincided with, than to have followed each other. Is not that the deciſion of the moderate part of mankind upon the celebrated diſpute of Sir Iſaac Newton and Leibnitz, in the beginning of this century? If this is the caſe in thoſe general abſtracted branches, which contain ſuch amazing combinations of ideas, it is ſurely probable that in works of imagination, which contain much fewer, this ought oftener to happen. Beſides, the moſt original poetry is in fact imitation, imitation of nature; and in thoſe images which are confeſſedly natural, it ſeems difficult to ſay why two men of genius may not have ſeen them without any previous knowledge of each other. From theſe reaſons, the candid critic will readily allow that there may be ſimilitude without imitation. V. Fontenelle in the Eloge of Leibnitz, tom. v. p. 520—531.

But a ſlight glance on the hiſtory of the ſciences, and a few reflections on mankind, will reduce this candour within its due limits. Let us remember that,

that, 1. Since the time of Homer, who perhaps was without models to imitate, that author has been introduced into the earlieſt part of our education; that ſucceeding times added to his leſſons thoſe of the other Greeks; that the Romans ſtudied them with care; and that, ſince the revival of letters, we are made acquainted, as ſoon as poſſible, with the Greeks and Latins. That thoſe impreſſions, engraved on our minds before we reflect, afterwards grow up with us; and when we look abroad into the moral and natural world, which theſe companions often prevent us from doing, we ſee it only with the eyes of the antients. Authority, founded on reaſon, would oblige us to act in this way. The antient compoſitions have ſtood the teſt of time and examination; and the veneration that is paid to them, is enough to engage a modern to endeavour to aſſociate himſelf to it, by transfuſing into his own writings the ſpirit, the thoughts, and even the expreſſions, of theſe admired models: and, 2. Inclination will direct him to the imitation of ſome particular model; of ſome writer whoſe ſoul is moſt congenial to his own, and whom he can read with the greateſt delight, and imitate with the moſt eaſe. Theſe reaſons bring us back to our firſt ſuſpicion, that where there is a ſtriking ſimilitude, there is imitation; ſince where there are two ways of accompliſhing it, it is natural to prefer the eaſieſt, eſpecially when it is confeſſedly very common.

Mr. Hurd found it neceſſary to go further, if he intended to clear his authors from the charge of imitation; accordingly he endeavours to prove, by a very elaborate deduction, that both the ideas, and the methods, employed by the antients, were not only *natural ones*, but the *ſole natural ones*; ſo that if ſucceeding poets, endued with judgment, looked abroad into nature, they not only *might*, but *muſt* meet with them; while men of irregular fancies could avoid *them only* by avoiding truth and probability. This theory accounts for reſemblances of works, by reſemblances of things; and forbids any ſuſpicion of imitation, unleſs we are guided to it by particular circumſtances. In a matter of ſuch vaſt extent, it is as difficult to refute as to prove. There would indeed be a very ſhort method of overthrowing at once Mr. Hurd's doctrine; could I write a work of imagination, full of beauties, formed on the model of nature, and yet different from thoſe of the antients, I ſhould then demonſtrate that they have not exhauſted it: but ſuch a confutation is far beyond my power. Without aſpiring to genius, I ſhall

think myſelf very happy, if I can frame my opinions according to the dictates of good ſenſe.

If we examine this queſtion *à poſteriori*, from practice and experience of what *has* been done, though we ſhall meet with nothing very deciſive, I think, however, that the advantage will not be on Mr. Hurd's ſide: he will, indeed, quote many ſtriking ſimilarities of this kind, from writers who could have had no knowledge of one another; but he will be anſwered, 1. That ſuch writers can hardly be found; that the ſacred writings ſhould not be mentioned, nor compared, with Homer; ſince we are talking of human, not divine compoſitions; and that Shakeſpeare, the modern who appears freeſt from exception, though ignorant himſelf, lived in a learned age. 2. That *their* example can only be quoted againſt thoſe who think every ſimilarity *muſt* be an imitation, without any regard to the circumſtances of the writers. That, as ſuch a coincidence is poſſible, we muſt employ it to explain a phænomenon for which we could not otherwiſe account; but that when the more eaſy and probable one may be recurred to, we ought to employ it. On the other hand, an antagoniſt of Mr. Hurd's would have occaſion for no great compaſs of reading to diſcover, in the moſt modern writers, many original images and ſentiments. He would ſelect them, particularly, from thoſe very writers, who, from an apprehenſion that every thing had been already ſaid, had cramped their natural genius, by an open, perpetual imitation of the antients; and he would infer, with ſome plauſibility, that had they written from their own natural feelings and obſervations, they would have been ſtill more original. He would deſire Mr. Hurd to reconcile this with his principles, and even preſs him for a preciſe anſwer, at what period of the hiſtory of letters the ſcene had been cloſed, nature exhauſted, and ſucceeding writers reduced to the hope of imitating ſucceſsfully. Wherever he choſe to fix it, the critic would bring againſt him ſo many later original images, that the reſource of diſputing their claim, and hunting for ſome diſtant alluſion, or general reſemblance, would be hardly ſufficient.

Without following minutely our author through his copious deductions *à priori*, in which he has certainly ſhewn great learning and ingenuity, I ſhall only make two or three general obſervations, which may give an idea, both of his method of reaſoning, and of my objections to it.

He

He enters upon a taſk, in my opinion, far above human abilities. To examine the origin of our ideas is the buſineſs of metaphyſics, and the greateſt philoſophers have failed in the attempt. But it is perhaps ſtill more difficult to embrace them all at one view, and to claſs them according to their different objects, in ſo accurate a manner as to aſſure ourſelves that we have ſuffered no material ſpecies to eſcape. This is, however, what Mr. Hurd undertakes. He makes three diviſions of the world of ideas which can enter into poetry. 1. The vaſt compages of corporeal forms of which this univerſe is compounded. 2. The internal workings and movements of our own mind; under which the manners, ſentiments, and paſſions are comprehended. 3. The outward operations, which are made objective to ſenſe by the means of ſpeech, geſture, and action. Theſe are again by him ſubdivided with an exactneſs in which I ſhall not purſue him. I ſhall only remark, 1. That his ſmalleſt ſpecies are yet too general to prove any thing. That Milton, for inſtance, muſt, like Homer, have made uſe of moral, religious, and œconomical ſentiments, and could not invent any new ſpecies, I ſhall readily allow; nor is it upon ſuch general reſemblances that a charge of imitation is ever founded. It is upon more particular ſimilarities, where Mr. Hurd can never attain to ſhew that *thoſe* ideas were the *only ones*. The only method Mr. Hurd can there follow, is a ſort of vicious reaſoning, in a circle; to look for the images upon every ſubject he can meet with in the oldeſt authors, and then to conclude that they are the only ones exiſting.

2. Even ſuppoſing that he had exhauſted the whole ſtock of nature, and had ſhewn that every image, ſingly, had been ſo obvious as to be ſeen and employed by the firſt writers, a much larger field would ſtill remain; their different combinations, which are infinite. With regard only to human manners, the great ſources of character, paſſion, and ſituation, may be combined in ſuch a variety of ways, as no algebra could reach. Let us, for a moment, abandon fiction, and enter into hiſtoric truth. Conſult the annals of any nation; obſerve the various effects of the modifications of thoſe three principles upon their hiſtory, and then ſay whether the operations of human nature are eaſily claſſed, or circumſcribed.

3. This conſideration of the ſhifting picture of mankind, as an illuſtration, leads us to conſider it in itſelf. We ſhall find it a moſt extenſive and infinite range of ideas, almoſt ſufficient of itſelf to preſerve genius from imitation; ſince to the writers of every age and country it appears in a differ-

ent ſhape. It is the manners, the government, the religion, of that age and country he is to ſtudy; and whether the nature of his ſubject allows him to introduce them at full length; whether he can only adorn his works with diſtant alluſions to them; whether he can only catch the general ſpirit of them, they will always make him an original. I ſhall quote one inſtance of what I mean, and that from an authority Mr. Hurd will hardly diſpute. When Milton conceived the glorious plan of an Engliſh epic, he ſoon ſaw the moſt ſtriking ſubjects had been taken from him; that Homer had taken all morality for his province, and Virgil exhauſted the ſubject of politics. Religion remained; but as Paganiſm, though it furniſhed very agreeable ſcenes of machinery, took too ſlight a hold on men's minds to build the ſtory of the epopœa upon it, he had recourſe to Chriſtianity; and, taking his ſtory from an article of our faith, ſtruck out a new ſpecies of epic poetry; but he could never have done it, had not the manners of that age, attached to religion in general, and to that tenet in particular, warmed his imagination, and given it a dignity and importance, which he could never have transfuſed into his poem, if he had not firſt felt it himſelf. Nor is this obſervation repugnant to another I have made elſewhere,—that the manners of the antients were more favourable to poetry than ours. I think ſo ſtill, of their manners, as well as their languages. Yet I would have our poets employ our own, not only for the ſake of variety, but becauſe we ſhall make the beſt uſe of thoſe with which we are the moſt intimately acquainted.

Warburton's Divine Legation.

Eſſai ſur l'Etude de la Litterature, p. 19.

From theſe obſervations I muſt decline ſubſcribing to Mr. Hurd's theory, or circumſcribing the poet's images within ſuch narrow limits. It is, however, without running into the other extreme, or condemning every reſemblance as a deſigned formal imitation. I take the exact difference between Mr. Hurd and myſelf to be this: I look upon imitation to be the moſt natural, and general, cauſe of any ſtriking reſemblance between two writers; and therefore aſſign it, without particular reaſons to the contrary. Mr. Hurd, on the other hand, thinks it may generally be accounted for by a reſemblance of mental operations; and therefore never ſuſpects an imitation, without particular circumſtances which lead to the detection of it.

He employs another diſcourſe with a review of theſe circumſtances; but as every one is accompanied with examples taken from the antients and moderns, and criticiſed with great taſte, I can only reduce the great number he alleges to three, drawn from the different lights in which we may

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conſider every reſemblance, and fix the probability of its happening, by chance, or by deſign. 1. How cloſe is the reſemblance? Is the thought exactly the ſame? Is it introduced upon the ſame occaſion? Is it expreſſed in the ſame manner, the ſame words, or words nearly the ſame? Is it a ſhort paſſage, or one of a conſiderable length? 2. What degree of acquaintance can the ſecond poet be ſuppoſed to have had with the firſt? Did he live in a learned, or an ignorant age? Was he himſelf a man of letters, or without education? Did he affect the fame of originality, or did he modeſtly profeſs a deſire and habit of imitating the antients? Was the firſt author an acknowledged favourite of his? 3. What appearance is there that the idea ſhould have naturally ſtruck the ſecond? Was it common, or particular; did it agree with the ſtyle and deſign of his work; with his own character; with the real appearance of nature; with the manners and opinions of his age, country, and profeſſion; or at leaſt with thoſe he deſcribes? Is it introduced in a general unaffected manner, or brought in without any occaſion, and clothed in uncommon, obſolete language? Mr. Hurd thinks theſe circumſtances, all or ſome, neceſſary to form a ſuſpicion. I allow they are very uſeful to confirm one.

I have at laſt finiſhed Mr. Hurd's performance. I reckoned upon ſix or ſeven pages; I am now writing the thirtieth. Another time I hope to confine my extracts within proper limits.

Blandford, March 18th, 1762.

1762. March 18th.] I Finiſhed at laſt my abſtract of Mr. Hurd, which conſiſts of thirty pages in folio: though it took me up much more time than I imagined, by running into ſo unexpected a length, yet I do not regret it, as it ſtarted a new train of ideas upon many curious points of criticiſm. To get a little nearer to Homer, of whom I have never loſt ſight, I read the *Enquiry into the Life and Writings of Homer.*

27th.]—At laſt I returned to Homer, and beginning where I had left off, read L. v. V. 1—404.

28th.]—Read of the Iliad L. v. V. 405—606. At the ſame time I reſolved every day to learn, and write down, a certain number of the *Racines Grecques*; and to-day went through the four firſt.

March

March 29th.]—Learnt and wrote the *Racines Grecques*, Stang. 4—8. Read of the Iliad, L. v. V. 606—909; and beginning, for the ſecond time, the Enquiry into the Life and Writings of Homer, read page 1—56.

30th.]—Went through the *Racines Grecques*, from 8—12; but read no Homer.

31ſt.]—I read the *Enquiry*, page 56—80: went through *Racines Grecques*, 12—16; and reviewed the firſt three hundred lines of the fifth book of the Iliad.

April 1ſt.]—Went through *Racines Grecques*, 16—20; and reviewed the remaining ſix hundred lines of the fifth Iliad. I likewiſe read v. 215—295, of the eleventh Æneid, in relation to Æneas and Diomede.

2d.]—Went through *Racines Grecques*, 20—24. The method I purſue is this: after reading them attentively, I write them down from my memory, looking in the book as ſeldom as I can. I then repeat them twice; firſt mentioning the French word that anſwers to the Greek; then the Greek word that anſwers to the French. At laſt I repeat the French of every Greek root of the preſent, and two preceding days. I find this method, though dry, helps me very much.

3d.]—Went through *Racines Grecques*, 24—28. Read the ſixth book of the Iliad, from v. 325—529, the end.

6th.]—I only went through *Racines Grecques*, 32—36; and read the ſeventh book of the Iliad, v. 123—199.

7th.]—I went through *Racines Grecques*, 36—40; and read the ſeventh book of the Iliad, v. 199—482.

8th.]—I went through *Racines Grecques*, 40—44; reviewed the whole ſeventh book of the Iliad, and read the eighth, v. 1—40.

9th.]—I went through *Racines Grecques*, 44—48; but read no Homer.

13th.]—I read the eighth book of the Iliad, v. 401—561, the end.

14th.]—In the morning I reviewed the whole eighth book of the Iliad; went through the *Racines Grecques*, 48—52, and finiſhed the Enquiry, p. 216—335.

26th.]—I read great part of the ſecond volume of *D'Alembert's Melanges*; very ſenſible, and well written.

29th.]—Read the *Bibliotheques des Sciences et des beaux Arts*, for *October*, *November*, and *December* 1761. I found in it an extract of my Eſſay: they ſpeak very highly of it, and promiſe great things of me, p. 368—380.

30th.]—I read the ninth book of the Iliad, v. 1—306.

May 2d.]—I read the ninth book of the Iliad, v. 306—542.

3d.]—I read of the Iliad, Lib. ix. v. 542—709, the end; and reviewed the firſt hundred lines of it.

5th.]—I read the tenth book of the Iliad, v. 70—579, and reviewed the whole book.

6th.]—I read the Æneid, L. ix. v. 126—502, in order to compare the ſtory of Niſus and Euryalus related in it, with the night adventure in the Iliad. They have both beauties, but of a different kind. By his ſtrong characters, and lively deſcriptions, Homer ſpeaks powerfully to the curioſity and imagination of the reader. The amiable manners, tender friendſhip, and unhappy fate of Virgil's heroes, are truly pathetic, and make the deepeſt impreſſion on the heart. I likewiſe read the eleventh book of the Iliad, v. 1—542. As I go on with Homer, he becomes much eaſier to me: I am maſter of a greater ſtock of words; the turn of his ſtyle, his dialects, and his poetical licences, are become more familiar to me.

8th.]—I reviewed the firſt four hundred and fifty lines of the eleventh book of the Iliad.

9th.]—I reviewed the remaining four hundred lines of the eleventh book of the Iliad; and read the twelfth, v. 1—309. I likewiſe conſulted Mezeriac's Ovid, tom. i. p. 171—179, in relation to the omens from the flight of birds, in order to underſtand the ſpeech of Hector to Polydamus. From the materials which Mezeriac laid before me, I conceived a much clearer notion of the ſubject than he had himſelf.

10th.]—I received a letter from Mr. Scott, in which, according to his promiſe, he lays down for me a courſe of ſtudies, both in the pure and mixed mathematics; pointing out the merit and defects of the principal writers in every branch of them. I can hardly put any of his directions in practice before next winter. I read, to-day, of the Iliad, L. xii. v. 309—471, the end, reviewing the whole twelfth book; and read L. xii. v. 1—273.

11th.]—Read the Iliad, L. xiii. v. 273—837, the end, and reviewed the firſt five hundred lines of that book.

12th.]—I reviewed the remaining three hundred and forty lines of the thirteenth book of the Iliad; and read the fourteenth, v. 1—108. My diligence to-day was much inferior to the preceding ones.

14th.]—I received from London two volumes of *Memoires Militaires ſur les Grecs et ſur les Romains par M. Guichardt.* The author, who was

in the Dutch, and is now, I believe, in the Pruſſian ſervice, propoſes to correct the numerous miſtakes of the Chevalier de Folard, and to explain the principal military actions of the antients according to their beſt hiſtorians, and the true principles of their tactics. This book drew me away for ſome time from Homer; I read, but in a curſory manner, the firſt volume.

May 15th.]—I read, but in the ſame curſory manner, the ſecond volume of *Guichardt's Memoires*.

16th.]—I began to read the *Memoires Militaires* a ſecond time; but with more attention. I read the preface, which is very judicious, and the four firſt chapters. The firſt is on the blockade of Agrigentum by the Romans in the firſt Punic war; and gives a clear idea of the ſuperior advantages of the Roman intrenchments above our modern lines. The ſecond is the battle of Tunis, between Regulus and Xantippus. Folard, explaining Polybius, blames Regulus for the only thing for which his author had commended him. The third is the battle of Macar, where the amazing manœuvres of Amilcar are diſplayed with great preciſion. The fourth, on the battle of the Adda, is a complete treatiſe on the Roman legion, very ſatisfactory as to the times of Polybius; very little ſo as to thoſe of Cæſar.

17th.]—I read the fifth, ſixth, ſeventh, and eighth chapters of the Memoires. The fifth is the combat of the Ticinum; many good remarks on the antient cavalry: the ſixth is the battle of Trebia; the author illuſtrates ſtill further the way of drawing up the legion, and explains the ſeveral manœuvres of the two armies very clearly: the ſeventh is a very inſignificant affair at Germinem; but the eighth is the battle of Cannæ, the maſter-piece of Hannibal, of Polybius, and, perhaps, of M. Guichardt. The columns of Folard, and the impracticable manœuvres of the Gauls diſappear, and the art of Hannibal appears refined, but rational.

18th.]—I read the ninth, tenth, eleventh, and twelfth chapters of the Memoires. Ninth, a very inſignificant affair at Caphyæ, between the weak Aratus and ſome Æolian freebooters. Tenth, the battle of Mantinea, between Machanidas and Philopœmen: ſmall numbers and refined art on both ſides. Eleventh, the battle between Scipio and Aſdrubal in Spain. M. Folard's columns, generally ideal, were really employed by Scipio in a ſuperior manner. Twelfth, the battle of Zama; the merit of the generals, though great, being equal, left the victory to the braveſt troops.

May

May 19th.]—I read the thirteenth, fourteenth, fifteenth, and ſixteenth chapters of the Memoires. Thirteenth, the battle of Cynocephala. Philip had formed a good plan, but did not know how to alter it, though he might have gained the victory. Fourteenth, the battle of the Granicus: Alexander's impetuoſity ſeems directed by more military ſkill than is commonly thought. Fifteenth, the battle of Arbela, a complete practical lecture on the art of war; but are we indebted for that lecture to Alexander or to Arrian? The ſixteenth, the blockade of Aliſia: M. Guichardt does honour to Cæſar by diminiſhing the extent and number of his works: we can now both underſtand and believe them.

20th.]—I began the ſecond volume of the Memoires, and read the diſſertation upon the attack and defence of places by the antients; very clear and accurate. Their real methods are well deſcribed, and M. Guichardt proves, againſt the Chevalier de Folard, that they knew nothing of the modern trenches.

21ſt.]—I read in the Memoires the tranſlation of the military inſtitutions of Onozander, full of that common-place ſenſe which every one can write, and no one can deny.

22d.]—I read the Tactics of Arrian, tranſlated in the Memoires. They are very curious and exact, and give a very clear notion of the nature, arms, and diſcipline of the phalanx; but it is very odd Arrian ſhould rather compile theſe Tactics from Greek writers, than write from his own knowledge an account of the Roman legions, which he had himſelf ſeen and commanded.

23d.]—I read the Analyſis of Cæſar's Campaign in Africa. Every motion of that great General is laid open with a critical ſagacity. A complete military hiſtory of his campaigns would do almoſt as much honour to M. Guichardt as to Cæſar. This finiſhed the Memoires, which gave me a much clearer notion of antient tactics than I ever had before. Indeed, my own military knowledge was of ſome ſervice to me, as I am well acquainted with the modern diſcipline and exerciſe of a battalion. So that though much inferior to M. Folard and M. Guichardt, who had ſeen ſervice, I am a much better judge than Salmaſius, Caſaubon, or Lipſius; mere ſcholars, who perhaps had never ſeen a battalion under arms.

26th.]—I read the Chevalier de Folard's Supplement to his Polybius, vide le Polybe de Folard, tom. vii. p. 1—42. It ſhews the man of genius in every

every line; it conſiſts chiefly of curious anecdotes, miſtaken quotations, and whimſically ingenious obſervations. I likewiſe read the third letter of *Les Sentimens d'un Homme de Guerre*, in the ſame volume, p. 208—235. This Homme de Guerre was M. de Savornin, major-general in the Dutch ſervice. He is certainly in the right in obſerving, that the Romans in general, and Cæſar at Pharſalia in particular, drew up their troops in three lines; but he has a moſt minute, heavy, and perplexed way of writing. I diſcovered a paſſage in Cæſar's Commentaries, L. i. c. 83, which is the key of the tactics of his age. Had M. Guichardt known of it, he might have avoided ſeveral miſtakes.

May 31ſt.]—Before I left Blandford I finiſhed the firſt ſix volumes of *Fontenelle*, which contain "*tout la force et tout la fleur de ſon eſprit.*" I read them at my leiſure hours with great pleaſure, particularly *Entretiens ſur la Pluralité des Mondes*, *Hiſtoire du Theatre François*, &c. and the *Eloges des Academiciens*. The *Hiſtoire des Oracles*, though excellent, is ſomewhat ſuperficial. The Dialogues of the Dead are (if I may ſpeak French) *une debauche de raiſonnement*, as the Lettres du Chevalier d'Her .... *une debauche d'eſprit et de galanterie.* I acknowledge all the defects of the Eclogues, but ſome of them are charming. I reſolved to ſubſtitute for my leiſure hours the *Bibliotheques* of *le Clerc*, as an inexhauſtible ſource of amuſement and inſtruction, and accordingly began with the firſt volume of the *Bibliotheque univerſelle.*

June 6.]—I formed a deſign, (but I doubt whether I ſhall find time to execute it,) to give part of my day to Homer and part to Quintilian; that is, to unite the example with the precept. Accordingly I began with Quintilian, in Burman's edition, read his article in Bayle's Dictionary, the preface of Burman; Burman was a mere critic, without being (in my opinion) a good one, ſince a good critic muſt reaſon well; and Burman never could reaſon at all. I began likewiſe the *Annales Quintilianæi* of Dodwell, and read c. 1—3.

7th.]—I continued the Annals, and read c. 3—20.

8th.]—I read the Annals, c. 20—47, which (including the Synopſis Chronologica) finiſhed the Treatiſe. Dodwell's learning was immenſe; in this part of hiſtory eſpecially, (that of the Upper Empire,) the moſt minute fact or paſſage could not eſcape him; and his ſkill in employing them is equal to his learning. The worſt of this author is his method and ſtyle; the one perplexed beyond imagination, the other negligent to a degree of barbariſm.

June 9th.]—I read of the Iliad, L. xiv. v. 1—522, the end. It required all the *eclat* of Homer's poetry to reconcile us to Jupiter's being deceived and laid aſleep.

10th.]—I reviewed the fourteenth book of the Iliad, and read the fifteenth, v. 1—220. The ſcene of Jupiter and Neptune pleaſes me infinitely; beſides the natural greatneſs of the action and actors, heightened by a moſt ſpirited narration, it gives a clearer idea of the Greek polytheiſm than the laborious reſearches of half our modern critics and divines.

11th.]—I read the fifteenth book of the Iliad, v. 220—746, the end. The remainder of this book is a continued and not very intereſting battle. What chiefly diſtinguiſhes it, are ſome of the fineſt ſimiles I have yet met with in the Iliad; and a variety of ſhort ſpeeches, of a truly ſpirited and military eloquence.

13th.]—I read the ſixteenth book of the Iliad, v. 1—113.

14th.]—I wrote a note on page 30 of my *Eſſai ſur l'Etude de la Litterature*, containing a paſſage of Florus, and another of Propertius; with obſervations on the latter.

17th.]—I finiſhed the firſt volume of *Le Clerc's Bibliotheque univerſelle*. I ſhall juſt mention the moſt curious books that are abſtracted in it. Hugonis Grotii Epiſtolæ, Amſterdam, 1686, p. 1—29, and 121—166, curious and inſtructive. Temporum Mythicorum Hiſtoria, p. 245—280. I believe Le Clerc himſelf is the author. It is an ingenious application of a common principle; viz. that the heroic fables are only the Phœnician hiſtory corrupted, and their language miſunderſtood. *Clementes Galani Hiſtoria Armena Coloniæ*, 1686, a true miſſionary's account, full of curious facts and religious prejudices. *Lightfooti Opera omnia, Roterodami*, 1686. A claſſical author on a ſubject very little ſo. Lightfoot, by conſtant reading of the Rabbies, was almoſt become a Rabbin himſelf.

19th.]—I read the ſixteenth book of the Iliad, v. 113—367, the end, and wrote a note on p. 79 of my Eſſai, containing ſome inſtances of the number, rarity, and variety of the animals produced in the amphitheatre of Rome; and taken from the writers of the Auguſtan hiſtory, with the remarks of Caſaubon and Salmaſius.

21ſt.]—I reviewed the firſt hundred lines of the ſixteenth book of the Iliad: the fierceneſs and anger of Achilles ſoftened by friendſhip. The mild, amiable, and yet ſpirited character of Patroclus, are admirably deſcribed

deſcribed and contraſted. Homer never ſhines more than in theſe moral pictures.

June 22d.]—I reviewed the remaining ſeven hundred and fifty lines of the ſixteenth book of the Iliad. The deſcription of the arms, leaders, &c. Achilles's ſpeech to them, and his prayer, are ſolemn, and fill the mind with great ideas and expectations. They are fulfilled. Of all the heroes that fall throughout the Iliad, I pity none ſo much as Sarpedon; he was as amiable a character as Patroclus, and a much greater one. I read the ſeventeenth book, v. 1—105. I likewiſe, to underſtand the ſixteenth, v. 234, conſulted *Strabo, L. vii. p.* 327, 328; a Memoire of M. de la Nauze, *Mem. de Litterature, tom. vii. p.* 154—157; and one of M. Hardion, *Mem. de Litterature, tom. iii. p.* 138—141. Strabo is far from intelligible; the two Frenchmen treat their ſubject only incidentally, and were miſled by their erroneous, confined notion of the *Pelaſgi*. However, from theſe and my own reflections, I formed a pretty clear idea of *Dodona* and the *Selli*.

23d.]—I read the ſeventeenth book of the Iliad, v. 105—505.

24th.]—I finiſhed the ſecond volume of the *Bibliotheque univerſelle*. This volume contains, p. 20—51, *P. Limborchi Theologia Chriſtiana, Amſtelad.* 1686. Moderate and judicious, the general character of the Arminian divines.—*Petri Petiti de Sybillâ, Libri tres, Lipſ.* 1686. A ſtrange mixture of learning and credulity.—P. 154—184, *Hiſtoria Genevrina, par Gregorio Leti*. Leti is a moſt agreeable hiſtorian; a little more regard to truth and exactneſs would have made him an inſtructive one.—*Life and Letters of Archbiſhop Uſher, London,* 1686, *p.* 220—262. Accurate, as written by his chaplain; but this chaplain is both too long and too ſhort.—*Methode de dreſſer des Recueils, par M. Locke, p.* 315—340.—The exactneſs and perſpicuity of that great man are ſeen in that trifle.—*Deſcription de l'Afrique traduite du Flamand, par M. Dapper, p.* 340—386. Very curious.—*Contra Ariſteæ Hiſtoriam de LXX Interpretibus Diſſertatio, par Hum. Hody. Oxon* 1685; and *Iſaac Voſſii Obſervationum in Pomponium Melam Appendix, Lond.* 1686, *p.* 386—416. I think, after having read theſe two diſputants, that the queſtion is far more perplexed than before.

26th.]—I read the ſeventeenth book of the Iliad, v. 505—761, the end, and reviewed the firſt two hundred and fifty lines of it. The amiable character of Patroclus had made every reader his friend whilſt alive, and we intereſt ourſelves in the fate of his remains, which are ſo obſtinately diſputed.

June 28th.]—I finiſhed the *Bibliotheque des Sciences et des Beaux Arts*, for January, February, and March 1762. It contains *Oeuvres du Cancelier d'Aguceſſeau, Paris*, 1761, p. 1—20. They breathe a noble ſpirit of eloquence and virtue.—*Eutropii Breviarium Hiſtoriæ Romanæ, cum Notis varior. par Henric. Verheyk. Lugd. Bat.* 1762, p. 88—100. Superior to all other editions, even to that of Havercamp.—*Zimmermanni Opera Theologica et Philoſophica, p.* 154—181. Moderate and ſenſible.

29th]—I reviewed the remaining five hundred lines of the ſeventeenth book of the Iliad. It is a continued battle, but is yet very intereſting, from the unity and importance of the action, the various turns of fortune, and the equality of the two parties; the one depending on their natural courage, the other on the protection of Jupiter. I am particularly pleaſed with the ſorrow of Achilles's horſes, and the reflection of Jupiter, v. 426, &c. I likewiſe read the eighteenth book, v. 1—238, and conſulted ſome remarks of *M. Galland*, Hiſt. de l'Academ. des Belles Lettres, tom. i. p. 104—108, on the trumpets of the antients in relation to v. 219 of this book.

30th.]—I read the eighteenth book of the Iliad, v. 238—478.

July 1ſt.]—I read the eighteenth book of the Iliad, v. 478—616, the end.

2d.]—I reviewed the whole eighteenth book of the Iliad. Homer is never more thoroughly awake: the firſt part of it ſhews him to be a perfect maſter of the tender paſſions. Achilles receives the news of the death of Patroclus, with a mixture of fury and tenderneſs ſuitable to his character. We begin to love him; and the very exceſs of his rage, though terrible, pleaſes us, becauſe it is directed only againſt the murderer of his friend. The ſecond part, or the deſcription of the ſhield, is a fine landſcape. I read the deſcription of the ſhield of Æneas in Virgil, l. viii. v. 369—454, and 597—731. Virgil's deſcription is the finer piece of poetry; Homer's, the juſter repreſentation of a work of art. I read, with the ſame view, ſome remarks of the Abbé Fraguier on the origin of painting. *Hiſt. de l'Academie des Belles Lettres, tom. i. p.* 75—89. Elegant and inſtructive, but ſomewhat vague. I likewiſe read the whole nineteenth book of the Iliad, v. 1—424, the end, and conſulted *Potter's Archæologia Greca*, vol. i. p. 246—261, in relation to the ceremonies obſerved by the antients in their oaths. I alſo finiſhed, to-day, *the Journal des Savans, and the Memoires de Trevoux for December* 1761. They contain little more than *de*

Inſcriptione

Inſcriptione quâdam Egyptiacâ Taurini inventâ, Decembre, p. 334—345. Mr. Needham pretended that theſe Egyptian letters were the ſame as the old Chineſe characters. The ſimilitude is here conteſted.—*Obſervations ſur les Syſtemes de P. P. Hardouin et Berruyer.* The object is to prove, the ſociety always diſapproved the viſions of theſe two writers. There is much artifice, and ſome curious anecdotes, in theſe obſervations. I believe that the Jeſuits were innocent in this reſpect.

July 7th.]—I finiſhed the *Memoires de Trevoux*, and the *Journal des Savans for January* 1762. The Journal contains *Tragedies de Sophocle traduites, par M. Dupuy de l'A. R. des I. et B. L.* p. 3—15. Elegant, exact, and a great addition to French literature.—*L'Antro Elauſino, &c. par M. Bartoli*, p. 49—58. Ingenious, but very doubtful.—The Memoirs *Annæi Senecæ de brevitate vitæ*, p. 149—163. One of the beſt extracts I ever read.—*Les Pitture Antiche d' Hercolano*, p. 216—225. Antient, and therefore curious.

8th.]—I reviewed the firſt hundred and fifty lines of the nineteenth book of the Iliad. The generous character of Achilles raiſes him every moment higher in the eſteem of the reader; his care for the dead body, the ſpirited frankneſs of his reconciliation, and his impatience for the combat. I finiſhed the *Journal des Savans*, and *Memoires de Trevoux for February* 1762. The Journal contains *Thom. Hyde de Religione veterum Perſarum*, p. 289—301; a new edition, with long and trifling notes on an excellent book. *Idylles de Geſner traduites de l'Allemand*, p. 380—397. Un Allemand ne peut il pas etre bel eſprit? The Memoirs contain *Explication d'un Paſſage de Herodote*, 405—427. A happy ſolution of a difficult paſſage in l. ii. c. 142, only by explaining the word Ηλιος, an annual revolution of the ſun.

9th.]—I finiſhed the *Mem. de Trevoux for March.* They contain little more than *la Bibliomanie*, p. 167—176; ſevere and ſpirited; and *Diſſertation ſur l'Ecriture Hieroglyphique.* Original. He pretends that there never were any; but I think his proofs too weak for ſuch a paradox.

11th.]—I reviewed the remaining two hundred and ſeventy lines of the nineteenth book of the Iliad, and think the long debate between Achilles and Ulyſſes might have been ſhortened, though the ſpeeches of the firſt are highly characteriſtical; nothing can ſurpaſs the ſublime deſcription of his arming himſelf for battle. I likewiſe read the twentieth book of the Iliad, v. 1—258; and when I was at church, followed the ſecond leſſon with my Greek Teſtament in my hand; it was the 23d chapter of St. Luke. I find

this method both uſeful and agreeable, and intend to keep it up whenever I go to church. I finiſhed the *Journal des Savans*, and *Memoires de Trevoux for April* 1762. The firſt contains *Ariſtophanis Comœdiæ à P. Burmanno*; good, but inferior to Kuſter's: and the *Grammaire Francoiſe Philoſophique de M. d'Acarq*, truly deſerving of that name; the ſecond *Republique de Platon*. The tranſlation appears good; I am ſure the extract is ſo.

July 12th.]—I read the twentieth book of the Iliad, v. 258—503, the end.

13th.]—I reviewed the whole twentieth book of the Iliad. The battle of the gods is worthy of every thing Longinus ſays of it. It would be difficult to find another example which reunites ſo thoroughly every part of the ſublime, both as to thoughts and language. The combat of Achilles and Æneas is very animated and pictureſque; and the long ſpeech of Æneas, though faulty, and even ridiculous upon the whole, does honour in its details both to the poet and the hiſtorian. I finiſhed the *Journal des Savans, et Mem. de Trevoux for May* 1762, *part the firſt*. The Mem. contain nothing: in the Journal there is *Callimachi Hymni ab Erneſti. Lugd. Bat.* The text is exactly reviewed, and the verſion is a new one.—*Vie de M. Boſſuet par M. de Burigny*. Exact and judicious.

14th.]—The twentieth book of Homer, and particularly the ſpeech of Æneas, drew on a variety of diſcuſſions. In order to underſtand the genealogy of Dardanus, I read *Apollodori Biblioth.* l. iii. c. 11. p. 205—215, in Greek; I then conſulted Strabo, l. xiii. p. 607—608; and ſome difficulties ariſing about the word υπωρεια, as Plato explained it, the lower part of the hills, which were inhabited after the deluge, before men dared venture down into the plain, I read a diſſertation upon the deluges of Ogyges and Deucalion, by the learned Freret, *Mem. de l'Academie des Belles Lettres*, tom. xxiii. p. 129—148, who, from a chain of authorities, ſhews, inconteſtibly, that a deluge was unknown to Homer, Heſiod, and Herodotus; that the firſt who ſpeak of it (Plato himſelf, Pindar, and Apollodorus) expreſsly confined it to Greece, and intimate that a great number were ſaved; that afterwards, the Greeks mixing their traditions with thoſe of the Jews and the Chaldeans, ſwelled the deluge of Deucalion into an univerſal one; but that it never obtained general credit before the time of Plutarch and Lucian. Afterwards, to be well acquainted with Æneas, I read *Strabo, l. xiii. p.* 692—693; *Mezeriac's Ovid, vol. ii. p.* 142—146, *and* 158—168;

and a Diſſertation upon the Julian family, by the Abbé Vatry, *Mem. de l'Academie*, vol xvi. p. 414—424. Mezeriac, as uſual, compiles without a thought of reaſoning; but from the ſenſible criticiſms of the others, it appears that Æneas's poſterity probably reigned in Phrygia in the time of Homer, and that his voyage to Italy is a fable invented by the Greeks about the time of Alexander. *N. B.* The Greek authors whom I conſulted, I read in Greek. I likewiſe read the twenty-firſt book of the Iliad, v. 1—135, and finiſhed the ſecond part of May, *Journal des Savans*, and *Mem. de Trevoux*. The firſt contains a better extract of the *Diſſertation ſur l'Ecriture Hieroglyphique* than the Memoirs had given. I now ſee that the new ſyſtem is abſolutely indefenſible. The ſecond ſpeaks of *Hiſtoire du Siecle d'Alexandre, par M. Linguet:* I ſuſpect that they ſpeak too ſlightly of the book. However that may be, the author is certainly a man of genius, whom I ſhould like to know.

July 15th.]—I read only that moſt contemptible performance the *Vie du Marechal Duc de Belleiſle, par M. de C.....*

16th.]—I read the twenty-firſt book of the Iliad, v. 136—611, the end.

18th.]—I did nothing but go to church. The leſſons were the 12th of 2 Samuel, and the 5th of St. John's Goſpel, both of which I read in Greek.

23d.]—I finiſhed the third volume of *Le Clerc's Bibliotheque univerſelle*, which concludes the year 1686. It contains *Explication Hiſtorique de la Fable d'Adonis*. He thinks that Adonis, or Oſiris, was the ſon of Hammon or Cham, and grandſon of Cinyras, or Noah; and that the inceſt of Myrrah with her father, was the diſcovery of Noah's nakedneſs by his children. But this interpretation is very far-fetched, and can only ſuit the followers of Ephemerus.—*Bibliotheque univerſelle des Auteurs Eccleſiaſtique, par Dupin.* Curious and impartial.—Life of Hai Ebn Yokhdan. A fine, though irregular, production of Arabian genius and philoſophy.—*The Works of Dr. Barrow.* Barrow was as much of a philoſopher as a divine could well be.—*Commentaire Philoſophique.* The moſt uſeful work Bayle ever wrote, and the leaſt ſceptical.—*Puffendorfii Commentarius de rebus Suecicis.* Exact, heavy, and partial.

24th.]—In order to get a clear idea of thoſe oracles ſo often mentioned by Homer, and ſo eſſential a part of the Grecian religion, I read three diſſertations of M. Hardion, inſerted in the third volume of the Memoirs of the Academy upon the Oracle of Delphi, p. 137—191; and ſome obſervations

of

of M. de Valois, tom. iii. hiſtorical part, p. 73—79; and, drawn away by the affinity of the ſubject, I likewiſe read two diſſertations of the ſame M. de Valois, upon the Amphictyons, the guardians of this temple, tom. iii. p. 191—228, and tom. v. p. 405—415.

July 25th.]—I read the hiſtory which M. de la Valois has given us of the two ſacred wars, which the Amphictyons decreed to avenge the ſacrileges committed at Delphi, tom. vii. p. 201—239; tom. ix. p. 97—113, and tom. xii. p. 177—204. Beſides the light that theſe pieces throw on the Greek religion, they are valuable for the knowledge they give us of that civil and religious bond of union in the Hellenic body, which for ſome ages rendered it invincible.

28th.]—I read the articles of Jupiter and Juno, in Bayle's Dictionary. That of Jupiter is very ſuperficial. Juno takes up ſeventeen pages; but great part of it, as uſual, very foreign to the purpoſe. A long enquiry when horns began to be an emblem of cuckoldom; numberleſs reflections, ſome original, and others very trivial; and a learning chiefly confined to the Latin writers. When he doubted if Juno was really worſhipped at Carthage, why did not he quote Minucius Felix? *V. octav. p.* 259, *edit. Gronov.* Upon the whole, I believe that Bayle had more of a certain multifarious reading, than real erudition. Le Clerc, his great antagoniſt, was as ſuperior to him in that reſpect, as inferior in every other. I reviewed the firſt two hundred lines of the twenty-firſt book of the Iliad. There is great dignity of ſentiment, and a calm ſternneſs, in the anſwer of Achilles to the moving prayers of the unfortunate Lycaon.

29th.]—I reviewed the remaining four hundred lines of the twenty-firſt book of the Iliad. The combat of Achilles and the Scamander is finely deſcribed. If Homer, when he ſpeaks of the Gods, does not riſe in his ſentiments, at leaſt he does in his language and poetry. I likewiſe read ſome very ſenſible and curious obſervations of the Abbé de Fonterne, *Sur le Culte des Divinités des Eaux*; *Hiſtoire de l'Academie des Belles Lettres*, tom. xii. p. 27—49.

30th.]—I read the twenty-ſecond book of the Iliad, v. 1—515, the end.

Auguſt 1ſt.]—I read the leſſons at church in Greek, viz. the thirteenth chapter of the firſt book of Kings, and the twenty-firſt chapter of St. John's Goſpel. How very free a verſion the Septuagint is! for I imagine ours is a very literal one.

Auguſt

Auguſt 2d.]—I reviewed the whole twenty-ſecond book of the Iliad, in which the whole intereſt of the preceding books is wound up, in the lives of Hector and Achilles. Notwithſtanding the reaſons given by Mr. Pope, every reader of taſte muſt be diſguſted with Hector's flight. The true grounds of courage were not well underſtood, and poetry had not learnt the art of raiſing an hero without debaſing his enemies. The fears and lamentations of Hector's family, are beautifully pathetic; but I think that Andromache is rather too much the mother, and too little the wife. As I am now entering upon the twenty-third book, which contains the funeral of Patroclus, I read the eight firſt chapters of the fourth book of Archbiſhop Potter's Grecian Antiquities, vol. ii. p. 160—241, upon the Grecian Funerals. They contain a great fund of learning, without any uſeleſs digreſſions.

3d.]—I began M. de Burette's ſet of Diſſertations in the Memoirs of the Academy, on the Gymnaſtics of the Antients: they are learned and judicious, but too full of fruitleſs, and therefore frivolous, enquiries into the origin and etymology of every art. I read to-day, only *Obſervations generales ſur la Gymnaſtique*, Hiſt. tom. i. p. 89—104; and firſt *Memoire ſur la Danſe*, Mem. tom. i. p. 93—117.

4th.]—I read ſecond *Memoire ſur la Danſe*, tom. i. Mem. p. 117—136; *Memoire ſur la Sphæriſtique*, p. 117—153; and firſt *Memoire ſur les Athletes*, p. 211—237.

5th.]—I read ſecond and third *Memoires ſur les Athletes*, p. 237—291; and *Memoire ſur la Lutte*, tom. iii. Mem. p. 228—255.

6th.]—I read the ſeveral Memoires of M. de Burette, *ſur le Pugilat, la Courſe, le Pentathle, et le Diſque*, tom. iii. Mem. p. 255—343. Having finiſhed theſe, I read three Diſſertations of the Abbé Gedoyn, *ſur les Courſes des Cheveaux et des Chars, ſurtout au Jeux Olympiques, tom. viii. p.* 314—330; and 330—341; and *tom. ix. Mem. p.* 360—376; and *a Memoire of M. de la Barre, on the ſame ſubject; tom. ix. Mem. p.* 376—397. Gedoyn is polite and curious, but ſomewhat pert and ſuperficial. De la Barre is difficult to be underſtood, but is worth ſtudying, for he is very ingenious, as well as learned. There is a great diſpute what was the length of the Olympic courſe for chariots. Burette makes it twenty-four ſtadia, or twelve revolutions of one ſtadium: Gedoyn, eight ſtadia, or one revolution of four ſtadia: De la Barre, forty-eight ſtadia, or ſix revolutions of four ſtadia: Mr. Weſt, (v. Weſt's Pindar, vol. ii. p. 135.) forty-eight ſtadia,

or twelve revolutions of two ſtadia. I have not room for their reaſons; but I am of De la Barre's opinion. When one reads theſe Diſſertations, one admires the active ſpirit of the Greeks, ſenſible to every ſpecies of entertainment and glory; who could at the ſame time, and with the ſame application, bring to perfection, dancing and philoſophy, boxing and poetry.

Auguſt 7th.]—I read the twenty-third book of the Iliad, v. 1—257.

8th.]—I read the twenty-third book of the Iliad, v. 257—897; and the articles of *Lemnos*, *Hercules*, and the greateſt part of *Helena*, in Bayle. If Bayle wrote his dictionary to empty the various collections he had made, without any particular deſign, he could not have choſen a better plan. It permitted him every thing, and obliged him to nothing. By the double freedom of a dictionary and of notes, he could pitch on what articles he pleaſed, and ſay what he pleaſed on thoſe articles. When I conſider all that Homer ſays of the iſle of Lemnos, and the extenſive trade it carried on, both with Phœnicia, (Iliad xxiii. v. 743.) and with the Greek army before Troy (v. Iliad, l. vii. v. 467—475, and l. xxi. v. 40.). I am amazed to ſee the more modern poets repreſent that habitation of the unfortunate Philoctetes, as an iſland totally deſolate and uninhabited.

10th.]—I reviewed only the firſt hundred lines of the twenty-third book of the Iliad. The ſullen grief into which Achilles ſinks, is not leſs expreſſive of his character, than his violent rage in the preceding books. The apparition of Patroclus is the opening of a new world, of Homer's creation.

11th.]—I reviewed the next two hundred lines of the twenty-third book of the Iliad. This day I finiſhed the *Memoires d'Anne d'Autriche, par Madame de Motteville*, one of her greateſt favourites. They are written in a natural, unaffected ſtyle; and it is a proof of the author's ſincerity, that though ſhe had a very high opinion of her miſtreſs, the candour with which ſhe relates facts, ſhews us Anne of Auſtria as ſhe really was; a proud and ſilly woman, who abandoned herſelf to a favourite out of indolence, ſupported him through obſtinacy, and began at laſt to hate him, when he began to affect an independence. There is perhaps no period of hiſtory for which we have better materials, than for the minority of Lewis XIV. The faſhion of memoir-writing was very prevalent, and many of all ranks and all parties have left us accounts, both of thoſe troubles and of their ſecret ſprings. The character of the French nation, neither ſoured by religion, nor conſtrained by ſlavery, appears with freedom and boldneſs; brave and inconſtant; obſe-

quious

quious to the ladies; treating the greateſt events with a careleſs gaiety; running into civil wars without principle, and ſupporting them without rancour or cruelty. None of theſe wars ever were founded on any ſettled plan of liberty; the princes and the nobleſſe made it only in hopes of obtaining (as they commonly did) advantageous conditions in the treaty of peace. The honeſt part of the parliament were affected only by preſent evils, and thought only of temporary reliefs. They inveighed againſt a new tax, and demanded the removal of a diſagreeable miniſter. The only law of a durable kind which they ever planned, was in the nature of a Habeas Corpus bill; that every priſoner, in twenty-four hours after his confinement, ſhould be interrogated, by the parliament, as to the nature of his crime. But they ſupported this ſalutary propoſal very feebly; ſuffered the miniſtry to extend the term to ſix months, and at laſt neglected it ſo far, as not to have it ratified by the peace of *Ruel*. V. *Memoires*, tom. ii. p. 139. 337. 363. and tom. iii. p. 51, &c. Theſe Memoires are printed at Amſterdam, 1723, in five volumes 12mo.

Auguſt 12th.]—I reviewed the remaining ſix hundred lines of the twenty-third book of the Iliad. It is a fine picture of the manners of the heroic ages: the games celebrated at the funeral of Patroclus contain a great variety of both their civil and religious cuſtoms, related with a clearneſs and a circumſtantialneſs very diſagreeable to the taſte of a true commentator. Indeed, the more I read the antients, the more I am perſuaded that the originals are our beſt commentators. In this article of antient gymnaſtics (for inſtance), when I have read with care Homer, Pauſanias, and ſome few more antients, M. Burette has little to teach me, excepting perhaps what he may have picked up from ſome obſcure paſſages of ſome obſcure lexicographer. What I ſay is not, however, to proſcribe the uſe, but to reſtrain the abuſe, of modern critics. As to the poetical beauties of the twenty-third book, they are great and various. I know of few better proofs of the fertility of Homer's invention, than the variety of natural incidents which he has introduced into the chariot-race. That of Menelaus and Antilochus is beautiful in the *manners*. I wiſh that I could ſay as much of the quarrel of Idomeneus and Ajax. I think, however, that the chariot-race bears no proportion to the reſt, which indeed appears to a diſadvantage, both by being placed after it and a little *etranglé*.

13th.]—I read the twenty-fourth book of the Iliad, v. 1—361. We returned to Beriton. I read the reign of King James I. in Hume's firſt volume of

the Stuarts, with a view to Raleigh; and afterwards peruſed the ſixth book of Virgil, and the ſyſtem of Warburton upon it, in the firſt volume of his Divine Legation, and found many things to ſay, to explain the one, and deſtroy the other.

Auguſt 14th.]—I think it was pretty well to read the twenty-fourth book of the Iliad, v. 361—467, conſidering I was out from ſeven in the morning to ten at night.

15th.]—I read the twenty-fourth book of the Iliad, v. 467—805, the end; and reviewed the firſt hundred and fifty lines of it. The ſaving Hector's body, and the appeaſing Achilles's wrath, ſeems to be the great object both of heaven and earth, excepting of the implacable Juno. Indeed, the great attention of the gods towards Achilles, ſeems rather a fear of offending, than a deſire of favouring him. The laſt ſentiment would exalt the hero, the firſt would debaſe the gods, and be highly ridiculous even in the Pagan mythology. I likewiſe read in Bayle the articles of *Achillea*, *Achilles*, *Ajax Telamon*, *Ajax Oïleus*, *Alcinous*, *Andromache*, *Amphitryon*, and *Alcmena*; all, excepting Achilles, very ſhort ones. Bayle is as exactly circumſtantial in theſe important trifles, as Mezeriac himſelf. How could ſuch a genius employ three or four pages, and a great apparatus of learning, to examine whether Achilles was fed with marrow only; whether it was the marrow of lions and ſtags, or that of lions only, &c.? Bayle does not, in my opinion, ſufficiently eſteem Homer.

16th.]—I reviewed the remaining ſix hundred lines of the twenty-fourth and laſt book of the Iliad. The interview of Achilles and Priam is (in my opinion) ſuperior to any part of the Iliad. It is at once the *coup de theatre* and the *tableau* of *Diderot*. Nothing can be a more ſtriking *coup de theatre* than the unhappy monarch, who appears at once in the enemy's camp and at the feet of the murderer of his ſon. At the ſame time the various paſſions, and the fine philoſophy that diſtinguiſhes the converſation between them, form a moſt beautiful *tableau*.

I have at laſt finiſhed the Iliad. As I undertook it to improve myſelf in the Greek language, which I had totally neglected for ſome years paſt, and to which I never applied myſelf with a proper attention, I muſt give a reaſon why I begun with Homer, and that contrary to Le Clerc's advice. I had two. 1ſt, As Homer is the moſt antient Greek author (excepting perhaps Heſiod) who is now extant; and as he was not only the poet, but the lawgiver, the theologian,

theologian, the hiſtorian, and the philoſopher, of the antients, every ſucceeding writer is full of quotations from, or alluſions to, his writings, which it would be difficult to underſtand, without a previous knowledge of them. In this ſituation, was it not natural to follow the antients themſelves, who always begun their ſtudies by the peruſal of Homer? 2dly, No writer ever treated ſuch a variety of ſubjects. As every part of civil, military, or œconomical life is introduced into his poems, and as the ſimplicity of his age allowed him to call every thing by its proper name, almoſt the whole compaſs of the Greek tongue is comprized in Homer. I have ſo far met with the ſucceſs I hoped for, that I have acquired a great facility in reading the language, and treaſured up a very great ſtock of words. What I have rather neglected is, the grammatical conſtruction of them, and eſpecially the many various inflexions of the verbs. In order to acquire that dry, but neceſſary branch of knowledge, I propoſe beſtowing ſome time every morning on the peruſal of the *Greek Grammar of Port Royal*, as one of the beſt extant. I believe that I read nearly one half of Homer like a mere ſchool-boy, not enough maſter of the words to elevate myſelf to the poetry. The remainder I read with a good deal of care and criticiſm, and made many obſervations on them. Some I have inſerted here, for the reſt I ſhall find a proper place. Upon the whole, I think that Homer's few faults (for ſome he certainly has) are loſt in the variety of his beauties. I expected to have finiſhed him long before. The delay was owing partly to the circumſtances of my way of life and avocations, and partly to my own fault; for while every one looks on me as a prodigy of application, I know myſelf how ſtrong a propenſity I have to indolence.

Auguſt 19th.]—As my books were not come, and Madame de Motteville had left my head full of Louis the XIVth and his court, I took in hand my friend Voltaire's *Siecle de Louis XIV.* It will employ ſome few leiſure hours, and will afford me great entertainment..

Once more in poſſeſſion of ſome neceſſary books, I returned to my preſent great object, the ſtudy of Homer; but before I proceed to the Odyſſey, I determined to read ſeveral things which might conduce to the better underſtanding him. I read this morning, *Sir John Marſham's Canon Chronicus, &c.* p. 433—446, edit. Franquer, 1696; where he treats of Homer and Heſiod; and in ſpeaking of the firſt, explains, in a few words, all that is to be found in the antients concerning his country, age, fate of his writ-

ings, and progreſs of his reputation. I cannot help wondering at the blind deference which he pays to the oracular authority of the Parian marble; "*De eâ* "*re agitur* (the age of Homer) *non eſt amplius ambigendum.*" I reſpect that monument, as an uſeful, as an uncorrupt monument of antiquity; but why ſhould I prefer its authority to that of Herodotus, for inſtance? It is more modern, its author is uncertain. We know not from what ſources he drew his chronology, nor how far he was qualified to draw it properly. However, as to the age of Homer, I abide by his deciſion; becauſe I can (whatever diverſity appeared to Sir John) reconcile it with ſeveral of the moſt approved authors. That learned writer did not conſider, that in fixing the time when a great man flouriſhed, ſeveral hiſtorians may differ from one another, without differing from truth; becauſe they fixed it from different æras of his life. In that of Fontenelle, the fixing his date either from his birth (1657), or from his writing the worlds (1686); from his reception into the French academy (1691); from his being made ſecretary to that of ſciences (1699); from his reſigning that poſt (1740); from his death (1757), would produce the difference of a century; ſo that we may eſtabliſh for a rule of criticiſm, that when theſe diverſities do not exceed the natural term of human life, we ought to think of reconciling, and not of oppoſing them. In this inſtance, five of the moſt reſpectable authorities may be confined within the ſmall period of ſixty-eight years. The eldeſt Apollodorus, who places Homer 250 years after the Trojan war, A. C. 934, muſt be naturally underſtood to ſpeak of his birth: Cornelius Nepos, the ſecond, whoſe date is 160 years before the foundation of Rome, A. C. 914, of the time when Homer, then twenty, was arrived at the years of manhood: the æra of the marbles (643 years before the archontat of Diognetus) A. C. 907, of the time when Homer, then twenty-ſeven, began to diſtinguiſh himſelf; perhaps when, according to the Colophonian tradition, he wrote the Margites, his firſt poetical work. When Herodotus places Homer 400 years before his own birth, A. C. 884, he may mean, that, being then fifty, he was arrived at the higheſt pitch of his reputation, and perhaps wrote the Iliad. Laſtly, if Socibius, the Laconian, brings him down to the laſt year before the firſt Olympiad, Homer might then die aged ſixty-eight years, A. C. 866. This calculation agrees very well with the vague reckoning of Pliny and Juvenal, and pretty nearly with the more preciſe one of Velleius Paterculus. There are, indeed, many writers,

writers, whom it is impoſſible to conciliate, ſince they take in ſo enormous a period as 416 years, from the return of the Heraclides, A. C. 1104, to the twenty-third Olympiad, A. C. 688. But beſides that they are of inferior note, the great difference amongſt them leaves the authority of each to ſtand ſingly by itſelf.

I likewiſe began to-day a Greek life of Homer, or rather a diſſertation upon his writings, by an anonymous writer, inſerted in the *Opuſcula Mythologica, Phyſica, et Ethica, publiſhed at Amſterdam* 1688, *by Mr. Gale.* It takes up p. 283—404 of thoſe Opuſcula. As I intend to make an abſtract of it, I ſhall only ſay here that I read *p.* 283—303.

Auguſt 20th.]—I read the *Life of Homer*, 304—314. The Greek is eaſy, though I met with many words of the only ſpecies (perhaps) not to be found in Homer. Grammatical and metaphyſical terms, which are the more difficult at firſt, becauſe, as they are all metaphorical, it is the literal meaning which preſents itſelf to an unexperienced reader.

21ſt.]—In order to ſave ſome part of this day for ſtudy, I paſſed the evening in my lodging, and read the *Life of Homer*, *p.* 314—341.

24th.]—I read the *Life of Homer*, *p.* 341—357.

27th.]—I read the *Life of Homer*, *p.* 387—394.

28th.]—I finiſhed the *Siecle of Louis XIV.* I believe that Voltaire had for this work an advantage which he has ſeldom enjoyed. When he treats of a diſtant period, he is not a man to turn over muſty monkiſh writers to inſtruct himſelf. He follows ſome compilation, varniſhes it over with the magic of his ſtyle, and produces a moſt agreeable, ſuperficial, inaccurate performance. But there the information, both written and oral, lay within his reach, and he ſeems to have taken great pains to conſult it. Without any thing of the majeſty of the great hiſtorians, he has compriſed, in two ſmall volumes, a variety of facts, told in an eaſy, clear, and lively ſtyle. To this merit, he has added that of throwing aſide all trivial circumſtances, and chooſing no events, but ſuch as are either uſeful or entertaining. His method (of treating every article in a diſtinct chapter) I think vicious: as they are all connected in human affairs, and as they are often the cauſe of each other, why ſeparate them in hiſtory? The firſt volume is much leſs intereſting than the ſecond; arts and manners were a ſubject almoſt untouched; but ſo many writers had exhauſted the battles and ſieges of Lewis the XIVth's reign, that it was impoſſible to add any thing new, eſpecially in ſo confined

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an abridgment. Beſides, thoſe detached particulars wanted leſs that art of narrating, which Voltaire never poſſeſſed, with all his other talents: I mean in proſe, for there are ſome very fine narrations in his tragedies. That of *Iſmène*, in the laſt act of Merope, is equal to the famous ones of *Racine*. As to his hero, I think that he performed great actions without being a great man. France, notwithſtanding his wars and perſecutions, ought never to forget him. But when Condé, Turenne, Vauban, Louvois, Colbert, &c. have claimed their ſhare of fame, little more will remain to the monarch, than the having choſen and employed thoſe great men: I can hardly add that of perſiſting in his choice. A prince, diffident or inconſtant, may claim great merit for having perſiſted in a good choice. A monarch, proud, vain, or obſtinate, is only to be praiſed if he renounces a bad one. And every one muſt know to what a degree Lewis carried thoſe laſt-mentioned qualities.

September 3d.]—I returned to the Life of Homer, and read p. 394—404, the end.

4th.]—I reviewed, but in a curſory manner, the Life of Homer, without having ſo exalted an idea of it as Mr. Gale, who, like a true editor, calls it *Liber Aureus*. I think it a valuable piece, written with art, and containing many ingenious, and ſome uſeful obſervations upon Homer. I then began to look into the Greek Grammar of Port Royal, that learned ſociety which contributed ſo much to eſtabliſh in France a taſte for juſt reaſoning, ſimplicity of ſtyle, and philoſophical method. I began, contrary to the general method, with the verbs, and read with attention the firſt chapter of the third book, which treats of the nature and proprieties of the verb. I think that method the moſt natural and philoſophical which begins with the operations of the mind, or the action or paſſion of the body, and thence paſſes to foreign objects.

5th.]—I read the ſecond chapter of the third book, which treats of the characteriſtic letter, and the termination of verbs; and to impreſs the ſeveral modifications of the active verb upon my memory, I copied them out. I finiſhed to-day every thing in the *Bibliotheque Choiſie*, relative to Eraſmus, viz. *tom. iv. p.* 379—397; *tom. v. p.* 145—283; *tom. vi. p.* 1—238; *tom. xii. p.* 1—57. The firſt and laſt are very good reflections, and exact judgments, upon Eraſmus's works, but are too ſhort: the others are long extracts of his epiſtles, which, tranſlated in a very bad ſtyle, and

unconnected method, have neither the *agrémens* of original letters, nor the merit of a complete life. When I had finiſhed them, (according to a maxim I have laid down elſewhere,) I began *Vie d'Eraſme, par M. de Burigny*; and ſo preferred the *ſuite* of my ideas to that of my books.

September 6th.]—I read the Grammar, l. iii. c. 3. which treats of the augmentation, both ſyllabic and temporal.

7th.]—I read the Grammar, l. iii. c. 4—14. I ſaw the various forms into which every verb changes itſelf, from the indicative to the participle, and from the preſent to the ſecond perfect. Indeed, I think the chain has too many links, as well as groundleſs exceptions without number; but this laſt is the vice of all languages, none of which have been the work of reaſon.

8th.]—In the evening I found means to look over, in a curſory manner, the paſſive and middle moods of the barytone verbs in ω. They depend ſo much upon the active, that when one has a clear idea of it, the genealogy is very eaſy to follow. I now ſee clearly the advantage of paying little attention to the Grammar, till you have made ſome progreſs in the language. Inſtead of having both precepts and examples to learn, I need attend only to the general rules of what I have already ſeen in a variety of particular inſtances. It is examining the map of a country through which I have before travelled.

9th.]—I looked more cloſely into the paſſive and middle moods of the barytones in ω. If the *vox media* is not very uſeful and ingenious, it is highly ridiculous.

10th.]—I read the Greek Grammar, l. iii. c. 21—27, containing a very clear account of the circumflex verbs in ω, and of the rules by which they contract themſelves.

11th]—I read the Greek Grammar, L. iv. c. 1—5, which treats of the regular verbs in μι. I approve extremely of the intention of M. M. de Port Royal, who, to ſimplify things as much as poſſible, have reduced the thirteen conjugations of the Greek grammar to two, or rather to three. But the variety of theſe conjugations is ſo great, and the differences ſo real, that the antient diviſion was, perhaps, clearer, in having many rules with few exceptions, than the modern ones of few rules and many exceptions. For inſtance, in explaining the barytone conjugations in ω, there is hardly a tenſe without exceptions for the peculiar formation of the liquids. At leaſt I would have a ſeparate conjugation for them. Another defect I have obſerved is, the example they have fixed on for the barytone conjuga-

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tion. 1. They pitch upon the verb τιω, and make uſe of it in their table; but when they come to the detail of the moods and tenſes, they then employ τυπτω. This alteration deſtroys the unity of their plan, and muſt breed ſome confuſion; eſpecially in a young head. 2. They boaſt in their preface of having choſen (with Sanctius) τιω as a very ſimple verb; but I own I think the choice ill judged. The great object ſhould have been to have choſen a verb perfectly regular, every one of whoſe different modifications ſhould have been the example of the general rule, which they laid down for that mood or tenſe. Τιω does not anſwer that character. In the firſt future paſſive (for inſtance), according to the general rule * of changing the ω of the firſt future active, into ησωμαι, τισω would make τισθησομαι. However, by a common exception of the verbs in ω pure †, it drops the σ and makes only τιθησομαι.

To-day I began the ſmall but valuable treatiſe of Longinus, περι ΥΨΟΥΣ *in the variorum edition of Tollius, printed at Utrecht*, 1694, *in 4to.* The edition appears to be a very complete one. It contains the Greek text of the author, with a Latin verſion by Tollius, and a French one by Boileau, with the notes of Robortellus, Petra, Portus, Langbænius, le Fevre, and Tollius himſelf; and the French ones of Boileau and Dacier. I read the dedication of Tollius to the Electoralr Pince of Brandenburg, afterwards king of Pruſſia, and father of the preſent monarch; the prefaces of Tollius, de Petra, Langbænius, and Boileau, with the liſt of *Teſtimonia*, and the greateſt part of the firſt chapter of Longinus himſelf. Tollius, though a commentator, was a man of taſte and genius; though the ſtyle of his dedication is ſomewhat timid, yet there are pretty thoughts in it. He quibbles a little about *Victoria Elata*, and *Fama Pinnigera*, when he ſpeaks of the great Elector; but his compliment upon the battle of Ferbelin is juſt, and well expreſſed. When I reflect on the age in which Longinus lived, an age which produced ſcarcely any other writer worthy of the attention of poſterity; when real learning was almoſt extinct, philoſophy ſunk down to the quibbles of grammarians and the tricks of mountebanks, and the empire deſolated by every calamity, I am amazed that at ſuch a period, in the heart of Syria, and at the court of an Eaſtern monarch, Longinus ſhould produce a work worthy of the beſt and freeſt days of Athens. I read with

Dr. Langbaine.

* V. Nouvelle Methode, l. iii. c. 16. Reg. 52. p. 182.

† V. Nonvelle Methode, l. iii. c. 16. Except. 3. p. 183.

the ſincereſt regret the titles of the other works which are now loſt; but none more than his *Odenathus*. I ſhould have ſeen, though probably with ſome partiality, the character and actions of that great man, and of the greater Zenobia, who both (contrary to the other tyrants,) propoſed leſs making themſelves Roman emperors, than detaching the Eaſt from the empire, and erecting a new monarchy upon quite different foundations.

Sept. 12th.]—I finiſhed the firſt chapter of Longinus, with Boileau's tranſlation, and all the notes. The Greek is, from the figurative ſtyle, and bold metaphors, extremely difficult: I am afraid that it is rather too difficult for me; but now I have entered upon it, *jacta eſt alea*; and I have nothing to do but to redouble my application to underſtand him correctly. Is it vexation at thoſe difficulties, or reaſon, which makes me wiſh, that in the room of thoſe poetical figures, he had given us a definition of the ſublime? Though this had been done by Cæcilius, yet it was ſtill neceſſary, and would have taken him but a few lines. I then read a diſſertation of M. le Clerc, inſerted in the *Bibliotheque Ancienne et Moderne, tom. v. p.* 237—290, *ſur les Verbs moyens des Grecs*. As it is (which I did not know at firſt) in oppoſition to another of M. Kuſter, I can decide nothing about the diſpute till I have ſeen that, which I will do as ſoon as poſſible, for his idea is a very ingenious one. He thinks that thoſe verbs, as diſtinct from the active and paſſive ones, are made uſe of by the pure attic writers to ſignify, 1. An action which paſſes entirely within the agent, ſuch as thinking, willing, &c. 2. An action which, though exterior, has the agent himſelf for the object; ſuch as, I feed myſelf, I undreſs myſelf, &c. M. le Clerc, on the other hand, not only denies their uſe, but even diſputes the exiſtence of the *vox media*; which he treats as a corruption only of the active and paſſive. As to the pretended difference of ſound and ſenſe, he ſays, that the firſt are not greater than many occaſioned by the dialects, or by poetical licences, for which the grammarians have never eſtabliſhed new voices or moods: that by M. Kuſter's own confeſſion, the deponents in Latin, and many verbs in Greek, have an active ſignification, with a paſſive termination, without belonging to any *vox media*; that this myſtery is unknown to the beſt Greeks, and that many of them expreſs thoſe actions by an active verb; nay, ſometimes in the ſame period employ an active and middle verb. This he illuſtrates by a variety of examples.

I began to-day my *Extract of the Life of Homer, in French*, and wrote the firſt folio page, with a long note.

Sept. 14th.]—I read the *ſecond chapter of Longinus*, with the verſions and notes as uſual. As yet I read my author more as a man of genius, than as a man of taſte: I am pleaſed and aſtoniſhed rather than inſtructed. I obſerved in this chapter a licence more than poetical, into which the fire of his imagination hurried him, that of leaving the reader to ſupply one part of a firſt compariſon, whilſt he haſtens to a ſecond. There was an *hiatus* at the end of the chapter, which Tollius ſupplied from a manuſcript in the Vatican. It is amuſing to peruſe the conjectural ſupplements of the critics; how various, how ingenious, and how diſtant from the truth. They are probably often as much ſo, though we have it not in our power to confute them in the ſame manner.

15th.—I went through the whole ſeries of the irregular verbs in Greek. Some of them are defective by the want of ſome particular tenſes or perſons; and others are irregular, as forming their tenſes not from their own natural theme, but from ſome other which bears ſome affinity with it, and is commonly either derived or contracted from it. Theſe irregularities are neceſſary to be known; but we ſhould be cautious of erecting them too haſtily into general rules, the firſt ſort eſpecially; where the ſuppoſed defect may ariſe only from the Greek authors now extant not having had occaſion to employ that particular modification of the verb.

27th.—I have not, almoſt this fortnight, ſet down any thing in the literary way. Indeed, I was very idle. In that time, I went through only the *Life of Eraſmus*; which ought only to have been an amuſement, and not to have broken in upon Longinus. To-day I finiſhed that Life of Eraſmus. It is a work of great reading. As M. de Burigny propoſed connecting with his hiſtory, a general account of the ſciences and religion during his time, he has very deeply conſidered his ſubject. His ſtyle and reflections are ſuited to a man of ſenſe and modeſty, who neither pretends to, nor poſſeſſes the leaſt ſhare of genius. Upon the whole, the book is a perfect contraſt to moſt faſhionable French ones, ſince it is uſeful without being brilliant. If we conſider the character of Eraſmus, we ſhall be immediately ſtruck with his extenſive erudition; and that heightened by two circumſtances: 1. That he was ſcarcely ever fixed ſix months in a place (excepting at Baſil); that to this wandering life, which deprived him both of books and leiſure, muſt be added, a continued bad ſtate of health, and the conſtant avocation of a vaſt correſpondence. 2. That his learning was all real, and founded on the accurate peruſal of the antient authors. The numerous editions he

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publiſhed ſufficiently evince it; and beſides, thoſe convenient compilations of all ſorts, where a modern author can learn to be a profound ſcholar at a very ſmall expence, did not then exiſt; every thing was to be ſought for in the originals themſelves. But beſides this learning, which was common to many, Eraſmus poſſeſſed a genius without which no writer will ever deſcend to poſterity; a genius which could ſee through the vain ſubtleties of the ſchools, revive the laws of criticiſm, treat every ſubject with eloquence and delicacy; ſometimes emulate the antients, often imitate them, and never copy them. As to his morals, they had the poor merit of being regular. In the nobler part of his character I find him very deficient. Delicacy of ſentiment he had none. A paraſite of all the great men of his time, he was neither aſhamed to magnify their characters, by the loweſt adulation, nor to debaſe his own by the moſt impudent ſolicitations to obtain preſents which very often he did not want. The adventure of Eppendorf is another proof how much dearer his money was to him than his character. Notwithſtanding theſe faults, never man enjoyed a greater perſonal conſideration. All the ſcholars, and all the princes of Europe, looked upon him as an oracle. Even Charles V. and Francis I. agreed in this. If we enquire why this happened to him rather than to ſome other great men, of a merit equal, and perhaps ſuperior to Eraſmus, we muſt ſay that it was owing to the time when he lived; when the world, awaking from a ſleep of a thouſand years, all orders of men applied themſelves to letters with an enthuſiaſm which produced in them the higheſt eſteem and veneration for one of their principal reſtorers. Beſides, as the general attention, from piety, from curioſity, from vanity, and from intereſt, was directed towards the religious diſputes, a great divine was the faſhionable character; and all parties endeavoured to attract or to preſerve him. But to which of thoſe parties did Eraſmus adhere? His writings, and even his conduct, were often equivocal. The Catholics claim him, though they acknowledge that he was often indiſcreet. Le Clerc challenges him for the Proteſtants, though he blames him for not profeſſing what he knew to be the truth; and attributes his reſerve ſolely to timidity and ſelf-intereſt. Eraſmus has certainly expoſed all the groſſer ſuperſtitions of the Romiſh worſhip to the ridicule of the public; and had his free opinion been taken, I believe that he was a Proteſtant upon moſt of the conteſted points. But many other motives might reſtrain him from a declaration. He was always per-

ſuaded, that any ſpeculative truths were dearly purchaſed at the expence of practical virtue and public peace. Beſides, many conſiderations might often make him balance as to thoſe truths; prejudices of education, the authority of the fathers, and a natural inclination to ſcepticiſm. Add to all this, that really diſapproving many things in the Proteſtant communion, though more in the Romiſh, by remaining in the looſe ſituation of a man who was unwilling to quit the religion of his anceſtors, he could blame many things in it with freedom; whereas, had he deſerted it, he muſt either have ſet up a ſtandard himſelf, or elſe have enliſted blindly under that of Luther or Æcolampodius. It is ſurpriſing that Eraſmus, who could ſee through much more plauſible fables, believed firmly in witchcraft.

Sept. 30th.]—I began the *Ciceronianus*, and read p. 1—80.

October 1ſt.]—I read *Ciceronianus*, p. 80—230, which finiſhed it; and peruſed 47 pages of Extracts from Eraſmus's Letters, which related to it; and which turn principally upon the great ſcandal which the compariſon between *Aſcenſius Badius* and the great *Budæus* had given in France. The object of this dialogue is to attack ſome blind admirers and copiers of Tully's ſtyle; who, at the revival of letters, formed, eſpecially in Italy, a very conſiderable ſect, of which the principal leaders were, *Bembo*, *Sadolet*, and *Julius Scaliger*. In this attack he employed every arm both of argument and pleaſantry. It may be divided into three parts; in the firſt, *Noſoponus* the Ciceronian is introduced; and with that exquiſite ſpecies of humour, of which the *Lettres Provinciales* offer ſo fine a ſpecimen, ridicules his own party by a bare expoſition of thoſe maxims which he himſelf venerated and practiſed. His excluſive devotion to Cicero, his three Indices, his never writing but in the dead ſilence of the night, his employing months upon a few lines, his religious caution about the words, and his total indifference about the ſenſe, are truly and highly comic. In the ſecond, Eraſmus himſelf appears under the name of *Boulephorus*; and entering into a great detail, eſtabliſhes, victoriouſly, that Cicero, though worthy of our attention and imitation, is not the only one worthy of it; that ſo ſervile an attachment to any author, deſtroys all freedom and originality of genius, and produces only a ſet of tame writers, who, perhaps, will copy only the faults, but who will ſurely never attain to the perfections of their great model; and that finally, we ſhould rather endeavour to ſpeak as Cicero would do if he lived at preſent, than as he did in his time; that ſince words are made for ideas,

ideas, and not ideas for words, it is infinitely more reaſonable to coin new words to expreſs a variety of things unknown to Cicero, than, out of a vain ambition for purity, to call excommunication, *interdictio aquæ et ignis*, and to expreſs all the objects of Chriſtianity by the terms of the Pagan rituals. It muſt be confeſſed, that the Ciceronians laid themſelves very open to ridicule, were it only by their looking on Tully not only as the beſt but as the ſole model, and that of language as well as of eloquence. In a polite age, in which a language is thoroughly cultivated, every writer who is a man of education, of letters, and of taſte, ſpeaks nearly the ſame language; and very often, genius and eloquence, inſtead of being companions to purity, are enemies to it, by diverting the attention to nobler aims. Bouhours is much purer than either Corneille or Bayle. Why therefore ſhould we exclude all other writers of the Auguſtan age, and confine our imitation to Tully alone; who was not a native of Rome, and who, from the fire of his imagination, the variety of his occupations, and the multiplicity of his writings, could not always attend nicely to his expreſſions. Why is not Cæſar (for example) as ſafe a model? A Ciceronian muſt believe Cicero's own account of him. *Cæſar autem rationem adhibens, conſuetudinem vitioſam et corruptam purâ et incorruptâ conſuetudine emendat. Itaque . . ad hanc elegantiam verborum Latinorum . . . . . adjungit illa oratoria ornamenta dicendi.* But the ſame Ciceronian, if he would condeſcend to admit the other Latin writers of that age into a partnerſhip with Tully, would be much more formidable than Noſoponus. He would obſerve, that in all languages, rules and analogies are very treacherous guides; that in modern tongues, we ſee them give way every day to cuſtom. That in the dead ones, that cuſtom is to be met with only in the moſt correct writers; and that whenever we deviate from them, we riſk offending againſt the idiom of the language. That the boldeſt moderns did not carry their privilege of making new terms ſo far as they ought, to have made it really uſeful, ſince they expreſs many modern ones by very looſe periphraſes. That as they are themſelves ſtill fond of copying and alluding to the antients, the writings of Eraſmus himſelf are an incoherent mixture of Roman manners and expreſſions with Batavian ones; a mixture not leſs ridiculous than their ſcrupulous antique idiom. Perhaps the natural concluſion from theſe various difficulties, where either freedom or correctneſs muſt be ſacrificed, was, that inſtead of

that ungrateful labour upon a dead language, it would be better to improve and cultivate the living ones. But this concluſion was too much for the age of Eraſmus. The third part of the Dialogue, which contains Eraſmus's opinion of the ſtyle of the principal Latin authors, both antient and modern, ſhews great learning; but his judgments are too ſuperficial, and not ſo much varied as the nature of the ſubject required. The ſtyle of the *Ciceronianus* itſelf is lively and eaſy; but the ſpirit of the Dialogue is but indifferently kept up. Noſoponus makes no defence, and Hypologus is quite a uſeleſs perſonage.

October 2d.]—After a long abſence, I returned at laſt to Longinus, and read the third and fourth chapters, περι τυφους. After Longinus had, in the two former chapters, opened his deſign, and ſhewn that though the true ſublime is a gift of nature, yet nature may, as in other things, be aſſiſted by art; he treats of two vices different from each other, but equally oppoſite to it; the one a turgid ſtyle and inflated figures, ſpringing from an exuberance of genius or a vain ambition: the other a frigid poor labour after puns and little affected beauties. I approve very much of this inverted method of ſhewing firſt what a thing is not, and then what it is. In theſe refined enquiries nothing contributes more to aſſiſt our imagination and diſpel prejudices. I likewiſe admire that noble freedom with which he diſcovers the faults of thoſe heroes themſelves *, Plato and Xenophon.

3d.]—I employed my morning very well, ſince I read the fifth, ſixth, ſeventh, eighth, and ninth chapters of Longinus. The two firſt are inconſiderable; the ſeventh, in which he points out the way to diſcover the true ſublime, is the work of a man of ſtrong feelings rather than of a clear head; the eighth begins to enter more deeply into the ſubject, and points out five ſources of the ſublime. The ninth chapter, which treats of the firſt of theſe, (the elevation of the ideas,) is one of the fineſt monuments of antiquity. Till now, I was acquainted only with two ways of criticiſing a beautiful paſſage: the one, to ſhew, by an exact anatomy of it, the diſtinct beauties of it, and whence they ſprung; the other, an idle exclamation, or a general encomium, which leaves nothing behind it. Longinus has ſhewn me that there is a third. He tells me his own feelings upon reading it; and tells them with ſuch energy, that he communicates them. I almoſt

* Οι πρωτες εχειρον. LONGIN. περι ὑψους, p. 32. Edit. Toll.

doubt

doubt which is moſt ſublime, Homer's Battle of the Gods, or *Longinus*'s Apoſtrophe to *Terentianus* upon it. The chapter concludes with ſome very ingenious obſervations upon the different character of the *Iliad* and of the *Odyſſey*. I am ſorry to criticiſe ſuch a chapter, but what would Longinus have ſaid, had another made his obſervation upon that paſſage of Homer, where the celeſtial horſes leap at one bound the extent of the viſible horizon? One would think, ſays he, the world could not have afforded ſpace for ſuch another leap. To what faculty does the viſible horizon appear above half the world? To the eyes it appears, the whole; to the underſtanding, and even to the imagination, a very ſmall part.

October 4th.]—I read the *tenth chapter of Longinus*, p. 72—88. Its ſubject is but obſcurely marked, and appears at firſt to run into the former. The diſtinction however appears to be, the firſt treats of thoſe great and ſimple ideas, which require only to be fully conceived and expreſſed; the ſecond, of ſuch ideas as though not ſublime in themſelves, may be rendered ſo by the artful introduction of acceſſary circumſtances. But I hardly think that the Ode of Sappho was a proper example. It may be beautiful, it may be paſſionate; but ſurely there is nothing in it which elevates the mind: Longinus's own characteriſtic of the ſublime. This morning Mr. M .... returned my viſit, and ſtayed nearly two hours with me. I have not yet ſeen any great proofs of his taſte or genius, but he is certainly a ſcholar, and a very communicative one. Obſerving I had only *Hederici's Lexicon*, he offered me *Scapula* as much better, and ſent it to me in the evening. It is in fact infinitely more copious; and I like much the diſpoſition of it by roots. It gives you a much clearer idea of the language, by reducing it to a ſmall number of primitives; which, by their various compoſitions, produce all the riches of that copious tongue.

5th.]—I read the *eleventh and twelfth chapters of Longinus*, p. 88—94. They treat of *Amplification*; of that art in poetry and rhetoric by which things are made to appear greater than they really are. Perhaps, had he known the magnifying glaſſes, he would have ſaid that the merit of that art was, like thoſe glaſſes, to increaſe the magnitude, but preſerve the proportions. He then draws a compariſon between Cicero (who excelled peculiarly in it) and Demoſthenes; a compariſon framed with his uſual eloquence, and with a candour for the Roman's merit very uncommon in a Greek.

October

October 11th.]—I read the *thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth chapters of Longinus*, p. 94—118. The two firſt, which treat of imitation, are true pictures of the impetuous genius of the author. He enters on his ſubject by a quotation from Plato, which is very remotely connected with it. Then, though he recommends as a road to the ſublime, the imitation of the great antients; yet imitation is too lame a practice to be agreeable to him. He firſt extends it to an advice to us to conſider how Homer or Demoſthenes would have expreſſed ſuch an idea, not how they would expreſs any one: then to think how they would approve of the manner in which we ourſelves are going to expreſs it; that is, to make them not our models, but our judges; and at laſt, diſclaiming all particular imitation, he adviſes us only to catch their fire, and to imitate the noble confidence with which they looked forward to the lateſt poſterity. The fifteenth chapter contains ſome fine examples of poetical figures, diſtinguiſhes them from rhetorical ones, and obſerves, that the miſtaken taſte of his age makes them be often confounded.

12th.]—I read the *ſixteenth chapter of Longinus*, p. 118—126. He ſpeaks of the phraſe and elocution. This is his third ſource of the ſublime. The *pathos*, which was the ſecond, he has almoſt totally forgotten. This chapter is taken up chiefly by the example of the famous oath of Demoſthenes; by the heroes of Marathon and Plateæ. He examines it very nicely, diſcovers all the art and energy of it, and ſhews how much it differs from a ſimilar expreſſion of the comic Eupolis. If the ninth chapter ſhews Longinus the moſt as a man of genius, he no where appears a more excellent critic than in this.

14th.]—I began the *Colloquia* of *Eraſmus*, and as far as I have gone, think them full of entertainment.

16th.]—I read ſeveral chapters of *M. de Tillemont's Hiſtoire des Empereurs*, in relation to Longinus's Patrons Odenathus and Zenobia, tom. iii. p. 3; 947—952; 976—977; 983—988; 1039—1062; and 1078—1082. It is much better to read this part of the Auguſtan hiſtory in ſo learned and exact a compilation than in the originals, who have neither method, accuracy, eloquence, nor chronology. I think them below the worſt monkiſh chroniclers we have extant. We may obſerve that Odenathus, who was an Arab, began to ſhew the ſuperiority of his brave barbarians over the corrupted

rupted Romans; a ſuperiority which Mahomet improved by the additional ſpur of religion, but which he did not create.

October 18th.]—I read the ſeventeenth, eighteenth, nineteenth, twentieth, twenty-firſt, twenty-ſecond, twenty-third, twenty-fourth, twenty-fifth, and twenty-ſixth chapters of Longinus, p. 126—154. He continues to treat of the various kinds of figures, which, when properly employed, give force and beauty to the diſcourſe: the interrogation, the omiſſion of copulatives, the mixture of figures, the tranſpoſitions of ideas, and the alterations of number and tenſe. This is perhaps the leaſt ſhining part of his book; as it is the more mechanical part of criticiſm. However, Longinus enlivens the dulneſs of it, by the magic of his ſtyle; and corrects the dryneſs by the clearneſs of his reaſons, and the accuracy of his diſtinctions. I ſhall give an inſtance of each. Speaking of that rhetorical figure by which a writer, addreſſing himſelf to his reader, employs the ſecond perſon, he himſelf makes uſe of it in a moſt beautiful manner, in animadverting to Terentianus upon a paſſage of Herodotus *. The ſecond is, where treating of the change of the ſingular into the plural he diſtinguiſhes, with great juſtneſs, between thoſe words which, ſingular by their termination, by their ſenſe may be conſidered as plural, without any effort of, or effect upon, the imagination; and thoſe which, in themſelves ſtrictly ſingular, are magnified and multiplied, when, upon certain occaſions, they are ſpoken of as plural †. I muſt juſt mention a miſtake of *Tollius*. Herodotus makes uſe of the words Δελοις δρεπτῆσι. Tollius owns that it ſignifies *ſervis fugitivis*; but thinks it not elegant enough, and therefore renders it by the vague expreſſion of *ſervitutem acerbiſſimam* ‡. However, the other has certainly more elegance, as well as truth and propriety. The Ionians had revolted from the Perſians; if they were again ſubdued, they would not only be, as before, oppreſſed like ſlaves, but puniſhed as fugitives.

19th.]—I read Longinus, chapters twenty-ſeven, twenty-eight, twenty-nine, and thirty, p. 154—168. He continues his enumerations of figurative expreſſions, and mentions that ſudden tranſition from one perſon to another, of which the poets and orators have left us ſome fine examples. It may, however, be remarked, that as this figure is infinitely violent and abrupt, it is ſuitable only to the ſtrongeſt paſſions, and therefore commonly ſuits better the poet's heroes

* Longin. C. xxvi. p. 152. † Longin. C. xxiii. p. 144.
‡ Longin. C. xxii. p. 142. notaſq. Toll. in loc.

than himſelf. Longinus then proceeds to the periphraſis, and gives ſome very ſenſible rules about it. However, he has forgotten to obſerve, that though, when well employed, this figure gives light and grace to a diſcourſe; yet in itſelf it is an enemy to the ſublime, of which a conciſe expreſſion is always the beſt vehicle. If we inquire into the reaſon of it, we muſt ſay, that it preſents the idea at once, gives as little as poſſible to the tediouſneſs and deficiencies of language, and comes the neareſt to the operations of thought. In the thirtieth chapter, he enters upon the choice of words, which he has laid down as the fourth ſource of the ſublime. There appears to be here a conſiderable chaſm.

Oct. 20th.]—I read Longinus, chapters thirty-one, thirty-two, and thirty-three, p. 168—186. The thirty-firſt ſeems to be very defective; however we ſee that he proves that the common expreſſions, when introduced properly, have often more ſtrength and meaning than more elaborate ones. I believe his poſition juſt, and his examples from Herodotus explain his meaning very well; but I think that from Demoſthenes ill choſen. The idea is indeed very *idiotic*, but it is expreſſed by a very uncommon and metaphorical word. The thirty-ſecond chapter treats of the multiplicity of metaphors, for which Longinus is a great advocate, and admires very much a laboured deſcription of the human body by Plato. I wiſh I could admire it too. However, as Plato has certainly faults, our critic examines in the twenty-third chapter, which is preferable, a ſublimity often faulty, or an unblamable mediocrity. He treats his ſubject with an eloquent and becoming enthuſiaſm. His deciſion is that of a man of taſte. I likewiſe read a Letter of Pliny on the ſame ſubject, L. ix. Ep. 26; which is full of very pretty thoughts and expreſſions. I am of the ſame opinion with both theſe great writers; but think neither of them has gone deep enough. I take the reaſon to be, not that we are more ſtrongly affected with beauties, but that we are longer ſo: the pleaſure we feel in the ſenſation prolongs it, by making us dwell upon it with ſatisfaction; whereas the diſguſt we conceive from faults ſhortens the ſenſation, by cauſing us to call off our attention immediately. There are, beſides, two other collateral reaſons, but I take this to be the principal, and I muſt not write diſſertations in my journal.

21ſt.]—Laſt night, when in bed, I was thinking of a diſſertation of M. de la Nauze, upon the Roman calendar; which I read laſt year *. This led

* V. Journal, Auguſt 25 and 26, 1761.

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me to conſider what was the Greek, and finding myſelf very ignorant of it, I determined to read a ſhort, but very excellent abſtract of Mr. Dodwell's book *de Cyclis*, by the famous Dr. Halley *. It is only twenty-five pages; but as I meditated it thoroughly, and verified all the calculations, it was a very good morning's work. The cycle of Meton had for its object, to reconcile the courſe of the ſun with that of the moon, which it accompliſhes in a cycle of 19 ſolar years, 235 lunar months, and 6940 days. The years ſhould be regularly twelve months, and the months thirty days; but as the firſt would not be enough, it is neceſſary to add ſeven *menſes embolimi* in the third, fifth, eighth, eleventh, thirteenth, ſixteenth, and nineteenth years of the cycle; and as the ſecond would be too much, 110 months are *cavi*, or of 29 days only, which is determined by leaving out every ſixty-fourth day. The firſt cycle begins with July 15th, Ant. Chr. 432 †. To reduce them to the Julian account, you muſt obſerve the following rule. Collect the number of months elapſed ſince the beginning of the period; multiply them by 30; add the number of days elapſed in the current month; divide the whole number by 64; ſubſtract the quotient from it; add as many times 6940 as there have been complete cycles, with the conſtant number 196, and you have the whole number of days elapſed ſince the 1ſt January, Ant. Chr. 434; which number you may eaſily reduce into Julian years, months, and days. This diſſertation gives me a very clear, and, I believe, a very true notion of Meton's Attic year. As to that of Calippus, it was only a reformation of that of Meton, who had reckoned the ſolar year too long by about one ſeventy-ſixth of a day; to obviate which, he added another *dies exemplilis*; but as it is at the end of his period of 76 years, we need pay no attention to it in our calculations: otherwiſe it is the ſame months regular and embolimi, and the ſame *dies exemplilis*. We muſt only obſerve two differences in our reductions of it. 1. That inſtead of 196 days to be added, there are 552 always to be ſubſtracted, being the number of days between the 1ſt July, Ant. Chr. 330, when the cycle begins, and January 1ſt, 328, being the firſt after Biſſextile. Indeed, to perform the reductions exactly, we ought to have all our dates in olympiads or archontats, compared with years of the cycles; but if we meet with any modern author who reckons by Julian years anticipated, we may venture (after ſubſtracting his

* At the end of the ſecond volume of the Life of Mr. Dodwell. *London*, 1715.

† It was the firſt after the *Biſſextile*.

number from 432*) to look upon the laſt year of it as complete, if the date fall into the ſix firſt Attic months, or as commenced only into one of the laſt ſix. Should we be miſtaken, which may happen, our calculation itſelf will diſcover our error. I ſay the ſame of the cycle of Calippus. 2. In the laſt mentioned cycle we need attend only to the current one, and pay no attention to thoſe that are complete, as every cycle anſwers exactly to 76 Julian years. I cannot ſay I received the ſame ſatisfaction as to the Macedonian calendar. Far from being ſupported by the neceſſary proofs, Mr. Dodwell's opinion is not even clearly laid down. Dr. Halley owns himſelf, that there are great diſputes about the order of their months, and the time when their year began. I know, beſides, that there is another very prevalent ſyſtem of Archbiſhop Uſher, who makes the Macedonian year not luni-ſolar, but ſolar. I muſt, therefore, ſuſpend my judgment till I have ſeen *Mr. Dodwell de Cyclis*, and *Uſher de Veteri anno Macedonum et Aſianorum ſolari*. As to the Roman year, M. de la Nauze is ſtill my maſter.

October 23d.]—Continuing my ſtudy and meditation of the Greek calendar, I reſolved to verify ſome remarkable date. I immediately recollected the battle of Arbela, which, according to Plutarch, was fought eleven days after a total eclipſe of the moon, that happened on the 14th of the month Bædremion. This eclipſe anſwers to the 20th of September, Ant. Chr. 331. The battle was fought, therefore, the 1ſt of October. Now, according to Mr. Dodwell's ſyſtem, the 25th of Bædremion anſwers exactly to that day. This is a ſtrong preſumption in its favour. The calculation, though ſure, is however ſo tedious, that I wiſh ſome way could be thought of to ſhorten it. I could conſtruct a table, in which, marking the olympiads, the archontats, the years of the cycle, and the month and day of the Julian, the beginning of each anſwers to .... The *dies exemplilis* would be the moſt troubleſome, as being not fixed to any months or years, but running regularly through the cycle. However, by ſome trials I made, I found I could manage them.

24th.]—I read Longinus, chapters thirty-four, thirty-five, thirty-ſix, thirty-ſeven, thirty-eight, thirty-nine, forty, and forty-one, p. 186—222. Our author continues his compariſon of the ſublime often faulty, and the mediocrity always irreprehenſible, in the three firſt. His characters of Hyperides and Demoſthenes are finely marked. He expatiates with pleaſure on the various merits of Hy-

* If he reckous by years before Chriſt, the reduction would be very eaſy.

perides, and diſtinguiſhes them by epithets always juſt and always different, which diſplay both his own penetration, and the accurate fertility of the language in which he wrote; but all theſe encomiums are only garlands, which make him a victim worthier the object of his divinity, Demoſthenes; who, inferior in every other reſpect to Hyperides, ſurpaſſes him infinitely by thoſe ſublime and terrible beauties with which his writings abound. This chapter gives perhaps a clearer idea of the ſublime than any other in Longinus; ſince it is not only diſtinguiſhed from the faults which are contrary to, but likewiſe from the beauties which are different from it. But ſtill this is not enough. I wiſh that I had time to explain the fine poetical compariſons of the thirty-fifth chapter, and to give a better reaſon than Longinus does, why the rule, that greatneſs is preferable to exactneſs, does not hold good in ſculpture as well as in poetry. In the thirty-ſeventh I agree with Le Fevre and Dacier, that the common reading of Herodotus is highly abſurd; but if Longinus could praiſe that abſurdity, why might not Herodotus write it? In the thirty-eighth chapter he enters upon his fifth ſource of the ſublime, the arrangement of words. We ſee ſomething, though a ſmall part, of the attention which the Greeks paid to the harmony of their periods. That not ſatisfied with the judgment of the ear, they had eſtabliſhed for proſe a meaſure of dactyles and ſpondees, leſs exact, but more varied than in verſe; by which, without confining themſelves to the preciſe form of feet, they could render the whole period abrupt or flowing, ſlow or precipitate. In the fortieth and forty-firſt he blames the affectation of giving every period the ſame cadence; or of making the periods too ſhort, and disjointed from each other.

October 25th.]—I read *Cicero in Orator. C* 63—66, in relation to the harmony of proſe. Although the Latin tongue was not perhaps ſo ſuſceptible of it as the Greek, yet we may diſcover how attentive the Romans were to it. The end was to give to proſe an harmony equivalent, but not ſimilar to verſe. The means employed were, 1. To conſider ſyllables abſtracted from feet, and to make long or ſhort ones prevail in a period in the degree and manner they choſe. Thus, in the famous paſſage of Demoſthenes, we hear the ſound of dactyles, or of ſomething ſtill more rapid; ſince out of twenty-nine ſyllables, twenty-one are ſhort. 2. The ancient metre has this advantage over ours, that in modern tongues the harmony conſiſts only in the compoſition of a verſe, or at leaſt of *a hemiſtiche*; whereas, if you take an ancient verſe to pieces, the feet of which it is compoſed give you, by their peculiar and diſtinct harmony, *diſjecta membra poetæ*. The great va-

riety

riety of theſe feet furniſhed the orators with innumerable ways of harmonizing their periods, without ever deviating into verſe. I likewiſe read *Longinus*, chapters forty-two and forty-three, which finiſhed him. The forty-ſecond contains ſome examples of fine deſcriptions, degraded by one or two low words. In the laſt chapter of this ſmall, but valuable treatiſe, Longinus examines the reaſon why no ſublime writers were to be found in his age. He treats this queſtion (which, taken in the utmoſt latitude, is perhaps a Gordian knot) with more eloquence than accuracy. It is, however, worth remarking, that he ſtill continues to enforce his precept by his example. He appears pretty plainly to have been of opinion, that the true ſublime, eſpecially in eloquence, could never belong to ſlaves; and that it could be found only in geniuſes nurſed under a popular government, whoſe writings breathed the ſame liberty as their actions. Theſe ideas are noble, and perhaps true; but they were too harſh for the court of Palmyra. Longinus was forced to enervate them, not only by the term Δικαιοτατη, which he takes care to apply twice to the preſent deſpotiſm; but by employing the ſtale pretence of putting his own thoughts into the mouth of a nameleſs philoſopher. I read on the ſame queſtion Seneca, *Epiſt. cxiv. p.* 646—651; *Edit. Lipſ. apud Plantin.* He conſiders it in another, and, I think, a better light than Longinus. Both attribute the decay of taſte to luxury and its attendant vices; but the Greek conſidering them almoſt as paſſive, thinks that they only extinguiſh all emulation and application; while the Roman looks upon them as very active, by accuſtoming our taſte to reliſh only the tricks of novelty and affectation, and to deſpiſe genuine and ſimple eloquence. The character of Mæcenas is a fine *caricature.* How different is he from the Mæcenas of Virgil and Horace. As to Longinus in general, after what I have obſerved upon almoſt every chapter, I have little left to ſay. It is certainly a fine performance; the ſtyle is faulty only by being rather too poetical for a didactic work. In general, I ſhould adopt moſt of his deciſions; only I think that for want of having a clear idea of the ſublime, he has ſometimes blamed paſſages for being deficient in that reſpect, or praiſed them for excelling in it, whoſe nature and deſign neither had, nor required, that kind of beauty. I could likewiſe have wiſhed that Longinus had not always confined himſelf to ſingle paſſages, but had pointed out that ſublime which reſults from the choice and general diſpoſition of a ſubject. I think that Longinus ſhews real taſte and genius, by his indulgence in the ſallies of a warm imagination,

and by his ſeverity to the prettineſſes of the art; though, like moſt men of genius who poſſeſs more force and elevation than delicacy, he may ſometimes have confounded refinement and affectation. As to his commentators, Langbænius is oſtentatiouſly pedantic, and learnedly abſurd; Le Fevre is, as uſual, vain, bold, and ingenious; the notes of Tollius are full of taſte, good criticiſm, and real erudition. There are a number of corrupted paſſages in Longinus, which, by the help of manuſcripts, or from his own conjectures, he has reſtored extremely well.

October 26th.]—I intended to have compoſed a long abſtract of that Greek Life of Homer, which I finiſhed September the fourth, and actually wrote a page of it; but other things intervening, I went no further. As it is now too late, I ſhall take this occaſion of giving a ſhort account of it. Its title is improper enough; after an hiſtory of Homer, comprized in a few lines, and full of blunders, the author proceeds to his main deſign, which was to ſhew that there was no art or ſcience of which Homer was not the father and laid the foundations; a deſign which proves the exceſſive veneration of the Greeks ſtill better than the temples they erected to him. To ſupport ſo vain an argument, much ſophiſtry and falſe reaſoning was neceſſary. The following are ſome ſpecimens of them which ſtruck me. 1. It is almoſt impoſſible to follow him through his innumerable diviſions and ſubdiviſions, which, inſtead of eaſing our attention, and fixing our memory, perplex the one, and overburthen the other. This is a ſufficient inconvenience in this method, but another infinitely greater reſults from it. Thoſe diviſions, by treating every minute part of a ſubject ſeparately, often paſs over the moſt eſſential notions of it, becauſe they are common to the whole. Nay, as they are commonly the work of a trifling genius, they are ſometimes founded only upon ſome very trivial and acceſſory ideas, without ever reaching the fundamental principles. Thus, when our critic wants to prove Homer an hiſtorian, he accurately divides the requiſites of hiſtory into the mention of perſon, cauſe, place, time, inſtrument, paſſion, action, and manner; proves that in ſome part of his works the poet mentions each of theſe, and then very accurately concludes that he was an hiſtorian. What a minute diviſion of hiſtory, which forgets all the moſt important parts of it, accuracy, impartiality, and an hundred more*! 2. To prove Homer's knowledge univerſal, he is forced, in ſeveral ſciences, to inſtance things hardly above the rank of ſelf-

* Vit. Homer, p. 315—318.

evident

evident ideas, with which no peaſant in a civilized country is unacquainted. Thus he is the father of arithmetic, becauſe by ſaying that fifty men guarded each of the thouſand Trojan fires, he does not compute himſelf, but furniſhes the occaſion of computing the Trojan army at fifty thouſand men *. 3. One would think it ſufficient for Homer's honour, to have been the father of all known truth; and that it was rather lowering, than raiſing his character, to make him acquainted with all the opinions of latter ages, however extravagant or contradictory to one another. The ſyſtem of Thales, who makes water the univerſal principle; that of Xenophanes, who to water adds earth; and the general opinion which acknowledges four elements, are all borrowed from Homer †; though to have aſſerted all theſe oppoſite principles, implies more learning than judgment. Indeed, when he ſpeaks of the Stoics and Peripatetics, he ſaves the contradiction very ingeniouſly. Homer was acquainted with both ſyſtems; but he looked upon the firſt as more exalted and conformable to reaſon; on the latter, as more practicable, and conformable to experience ‡. 4. When the plain text of Homer appears abſurd, or at leaſt furniſhes no proofs of ſcience, he had recourſe to the allegorical ſenſe, where he diſcovers a thouſand myſteries §. I cannot here explain my ſentiments on that head, nor illuſtrate and enforce a diſtinction which has not been enough attended to, viz. of what was allegory to Homer, and what was indeed allegory in its origin, but, through various mixtures and length of time, appeared then in a quite different ſhape. I have the leſs occaſion to do it here, as my author is much ſoberer on this head, than many others of the antients; ſome of whom (Heraclides for inſtance) have written whole books upon Homer's allegories. 5. My author, like many of the antients, is very fond of drawing philoſophical concluſions from a reſemblance of words and fanciful etymologies; a method which, with reaſon, would give one a poor opinion of their logic. Thus our author, from the reſemblance of Δεμας and Δεσμος, would infer that Homer looked upon the ſoul as ſhackled and impriſoned by the body ‖, without ever conſidering that ſuch grammatical conjectures want proof themſelves, inſtead of being able to furniſh it to other poſitions. Indeed it is more excuſable to employ ſuch arguments for the exiſtence, than for the

* Vit. Homer, p. 360.
† Vit. Homer, p. 324.
‡ ——— p. 352—354.
§ ——— p. 325—330.
‖ ——— p. 342.

truth

truth of an opinion. 6. Theſe two laſt faults are common to him with many; his reaſonings about numbers are more peculiar to him. He runs, and carries Homer with him, into all the Pythagorean whimſies*, the perfections of the *monade* and odd numbers, and the imperfections of the *duade* and even ones. He quotes ſeveral paſſages of Homer where the *monade* is praiſed, ſuch as the Εις κοιρανος εστω, without once inquiring whether it is praiſed for an abſolute or for a relative merit. Notwithſtanding theſe criticiſms, I am far from deſpiſing this Life of Homer. The author was a man of much ſubtilty and ingenuity; ſo that you are often pleaſed with the imagination, though you deſpiſe the reaſoning. Nay, the reaſoning is often more the vice of his ſubject than his own. When he treats of thoſe arts of which Homer was really a maſter, language, rhetoric, and morality, he is very ſolid and inſtructive. You find many nice obſervations concerning Homer's ſtyle, his uſe of the various Greek dialects, his deviations from the common rules of grammar, and the different figures he employs. One that ſtruck me relates to the genders. He often, for the ſake either of metre, or energy, employs a maſculine epithet to a feminine ſubſtantive; but it is only ſpeaking of thoſe qualities of the mind which are of no ſex, or if of any, which appertain rather to the male, ſuch as κλυτος Ιπποδαμεια †. In treating of Homer's rhetoric, he explains very well the artifice of the ſpeeches of the ſecond Iliad; the various eloquence of the ambaſſadors to Achilles, and the gradations by which he gave way to them ‡. So much for the original. The editor was mighty negligent in not diſtinguiſhing properly Homer's verſes from the proſe, which is full of them, and not referring us to the places where they are to be found. The tranſlator, whom I can ſcarcely believe to be Dr. Gale, has committed numberleſs blunders. I ſhall mention a curious one. He tranſlates this verſe of Homer,

Αρνειόν, ταῦρόν τε, συῶν τ' επιβήορα κάπρον, Odyſſ. Λ. 130.

by *Arietem porcorum cuſtodem* §. Beſides the nonſenſe of the expreſſion, and the abſurdity of making one animal only, where grammar and the ſenſe of his author required three; need I quote Conſtantine and Pollux to ſhew that Επιβήορα ſignifies *aſcenſorem*, and is metaphorically applied to the copulation of animals ‖? Why not tranſlate it at once,

Agnum, et taurum, ſuiſque aſcenſorem aprum.

* Vit. Homer, p. 358—360. † Vit. Homer, p. 303.
‡ ——— p. 371—377. § ——— p. 359.
‖ Conſtant. in Voc. Jul. Poll. Onomaſtic. l. v. c. 15. p. 92.

October 29th.]—I read Tollius's *Guſtus Animadverſionum Criticarum*, at the end of Longinus, p. 348—360. I cannot ſay that they any ways anſwered my expectation. Tollius was not equal to ſuch critical parallels as they are deſigned for, between ſome of the antient writers. The firſt is between a paſſage of Pindar and another of Horace. It reſults from his laborious inquiry, that the Greek tongue is more harmonious than the Latin. The ſecond, between Theocritus and Virgil, teaches me, 1. That among the antients, preſenting or throwing apples was cuſtomary between lovers. 2. That Virgil is far inferior to the Greek poet, ſince his Polyphemus boaſts of having milk only all the year, whereas the Cyclop of Theocritus boaſts that he has both milk and cheeſe. The third is between Apollonius and Ovid. As the Greeks are always to have the advantage and Ovid is very open to criticiſm, Tollius talks rather more to the purpoſe.

30th.]—I read Tollius, p. 360—371. A compariſon between Virgil and a little poem of Petronius. Very bad indeed. However, I muſt now go through theſe compariſons.

31ſt.]—I went to church, heard a pretty good ſermon from Mr. L..., and read the ſecond leſſon, the fourth chapter of St. Luke, in Greek.

November 1ſt.]—I read Tollius, p. 371—381, the end. He compares Homer and Virgil as to the manner of Turnus' and Hector's deaths. He reaſons better than uſual, but did not conſider that Hector's not aſking for mercy like Turnus, is no proof of his ſuperior courage. Turnus was ſlightly wounded; Hector mortally. I began to-day, as a natural ſupplement to Longinus, a philoſophical inquiry into the nature of our ideas of the ſublime and beautiful, and read the Introduction upon Taſte, p. 1—40, which, like all other reſearches into our primary ideas, is rather looſe and unſatisfactory. The diviſion, however, of the paſſive impreſſion which is common to all men, and relates chiefly to poſitive beauty or faultineſs, and the active judgment which is founded on knowledge, and exerciſed moſtly on compariſon, pleaſed me; perhaps becauſe very like an idea of my own.

2d.]—I read the Enquiry, p. 40—95, which comprizes the firſt part. The author's object is to claſs our various paſſions and ſenſations, and to inveſtigate our affections, in order to diſcover how we are and ought to be affected. All thoſe of the mind he refers to two claſſes;—ſelf-preſervation and ſociety. The former renders us ſenſible of pain and terror; the latter, in their various branches,

branches, (of ſympathy, imitation, and terror,) of pleaſure, love, and joy. Their nature is eternally diſtinct; and they never can run into one another. This naturally leads Mr. Burke to deny that the privation of pleaſure ever produces poſitive pain; and *vice verſâ*, the ſenſation produced by the abſence of pain he calls delight, a ſolemn, awful feeling, very different from poſitive pleaſure.

November 4th.]—I finiſhed the Enquiry, which contains in all 342 pages. The author writes with ingenuity, perſpicuity, and candour. His reigning principles are, that pain, when abſent, and moderated to terror, is productive of that ſolemn delight which forms the beauty of the ſublime; this idea he purſues through its various ſhapes of immenſity either of time or place, power, darkneſs, &c. It is ſurprizing how much Longinus and Mr. Burke differ as to their idea of the operations of the ſublime in our minds. The one conſiders it as exalting us with a conſcious pride and courage, and the other as aſtoniſhing every faculty, and depreſſing the ſoul itſelf with terror and amazement. If it ſhould be found that the ſublime produces this double, and ſeemingly contrary effect; we muſt look out for ſome more general principles which may account for it, though we may adopt ſtill many particular materials and obſervations of both writers in the inveſtigation of it. Such is Mr. Burke's ſyſtem of the ſublime: his notion of the beautiful is, that it is produced by whatever gives us pleaſure. Perhaps his idea, confined as it is to the pleaſures of ſenſe, (heightened indeed by the imagination,) is yet too general. What connection can he diſcover between the pleaſures of the taſte and the idea of beautiful? However, he thinks, (and I believe with reaſon,) that any thing, to appear beautiful either to the ſight or touch, muſt convey to the ſenſe an idea of ſoftneſs and gradual variation, and to the imagination thoſe of gentleneſs, delicacy, and even fragility. The ideas of beauty being in the leaſt founded on thoſe of order, proportion, or utility, he entirely explodes. I cannot help obſerving here, that in ſpeaking of any thing beautiful, we conſider the figure as ſo eſſential to it as not to be altered without changing the nature of it; and the colour as an acceſſory quality which may be varied at pleaſure:—a proof that ſometimes common feelings are conformable to philoſophical ſpeculations, where we ſhould the leaſt expect it. Mr. Burke employs his laſt part in conſidering words as the ſigns of ideas. He remarks that they do not commonly, when pronounced, call up in the mind a picture of the idea for which they

ſtand; and, that conſequently in poetry or eloquence we are as often affected by the words themſelves, as by clear images of what they are deſigned to repreſent. I began to-day Ubbo Emmius' Geographical Deſcription of Greece, (which will be very uſeful for all my Greek authors, but particularly for the Odyſſey,) and read p. 1—18.

November 5th.]—I read Emmius, p. 18—40.

6th.]—I read Emmius, p. 40—45.

7th.]—I read Emmius, p. 45—54.

8th.]—I read Emmius, p. 54—194, the end. It is a ſhort, and conſequently a dry abridgment; but it is conciſe, clear, and exact. It contributed a good deal to confirm me in the contemptible idea I always entertained of Cellarius. 1. In comparing this abridgement with the ſingle map of Grecia Propria, I found above 130 places omitted in Cellarius, and among them ſome of ſuch note as Tirins, Helos, Ithome, Piſa, the province of Acarnania, and the valley of Tempe. What would it have been had I entered into the minute detail of any one region?

17th.]—I read *Les Obſervations de l'Abbé de Mably ſur les Grècs*. They are not ill written; but I think a capital fault of them is, attributing more conſequences to the particular characters of men, often ill-drawn, than to the general manners, character, and ſituation of nations.

30th.]—I began the Odyſſey of Homer, and read L. i. p. 444, the end.

December 1ſt.]—I read the Odyſſey, L. ii. V. 1—128.

2d.]—I read the Odyſſey, L. ii. V. 128—434, the end.

3d.]—I read Potter's Greek Antiquities, V. ii. p. 120—160, where he treats of the naval affairs of the Greeks, in order to underſtand the voyages of Telemachus. As, while I was reading, I ſaw from my window ſome of the fineſt ſhips in the world, I could not very much admire the ſmall barks, with a maſt occaſionally ſet up and taken down, which they run aſhore every night.

5th.]—I read the Odyſſey, L. iii. V. 1—497, the end, and finiſhed ſome new Journals, the *Bibliotheque des Sciences et Belles Lettres, from April to September* 1762, and the *Journal des Savans combiné avec les Mémoires de Trévoux, from June to September*. There is a curious Diſſertation of Mr. Beyer upon the Atlantic Iſland of Plato. He pretends it is Judea. Some circumſtances and etymologies are as uſual favourable to him, others totally oppoſite. However, calling in allegory and romance to ſupport allegory

and romance, he ſeems to think he has entirely confounded the Infidels. The other is the Voyage of M. Anquetil du Perron to the Eaſt Indies, with the ſole view of ſtudying the language and religion of the antient Perſées. He is juſt returned to France, with a prodigious number of manuſcripts, which may perhaps throw ſome light upon one of the moſt obſcure but moſt curious branches of antient hiſtory.

December 6th.]—I read Potter's Antiquities, vol. ii. p. 209—237, in relation to the ſacrifice offered by Neſtor, and ſo exactly deſcribed by Homer.

12th.]—I had borrowed of M. B . . . . a French Moral and Political Romance of the Abbé Teraſſon, called *Sethos*. The beginning is fine, the deſcription of the manners of the court of Memphis is worthy of Tacitus; and the ſyſtem of the Egyptian initiation is a very happy thought: but, unluckily, the intereſt of the piece gradually diminiſhes in every book, till you arrive at the cataſtrophe, which is very cold and unnatural. As to the ſtyle, it is pure and elegant, ſcarcely ever elevated, and never animated. The Abbé Teraſſon had too mathematical a head to excel in the language of deſcription, and too ſtoic a heart to ſhine in that of the paſſions. His feelings, however, are juſt, though not warm: the whole work breathes a ſpirit of virtue and humanity, which renders it very amiable.

EXTRAITS *de mon* JOURNAL.

1763. Fevrier. APRE's avoir quitté l'Angleterre, il eſt aſſez naturel que j'en quitte la langue. Les idées ont produit les mots; et j'aurois ſouvent autant de peine à rendre en Anglois les uſages du Continent, que j'aurois eu de difficulté à bien exprimer en François les mœurs Angloiſes, et les petits évenemens de notre milice. Plutot que de recourir à des périphraſes ennuyeuſes, ou à des traductions imparfaites; il vaut mieux employer tout uniment la langue du pays.

Mais il faut renoncer à ce journal ſuivi et detaillé, dont l'idée avoit flatté mon eſprit, mais dont l'exécution auroit trop gêné ma pareſſe, pour me permettre de le continuer. Je l'avois diſcontinué pendant quelques jours; il etoit ſi facile de reparer cette petite negligence! ces jours devinrent inſenſiblement des ſemaines. L'ouvrage m'effrayoit en s'augmentant. Je perdois en vains regrets le tems qui étoit encore en mon pouvoir. Aujourd'hui, qu'il me faudroit écrire l'hiſtoire de ſix mois, la raiſon m'ordonne de n'y plus ſonger.

Mais

EXTRACTS *from my* JOURNAL.

1763. February. HAVING left England, it is fit that I ſhould leave off Engliſh. Ideas create words; and there would be as much difficulty in expreſſing continental cuſtoms in good Engliſh, as there would be in deſcribing in pure French the manners of England, and the minute tranſactions of our regiment of militia. Inſtead of being obliged to write an imperfect tranſlation, or a tireſome paraphraſe, it is better at once to have recourſe to the language of the country.

But I muſt renounce the deſign of a regular and minute journal, of which I flattered myſelf with the plan, but of which I ſhould find the conſtraint too great on my natural lazineſs, to continue the execution. I had interrupted my labours for a few days; this little negligence might be ſo eaſily repaired! but theſe days have imperceptibly become weeks. The more I had to do, I was the more reluctant to begin the work. The time ſtill left to me was ſpent in uſcleſs regret; and now that I ought to write my hiſtory for ſix months, reaſon tells me that I muſt no longer think of the undertaking.

But

Mais cette même raiſon ne veut point que je neglige entièrement la partie, peut-être la plus curieuſe de ma vie. Je vais raſſembler plutôt ſelon l'ordre des matières, que ſous celui du tems, les idées nouvelles que j'ai acquiſes pendant mon ſéjour à Paris. Elles ſe diſtribuent naturellement ſous quatre chefs: 1. Les choſes qui me ſont perſonelles, mon œconomie, mes liaiſons, et mes amis. 2. L'etat de la littérature en France, les gens de lettres, les académies, et le théatre. 3. Des obſervations détachées, militaires, politiques, et morales. 4. Les bâtimens et les ouvrages de l'art.—Je laiſſerai cependant ſubſiſter quelques pages de mon journal, écrites dans le tems même;—entrepriſe vaine: je l'abandonnai l'inſtant apres l'avoir commencé.

A Lauſanne, Août 17, 1763.]—J'ai écrit quelque choſe de mon diſcours ſur les anciens peuples de l'Italie. C'eſt bien peu pour une matinée entière paſſée à la campagne; mais depuis quelque tems je ne fais plus rien. Les petites diſſipations de la ville, le tumulte de Meſery, et les changemens journaliers de l'une à l'autre, me donnent plus de diſtractions à Lauſanne, que je n'en ai jamais trouvé à Londres, ou à Paris. Il faut ſe remettre au travail.

18.]—J'ai lu *la troiſième Satyre de Juvénal, v.* 1—322. Que le début eſt bien choiſi! Le bon Umbricius s'arrête dans le bois d'Egérie dans ce

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But the ſame reaſon enjoins me not entirely to neglect the moſt curious occurrences, perhaps, of my whole life. I ſhall collect, therefore, not in the order of time, but according to the diſtribution of ſubjects, the new ideas which I acquired during my reſidence in Paris. Theſe ſubjects may be arranged under the following heads: 1. My own perſonal concerns; expences, connections, friends. 2. The ſtate of literature in France, the men of letters, academies, theatres. 3. Detached obſervations; military, political, and moral. 4. The publie buildings and works of art.—I will allow, however, ſome pages of my journal, which were written at the time, to remain in their original ſtate;—a vain undertaking, forſaken almoſt as ſoon as begun.

Lauſanne, Auguſt 17th, 1763.]—I wrote a ſmall part of my diſcourſe on the ancient nations of Italy; ſmall indeed, for a whole morning ſpent in the country. But of late I ſcarcely do any thing. My trifling avocations in town, the continual buſtle at Meſery, and the frequent removals from the one to the other, produce greater diſtraction of thought at Lauſanne, than I ever experienced in London or Paris. I muſt ſeriouſly reſume my labours.

18.]—I read the third *Satire of Juvenal*, conſiſting of three hundred and twenty-two verſes. How judiciouſly does it ſet out! The honeſt Umbricius ſtops in the wood of Egeria, a ſacred monument of the primitive Romans, but then

ce monument ſacré des premiers Romains, poſſedé alors par de miſerables Juifs, pour ſe plaindre à ce legiſlateur, du luxe et des mœurs étrangères, qui avoient inondé cette patrie, qu'il avoit formée par ſes loix et par ſa religion. Le caractère bas, mais maladroit, de ſes Concitoyens, oppoſé à l'art et à la ſoupleſſe de ces étrangers qui ſe faiſoient eſclaves pour devenir maitres, eſt un contraſte achevé. J'aurois voulu qu'après des tableaux auſſi beaux, Juvénal ne ſe fût pas rabattu ſur de petits embarras, ſur les deſordres communs à toutes les grandes villes, et qui ne comportent pas l'indignation ſérieuſe qu'il leur temoigne

Août 20.]—J'ai lu *la quatrième Satyre de Juvénal*, pour la première fois.

24.]—J'ai lu *la quatrième Satyre de Juvénal*, *v.* 1—154, pour la ſeconde fois. Le conſeil de Domitien eſt peut-être le morceau de ſatyre le plus frappant de toute l'antiquité. Le ſujet convenoit parfaitement au genie du poëte; cette indignation ſérieuſe, cette énergie d'expreſſion, qu'il prodigue quelquefois un peu légèrement, eſt ici a ſa place, et fait paſſer dans l'ame du lecteur l'horreur pour le tyran, et pour les Romains, le mepris qu'ils meritent ſi bien. Malheureuſement ce morceau n'eſt point achevé. Après avoir décrit ſes principaux conſeillers avec la plume de Saluſte, au moment de les mettre en jeu, le principal acteur diſparoit, le feu du poëte s'éteint, et la

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inhabited by wretched Jews, to complain to Numa of the luxury of foreign manners, which had overflowed a nation whom he had inſtructed in laws and religion. The awkward meanneſs of the Romans, oppoſed to the addreſs and ſuppleneſs of the Greeks, who made themſelves ſlaves to become maſters, forms a ſtriking contraſt. After ſuch a beautiful picture, Juvenal, I think, would have done better not to have dwelt ſo long on the little inconveniences and diſorders common to all great cities, and which are unworthy of exciting the ſerious indignation which he expreſſes againſt them.

Auguſt 20.]—I read, for the firſt time, the fourth *Satire of Juvenal*.

24.]—I read the fourth *Satire of Juvenal*, conſiſting of one hundred and fifty-four verſes, for the ſecond time. The council of Domitian is, perhaps, the moſt ſtriking paſſage of ſatire to be met with in any ancient author. This ſubject perfectly ſuited our poet's genius; that ferioufneſs of indignation, and that energy of expreſſion of which he is ſometimes too laviſh, are here in their proper place; and they forcibly impreſs on the reader's mind that deteſtation for the tyrant, and contempt for the Romans, which both ſo richly merited. Unfortunately this piece is left unfiniſhed. After having deſcribed the principal counſellors with the pen of Salluſt, the very moment they ought to begin their deliberation, the principal perſonage diſappears, the poet's

la fin de l'action eſt étranglée. J'ai lu auſſi *la cinquième Satyre, v.* 1—173, deux fois. Que les Romains étoient groſſiers parmi tout leur luxe! Le financier le plus inſolent n'oſeroit pas aujourd'hui faire toutes ces diſtinctions humiliantes entre ſes convives. A Rome, l'élégant Pline ſe fait preſqu'un mérite d'en avoir été révolté *. Que les caractères d'Horace et de Juvénal étoient différens! Fils d'affranchis tous les deux, celui-ci ne ſavoit point fléchir devant le ſot orgueil des grands, pendant que celui-là les en guériſſoit, et vivoit avec eux, non en paraſite, mais en ami.

Août 25.]—J'ai lu, pour la première fois, *la ſixième Satyre de Juvénal, v.* 1—660. J'ai auſſi achevé *le troiſième tome de la Bibliotheque Raiſonnée.* Il contient pluſieurs ouvrages excellens; tels que *le Syſtême Intellectuel de Cudworth, traduit par Moſheim* †; *l'Alcoran de Sale*, et *les Hiſtoires critiques du Manichéiſme, et de la Monarchie Françoiſe, par M. de Beaufobre et l'Abbé Dubos.* Ces extraits ſont un peu ſuperficiels; mais *l'Hiſtoire du Droit Romain, par M. Heineccius*, eſt très intéreſſante pour un homme, qui ne s'embarraſſe de la juriſprudence que par rapport a la litterature.

† La traduction paroit l'emporter ſur l'original.

Août

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poet's ſire extinguiſhes, and the end of the piece is mangled. I alſo read, twice, the fifth ſatire, conſiſting of one hundred and ſeventy-three verſes. How groſs were the manners of the Romans amidſt all their luxury! The moſt inſolent financier would not now venture to make ſuch humiliating diſtinctions among his gueſts. At Rome, the elegant Pliny conſiders his being diſguſted with them almoſt as a merit in himſelf *. How different were the characters of Horace and Juvenal, although both ſons of freedmen! The latter diſdained to bend to the pride of the great; and the former, while he cured them of that pride, lived with them not as a paraſite, but as a friend.

Auguſt 25.]—I read, for the firſt time, the ſixth Satire of Juvenal, conſiſting of ſix hundred and ſixty verſes; and finiſhed the thirteenth volume of the *Bibliothèque Raiſonnée.* It contains extracts from many excellent works; ſuch as *Cudworth's Intellectual Syſtem, tranſlated by Moſheim* †; *Sale's Alcoran, &c. Critical Hiſtories of Manicheiſm, and of the French Monarchy, by Mr. Beaufobre and the Abbé Dubos.* Theſe extracts are rather ſuperficial; but the *Hiſtory of the Roman Law, by Heineccius*, is highly intereſting; for thoſe who conſider juriſprudence only in its relation to general literature.

* V. Plin. Epiſt. L. ii. Ep. 6.

† The tranſlation appears to be ſuperior to the original.

Août 26.]—J'ai relu *la ſixième Satyre de Juvénal, v.* 1—160. Après avoir déjeûné, je ſuis monté à la bibliotheque, pour conſulter un traité de M. de Bochat, ſur le culte des Divinités Egyptiennes à Rome; culte dont Juvénal parle à tout moment. Il eſt dans le Mercure de Neufchatel de l'an 1742; mais je vois qu'il eſt tout hypothétique, et d'une hypothêſe très chimérique, ſavoir que ce culte a du paſſer de l'Egypte en Grece, et de la Grece en Italie, par les colonies long tems avant Romulus. J'ai conſulté *le premier tome de l'Academie des Belles Lettres, p.* 140, ſur la ſignification du mot *Attonitæ,* dans *Juvenal Satyre,* iv. *v.* 77. M. de Valois l'applique à l'étonnement qui regna dans la capitale, à l'occaſion de la révolte de L. Antonius dans la Baſſe Germanie. Cette conjecture eſt poſſible. C'eſt tout ce qu'on en peut dire; mais je m'etonne qu'il n'en ait pas tiré la ſeule concluſion qui pouvoit la rendre intéreſſante. La révolte d'Antonius arriva l'an de Rome 840 *. La tyrannie et l'extravagance de Domitien étoient donc déjà parvenûes a leur comble; et les Romains eurent la lâcheté de ſupporter ce monſtre encore neuf ans. J'ai lu *le quatrième tome de la Bibliotheque Raiſonnée.* J'y ai trouvé *Syntagma Diſſertationum, &c. Leipſig.* 1733. C'eſt un aſſez bon recueil de M. Moſheim, qui ſent cependant un peu

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Auguſt 26.]—I read over again the firſt hundred and ſixty verſes of the ſixth Satire of Juvenal. After breakfaſt I went to the library, to conſult *Mr. Bochat's Treatiſe on the Worſhip of the Egyptian Divinities at Rome,* ſo often mentioned by Juvenal. It is to be found in the Neufchatel Mercury for the year 1742. This treatiſe is merely a hypotheſis, and that very chimerical; namely, that the worſhip of theſe divinities was brought from Egypt to Greece, and from Greece to Italy, by colonies eſtabliſhed in that country long before the age of Romulus. I conſulted the firſt volume of the *Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres,* p. 140, concerning the ſignification of the word "Attonitæ" in the fourth Satire of Juvenal, v. 77. Mr. Valois applies it to the aſtoniſhment which prevailed in the capital, in conſequence of the revolt of L. Antonius in Lower Germany. This conjecture is poſſible, which is all that can be ſaid of it. But I am ſurprized that he has not drawn from it the only concluſion that could render it intereſting. Antonius's revolt happened in the year of Rome 840 *. The exceſſive tyranny of Domitian had then reached its meridian; yet the baſeneſs of the Romans endured this monſter ſtill nine years longer. I read the fourteenth volume of the *Bibliothèque Raiſonnée.* It contains *Syntagma Diſſertationum,* &c. Leipſick, 1733: a good collection, by Moſheim; which, however, favours too much

* V. M. de Tillemont Hiſt. des Empereurs, tom. ii. p. 39 —edit. fol.

peu trop le Théologien, et même le Théologien Luthérien. *Plinii Epiſtolæ a Cortio, cum notis variorum*; *Amſtel*, 1734. C'eſt un aſſez bon *Variorum*. *Itineraria Vetera à Weſſelingio*; *Amſtel.* 1735. Edition excellente d'un des ouvrages les plus utiles que nous ayons, ſur la Géographie de l'Empire Romain.

Août 27.]—J'ai lu, pour la ſeconde fois, *la ſixième Satyre de Juvénal*,—treſor de tous les traits qu'on a laché contre le ſexe depuis ſeize cens ans. Sa force, ſa variété, et ſon abondance, ne laiſſent rien à déſirer. On pourrait ſouhaiter ſeulement de retrancher ces deſcriptions trop fideles, qui enſeignent le vice en le condamnant. Des malheureux pourront ils cependant ſe ſauver de l'infamie, à force de la mériter? Leur ſeroit il permis de cacher leurs excès aux yeux de la poſtérité, parcequ'ils en ont comblé la meſure? On lui a reproché même ces deſcriptions comme une preuve du plaiſir ſecret qu'il y goutoit. Mais l'horreur qu'il en temoigne toujours, me perſuade aſſez, que c'eſt la chaleur du génie et de l'indignation, plutot que celle de la volupté. Je lui reprocherois bien davantage une malignité de cœur, que lui fait trouver le vice partout, qu'une dépravation de mœurs qui l'engage à lui pardonner. Il confond par tout l'invéctive et la ſatire. Toutes les femmes ſont coupables, et le ſont des crimes les plus affreux.

Vous

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much of the Theologian, and even of the Lutheran. *Plinii Epiſtolæ a Cortio, cum notis variorum*; *Amſtel.* 1734: a very good edition. *Itineraria Vetera a Weſſelingio*; *Amſtel*, 1735: a moſt excellent edition of one of the moſt uſeful works we have, on the *Geography of the Roman Empire*.

Auguſt 27.]—I read, for the ſecond time, the ſixth Satire of Juvenal,—the ſource of all the invectives that have for ſixteen centuries been accumulated againſt the ſex. Nothing can be added to its force, richneſs, and variety; but ſome things perhaps might be retrenched from thoſe too faithful deſcriptions, which, while they condemn vice, are apt to inſpire vicious paſſions. Yet thoſe wretches—are they entitled to eſcape infamy through the exceſs of their guilt? Ought their profligacy to be concealed from poſterity, becauſe they carried it to an immeaſurable height? Juvenal has even been reproached with gratifying, in ſuch deſcriptions, the pruriency of his own fancy. Yet the horror which he uniformly teſtifies at the diſorders which he deſcribes, will always perſuade me, that his warmth proceeds, not from the flames of voluptuouſneſs, but from the fire of indignation and genius. Inſtead of a licentiouſneſs of morals, which inclined him to pardon vice, I would rather reproach him with a malignity of heart, which made him think the corruption general. He perpetually confounds invective with ſatire. All women are guilty, and guilty of the moſt enor-

Vous trouvez une Clytemneſtre dans chaque rue*. Je ſai qu'il n'y a peut-être jamais eu de ſiecle plus corrompu que celui de Juvenal; que le luxe énervoit les mœurs; que les eſclaves et les amphithéâtres endurciſſoient les cœurs; que la tyrannie aviliſſoit les ſentimens, et que la mélange de toutes les nations détruiſoit tous les principes et tous les caractères en les confondant. Il reſtoit, cependant, encore des traces des anciennes vertus des hommes et des femmes, dignes d'un ſiecle meilleur. Conſultez un monument contemporain, les Epiſtres de Pline; vous y verrez l'humanité, les mœurs, l'amour des talens, qui ſubſiſtoient dans la ſociété de cet aimable Romain. Jamais Juvenal ne ſe permet la moindre louange des hommes vertueux †, quand ce ne ſeroit que pour les faire contraſter avec les mechans. Tous les autres ſatiriques, un Horace, un Boileau, un Pope, ont compris qu'ils devoient ſe faire des amis de leurs lecteurs, en ſe repreſentant comme ceux de la vertu et des hommes. Ce ſont auſſi de tous les poëtes ceux que nous aimons le plus. Mais Juvenal paroit déteſter les hommes par principe; et en leur déclarant la guerre, il ſe ſoucie aſſez peu d'acquerir leur amitié. Cette miſantropie peut à la vérité lui donner un nouveau mérite pour notre malignité.

† J'entends de ſes contemporains.

Août

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mous crimes. You may find a Clytemneſtra in every ſtreet *. I know that there never, perhaps, was an age more profligate than that of Juvenal; in which morals were enervated by luxury; the heart hardened by the inſtitutions of domeſtic ſlavery and the amphitheatre; ſentiments debaſed by the tyranny of government; and every characteriſtic and manly principle ſubverted, by the mixture and confuſion of nations in one great city. Yet, there ſtill remained many veſtiges of the ancient virtues; and women, as well as men, worthy of living in a better age. If we conſult Pliny's Epiſtles, a cotemporary monument, we ſhall find in the circle of that amiable Roman, humanity, morals, the love of talents and of merit. Juvenal never allows himſelf to beſtow the ſmalleſt praiſe on virtuous characters †, even with the view of rendering the vicious more ugly by the contraſt. All the other ſatiriſts, Horace, Boileau, Pope, have taken care to recommend themſelves to their readers as the friends of virtue and of man; and as ſuch, have perhaps, of all poets, moſt gained our love. But Juvenal ſeems to have a rooted hatred to his ſpecies; and, having declared againſt them open war, is totally regardleſs of their friendſhip. This miſanthropy, indeed, muſt render his works peculiarly acceptable to human malignity.

* Juvenal Satir. vi. v. 655.

† I mean thoſe of his own times.

Auguſt

Août 28.]—J'ai lu, deux fois, *la ſeptième Satyre de Juvénal.* Le poëte y repreſente, avec ſa vivacité ordinaire, l'etat de pauvreté et de mépris, dans lequel ſe trouvoient les gens de lettres de ſon ſiècle. C'eſt toujours un ſujet peu agréable. Il eſt difficile de rendre reſpectable l'objet d'un mépris injuſte, mais général: il eſt beaucoup plus facile de rendre aimable un caractère que la multitude hait ſans raiſon. D'ailleurs ces plaintes réitérées ſur ſa fortune, ont mauvaiſe grace dans la bouche d'un homme de lettres. On convient qu'il a raiſon; mais on y trouve toujours un air de baſſeſſe et d'avidité, fort oppoſé à l'élévation d'ame qu'on attend de lui. Si l'eſprit conſiſte à raſſembler des idées, qu'on s'étonne de trouver réunies, ſans en être choqué, le contraſte du poëte et du lion mérite bien ce nom. Ce trait eſt aſſurément des plus plaiſans. J'ai achevé *le cinquième tome de la Bibliotheque Raiſonnée.* J'y vois un *ſecond extrait de l'ouvrage de M. Heineccius*, qui roule ſur l'hiſtoire du droit Germanique; le ſujet eſt moins intéreſſant que celui du droit Romain, mais il me paroit auſſi bien traité: *Les Reflexions Critiques ſur les anciens peuples, de M. Fourmont l'ainé.* Parcequ'on ſait le Chinois, faut il débiter des chimères d'un ton d'oracle? Saturne, Abraham: la grande divinité des Payens, un Patriarche errant de pays en pays, adoré après ſa mort

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Auguſt 28.]—I read twice the ſeventh Satire of Juvenal; in which the poet deſcribes, with his ordinary ſpirit, the poverty and contempt attending the men of letters of his times. The ſubject is always a diſagreeable one; ſince it is more eaſy to render a character amiable, which happens to be the object of public hatred, than to render thoſe reſpectable, who are the objects of a general, though unjuſt, contempt: beſides, thoſe continual complaints reſpecting the bad ſtate of their fortune, come with peculiar diſadvantage from men of letters. We acknowledge their murmurs to be juſt, but they always ſtrike us with an idea of avidity and meanneſs, extremely inconſiſtent with the elevation which we expect from their characters. If wit conſiſts in finding between ideas, relations that are natural without being obvious, the contraſt of the poet and the lion ſurely deſerves that name; it is one of the wittieſt poſſible. I finiſhed the fifteenth volume of the *Bibliothèque Raiſonnée.* It contains a ſecond extract from Heineccius, explaining the hiſtory of the German law; a ſubject leſs intereſting, indeed, than that of the Roman law, but equally well treated. *Reflexions Critiques*; Critical Reflexions on Ancient Nations, by Mr. Fourmont the elder. Becauſe a man underſtands the Chineſe, is he, therefore, entitled to tell us abſurdities, with the authority of an oracle? Saturn the ſame with Abraham! The great divinity of the Pagans the ſame with a wandering patriarch; and adored after his death almoſt

mort de toute la terre, à l'exception de ſa propre famille, et cette même famille un objet d'horreur et de mépris, pour tous ſes adorateurs. *Vie de Julien, de mon ami l'Abbé de la Bleterie.* Les journaliſtes n'ont ſenti le mérite ni du héros, ni de ſon hiſtorien. Ils ſe ſont même permis des réflexions aſſez indécentes pour tous les deux. En général, une zele aigre et controverſiſte ſe fait beaucoup trop ſentir dans cette bibliotheque. Qu'un P. Colonia invite les fidèles au jubilé de Lyon, il vaudroit peut-être mieux n'y oppoſer que le mépris; cependant on ne ſauroit blamer la plaiſanterie. Mais qu'en donnant l'extrait d'un ouvrage de littérature ou d'hiſtoire, on déterre quelques propos convenables au pays de l'écrivain, pour les réfuter longuement et durement, c'eſt aſſurément connoître tres peu les fonctions d'un journaliſte.—J'ai écrit deux pages de mon *Recueil ſur la Géographie ancienne de l'Italie.*

Août 29.]—J'ai lu, pour la premiere fois, *la huitième Satyre de Juvénal*, v. 1—275. J'ai écrit deux pages de mon Recueil.

30.]—Je n'ai fait qu'écrire une page et demie de mon Recueil.

31.]—J'ai relu *la huitième Satyre de Juvénal.* J'ai lu deux fois la *neuvième*, v. 1—150; et j'ai lu pour la première fois *la dixième Satyre*, v. 1—100. Qu'il eſt humiliant pour les hommes, qu'on ſoit obligé, dans preſque

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almoſt by the whole world, except his own poſterity; and that poſterity an object of abhorrence and contempt to all his adorers! The life of Julian, written by my friend the Abbé de la Bleterie. The journaliſts are inſenſible to the merit, both of the hero and the hiſtorian; and even indulge themſelves in making very unbecoming reflections with reſpect to both. In general, the bitterneſs of zeal and controverſy prevails too much in this *Bibliothèque.* When a father Colonia invites the faithful to the jubilee of Lyons, he is beſt anſwered with ſilent contempt; yet ridicule may be uſed againſt him without blame. But in giving the analyſis of a work of literature or hiſtory, to bring forward opinions and reaſonings ſuitable merely to the country of the reader, with a view to refute them tediouſly and ill-naturedly, is ſurely to miſtake the buſineſs of a critical journal.—I wrote two pages of my collection on the ancient geography of Italy.

Auguſt 29th.]—I read, for the firſt time, the eighth Satire of Juvenal, containing 275 verſes.

30.]—I did nothing but write a page and a half of my collection.

31.]—I read over again the eighth Satire of Juvenal. I alſo twice read the ninth, containing 150 verſes, and, for the firſt time, the firſt hundred verſes of the tenth. How humiliating it is for mankind, that they muſt be taught, almoſt in all countries,

preſque tous les pays, de leur enſeigner qu'un homme eſt plus reſpectable pour ſes vertus, que pour celles de ſes peres! On a de la peine à concevoir la naiſſance et l'établiſſement de ce préjugé général; la nature met une différence ineffaçable entre ceux à qui elle donne de grands talens, et ceux à qui elle les a refuſés. La raiſon et la crainte ſéparent le magiſtrat et le ſujet; mais quel principe établit d'abord la diſtinction entre le noble et le roturier? Je crois que c'eſt la religion. La diſcuſſion en ſeroit curieuſe, mais longue. Je me contenterai de faire une obſervation ſur cette Satyre. 1. Juvénal y parle d'un bout à l'autre le langage d'un ancien Romain. Je vois partout, non ſeulement le ton d'un vrai cenſeur, qui confond le vice, qui expoſe les ridicules, et qui fait trembler les coupables; mais encore celui d'un républicain, dont l'ame ſe plie avec difficulté à la nouvelle conſtitution, ennemi juré de la tyrannie, et ami d'une monarchie douce et équitable, plutôt par néceſſité que par inclination. Cet air de liberté, cette fierté d'ame, diſtingue Juvénal de tous ſes confreres, qui ont vecu après l'établiſſement de l'empire. Virgile, Horace, Ovide, Lucain, Martial, Stace, Valerius Flaccus, ont tous chanté la ruine de la patrie, et le triomphe de leurs oppreſſeurs; ils ont tous incensé le vice d'un Néron, ou d'un Domitien, comme les vertus d'un Auguſte ou d'un Veſpaſien. Mais Juvénal n'a jamais ſu proſtituer

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that they are more reſpectable for their own virtues, than for thoſe of their anceſtors! The origin and eſtabliſhment of this prejudice is ſcarcely conceivable. Nature draws an indelible diſtinction between thoſe to whom ſhe has given talents, and thoſe from whom ſhe has withheld them. The ſubordination of citizens to their magiſtrates is founded on fear and reaſon; but what was the principle that originally eſtabliſhed the diſtinction of noble and plebeian? I think it was religion. This queſtion would require to be examined at great length, and the examination of it would be curious. I ſhall be contented with making a ſingle obſervation on this ſatire. 1. Juvenal ſpeaks, from one end of it to the other, the language of an ancient Roman. We perceive throughout, not only the dignity of a true cenſor, who arraigns vice, expoſes folly, and appals guilt, but the ſoul of a republican, reluctantly bending under the new conſtitution, the ſworn enemy of tyranny, and the friend of a mild and equitable monarchy, rather through neceſſity than inclination. This love of liberty, and loftineſs of mind, diſtinguiſhes Juvenal from all the poets who lived after the eſtabliſhment of the monarchy. Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Lucan, Martial, Statius, Valerius Flaccus, all ſing the ruin of their country, and the triumph of its oppreſſors. The vices of a Nero and a Domitian are commemorated in as lofty notes of praiſe, as the virtues of Auguſtus and Veſpaſian. Juvenal alone never proſtitutes his muſe. In his

tuer ſa muſe. Il ne lui eſt échappé qu'une ſeule louange de l'empereur, louange peut-être juſte, exprimée avec la plus grande ſimplicité, et renfermée dans un ſeul vers: mais il ne perd pas une occaſion de ſe déchaîner contre la folie et la tyrannie de ces maitres du monde, et de leurs ſubdélégués. Il fait plus; il enſeigne les remédes.

Tollas licet, omne quod uſquam eſt,
Auri atque argenti, ſcutum gladiumque relinques
Et jaculum et galeam; ſpoliatis arma ſuperſunt—

eſt un conſeil qui s'addreſſe pour le moins, autant aux Romains qu'aux Africains. Cette liberté de Juvénal décide du tems ou il a veçu, bien mieux que les traditions incertaines et contradictoires de ſon vieux ſcholiaſte. Juvenal a veçu ſous un bon prince, ſous un Nerva, ou un Trajan; tems heureux où il étoit permis d'exprimer ce qu'on ſentoit! Les tyrans avoient le tact fin; il y ſe reconnoiſſoient aiſément dans les portraits de leurs prédéceſſeurs. Un Domitien jugeoit avec raiſon, qu'un ennemi de Néron ne pouvoit pas être ſon ami, et un délateur auroit arreté Juvénal à ſa première ſatyre. Mais je doute qu'il en eut jamais couru les riſques. Les ames les plus fortes, et les génies les plus élevés, n'ont ſu ſe dérober aux ſoupçons dangereux des tyrans, qu'en cherchant la retraite, le ſilence, et des études frivoles

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his works, there is but one example of praiſe beſtowed on the emperor; a praiſe perhaps juſt, expreſſed with the greateſt ſimplicity, and included in a ſingle verſe. But he never loſes an opportunity of arraigning the folly and tyranny of thoſe maſters of the world and their deputies. He does more; he teaches how the evils inflicted by them may be cured.

Tollas licet, omne quod uſquam eſt,
Auri atque argenti, ſcutum gladiumque relinques
Et jaculum et galeam; ſpoliatis arma ſuperſunt—

is an advice addreſſed fully as much to the Romans as to the Africans. Juvenal's liberty of ſpeech fixes the time in which he lived far better than the uncertain and contradictory reports of an old ſcholiaſt. He lived under a good prince, a Nerva or a Trajan, at a happy period when his ſentiments might be expreſſed without diſguiſe. Tyrants had the niceſt ſenſibility; they eaſily knew their own pictures in thoſe of their predeceſſors. Domitian reaſonably concluded, that an enemy to Nero could not be his friend; an informer would have ſilenced Juvenal after his firſt ſatire. But I ſuſpect that he never run that riſk. Men, diſtinguiſhed by vigour of mind and elevation of genius, found no other means of eſcaping the fatal ſuſpicion of tyrants,

frivoles et innocentes.—La neuvième Satyre eſt preſque dégoûtante. Le vice que le poëte y condamne eſt ſi naïvement expoſé. Le ridicule que Juvénal y a ſu répandre me paroit venir du caractère de Nævolus, d'un miſérable *pathique*, dont les ſentimens ſont ſi avilis par ſon genre de vie, qu'il ne paroit pas en comprendre l'infamie, et qu'il raconte ſes ſervices du même air d'indifférence qu'un ſoldat parleroit de ſes campagnes. Ce ſérieux, ſi déplacé que le lecteur ſent, et que Nævolus ne ſent point, fait ſelon moi la plaiſanterie de cette Satyre.

Septembre 1.]—J'ai lu la dixième Satyre de Juvénal, v. 100—365; j'ai relu cette ſatyre, et j'ai lu pour la première fois la onzième, v. 1—208. Dans la dixième, Juvénal s'exerce ſur un ſujet digne de lui, la vanité de nos vœux, défaut général, compatible avec les plus grandes vertus, et lié étroitement avec les ſentimens les plus naturels au cœur humain. Le poëte y déploye une philoſophie fine, exacte, et fondée ſur les principes les plus ſolides de la morale. Son génie s'éleve à proportion de l'importance de ſon rôle; il anéantit toutes les fauſſes grandeurs; il peſe avec la ſublime indifférence d'un être ſupérieur, les vertus, les talens, et le deſtin des plus grandes hommes. Il neglige, il paroit mépriſer ce talent de la verſification, cette harmonie douce et charmante, qu'il poſsede ſi bien. Son ſtyle,

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than by concealing themſelves in ſilence and obſcurity, confining their application to innocent and frivolous purſuits.—The ninth Satire of Juvenal is diſguſting by its ſubject. The vice which the poet condemns is exhibited without diſguiſe. The ridicule of the ſatire appears to me to ariſe from the character of Nævolus, a miſerable catamite, whoſe principles are ſo much debaſed by his way of life, that he has loſt all ſenſe of its infamy, and relates his ſervices with the ſame air of indifference that a ſoldier would deſcribe his campaigns. This gravity, which the reader perceives to be ſo much out of place, and which Nævolus does not, produces, in my opinion, the whole humour of the piece.

September 1.]—I read a ſecond time the tenth Satire of Juvenal, v. 100—365, the end; and the eleventh, conſiſting of 208 verſes, for the firſt time. In the tenth, Juvenal treats a ſubject worthy of himſelf; the vanity of human wiſhes, a misfortune conſiſtent with the greateſt virtues, and intimately connected with the moſt natural ſentiments of the heart. The poet every where employs a refined and accurate philoſophy, founded on the ſtricteſt principles of moral ſcience. His genius riſes with his ſubject: he ſhews the nothingneſs of falſe grandeur, and weighs, with the ſublime indifference of a ſuperior being, the virtues, talents, and deſtiny, of the greateſt men. He here neglects, and ſeems even to diſdain, the beauty of verſification, and that ſweet and charming harmony of which he was ſo great a maſter.

ſtyle, toujours énergique, précis, ſoutenu, et rempli des plus belles images, eſt moins coulant, et plus rude, que dans ſes autres pièces. Comme il s'appuye toujours ſur l'expérience, ſes raiſonnemens ſont entre-mêlés d'exemples, dont la plus-part ſont choiſis avec beaucoup de goût. Celui de Sejan eſt parfait. Jamais élévation plus ſingulière, jamais chute plus foudroyante. La légereté de ce peuple, qui court briſer les ſtatues qu'il venoit d'encenſer, fait un tableau achevé. L'exemple de la mort d'Alexandre me paroit le moins philoſophique. Alexandre eſt malheureux pour être mort au milieu de ſa gloire et de ſes ſuccès. Cependant ſi Marius étoit mort en deſcendant de ſon char de triomphe, il eut été le plus heureux de tous les hommes. Les raiſonnemens de cette ſatyre auroient étés plus clairs, ſi Juvénal avoit diſtingué les ſouhaits dont l'accompliſſement ne peut que nous rendre malheureux, et ceux dont le ſuccès pourroit ne pas faire notre bonheur. La puiſſance abſolue eſt de la première eſpèce, une vie longue de la ſeconde. Nous devons abandonner ceux-ci à la connoiſſance des dieux, mais nos lumières nous ſuffiſent pour les prier hardiment de ne pas nous accorder ceux-là. À propos des dieux, je remarque dans Juvénal cette indéciſion à leur égard ſi commune aux anciens. Rien de plus pieux, ni de plus philoſophique que la ſoumiſſion, que la foi, qu'il fait paroître; un inſtant après, notre ſageſſe nous ſuffit, et la

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His ſtyle, preciſe, energetic, lofty, and enriched with images, flows in a rougher ſtream than in his other pieces. Taking experience for his guide, his reaſonings are mixed with examples, of which the greater part are choſen with exquiſite judgment. That of Sejanus is a maſter-piece: never was any elevation more extraordinary than his, nor any fall more dreadful. The levity of the people, who were in haſte to break his ſtatues, which they had juſt worſhipped, is a finiſhed picture of popular inconſtancy. The example of the death of Alexander, ſeems to me to be choſen with leſs diſcernment than the reſt. *His* misfortune conſiſted in being cut off in the midſt of his ſucceſs and glory. Yet had Marius died as he deſcended from his triumphal car, he would have been deemed the happieſt of mortals. The reaſoning in this ſatire would have been clearer, had Juvenal diſtinguiſhed between thoſe wiſhes, the accompliſhment of which could not fail to make us miſerable, and thoſe whoſe accompliſhment might fail to make us happy. Abſolute power is of the firſt kind; long life of the ſecond. The latter we may ſafely commit to the providence of the gods; but our own reaſon may teach us to pray, that they would refuſe to us the former. With regard to the gods, I remark that inconſtancy of opinion in Juvenal, which is ſo frequent among the antients. At one moment nothing can be more pious than his faith, or more philoſophical than his ſubmiſſion. The next, our own

la prudence tient lieu de toutes les divinités. Au vers ſuivant, ſa dévotion le reprend; il borne cette propoſition générale à la ſeule *Fortune*, et replace tous les autres dieux ſur l'Olympe.

J'ai achevé le *ſeizième tôme de la Bibliotheque Raiſonnée.* J'y trouve *les Sermons de M. Foſter.* Quel miracle! un théologien, qui préfere la raiſon à la foi, et qui eſt plus effrayé du vice que de l'héréſie. *Scriptores Rei Ruſticæ à Geſnero.* Ces auteurs peuvent être utiles pour la langue et l'économie des Romains; mais où eſt le littérateur qui les lira? où eſt le cultivateur qui les ſuivroit? *Notitia Hungariæ, vol.* 1. *per Math. Ball:* ouvrage immenſe, mais trop détaillé pour tout ce qui n'eſt pas Hongrois. *Eloge de M. le Clerc:* ouvrage exact et ſec du journaliſte. *Hiſtoire du Concile de Trente de Fra Paolo, par le Pere le Courayer; premier extrait.* En ſouhaitant au traducteur une certaine vigueur de raiſon qu'il n'a pas, on ne ſauroit lui ſouhaiter plus de modération, d'impartialité, et de tolérance, qu'il n'en découvre dans ſa preface.

Septembre 3.]—J'ai relu la onzième Satyre de Juvénal. J'ai lu la douzième Satyre, v. 1—130; et je l'ai relue, v. 1—100. Dans l'onzième, Juvénal, qui veut inviter ſon ami à ſouper, compare, avec beaucoup de vivacité, le luxe effrené de ſes contemporains, avec ces repas ſimples et groſſiers des anciens

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wiſdom ſuffices, and prudence uſurps the thrones of all the divinities. In the following verſe his devotion again gets the aſcendency: he limits his general aſſertion to fortune only, and replaces all the other gods in Olympus.

September 2.]—I finiſhed the fourteenth volume of the *Bibliotheque Raiſonnée.* It contains Foſter's Sermons. Wonderful! a divine preferring reaſon to faith, and more afraid of vice than of hereſy. *Scriptores Rei Ruſticæ à Geſnero.* Theſe authors may be uſeful for inſtructing us in the language and rural œconomy of the Romans; but where is the ſtudent that reads, or the farmer who puts in practice, their leſſons? *Notitia Hungariæ, vol.* 1. *per Math. Ball:* an immenſe work, but too minutely circumſtantial for any but Hungarians. The Panegyric of Mr. Le Clerc; a dry but accurate work of the Reviewer. The Council of Trent, by Father Paul, tranſlated by Father Courayer; firſt extract. We might wiſh the tranſlator more vigour of underſtanding; but in his preface he diſplays all the candor, impartiality, and toleration, that can poſſibly be deſired.

3.]—I read a ſecond time the eleventh Satire of Juvenal: I read the firſt 100 verſes a third time: and alſo the twelfth Satire, conſiſting of 130 verſes. In the eleventh, Juvenal takes an opportunity, in inviting his friend to ſupper, to contraſt, with much ſprightlineſs, the extravagant luxury of his contemporaries with

anciens dictateurs; il fait ſentir très fortement, ſans le dire, combien l'élégance de ſon ſiecle étoit devenue univerſelle, et preſque néceſſaire, puis qu'un pauvre philoſophe, comme lui, préparoit à ſon ami un repas fort inférieur à ceux de Ventidius, mais très ſupérieur à ceux de Curius. La ſimplicité, la propreté, et les amuſemens honnêtes, devoient ſeuls y regner. Juvénal avoit l'eſprit juſte, et l'ame honnête; mais l'un et l'autre étoient dépourvus de douceur et d'aménité. Il a negligé l'occaſion de parler à ſon ami de ces ſentimens qu'on ſe fait toujours un plaiſir d'épancher dans ſon ſein, lorſqu'ils exiſtent chez nous. Les converſations libres et philoſophiques que l'amitié inſpire, et que la confiance aſſure, ſont mal remplacées à ſon ſouper par la lecture d'Homere. Horace n'a eu garde de les oublier, dans le portrait charmant qu'il nous fait d'un repas vague et incertain, dont l'exiſtence réelle et prochaine ne contribuoit point à l'échauffer. Je diſtinguerois cependant ici, entre les caractères de Boileau et de Juvénal. L'un et l'autre paroîſſent avoir peu connu les ſentimens tendres. Mais c'étoit dans le premier une ſéchereſſe de cœur et d'imagination, qui le rendoit peu ſuſceptible de paſſions quelconques. Juvénal avoit l'imagination ardente, et un cœur qui y répondoit; mais tous les deux portoient plutôt leur énergie ſur les paſſions fortes, ſombres, et élevées, que ſur celles qui ſont douces et aimables.

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the ſimple and coarſe fare of antient dictators. He makes us clearly perceive, without formally expreſſing it, how univerſal, and almoſt neceſſary, the elegance of the table was become in his time, ſince a poor philoſopher like himſelf prepared for his friend a ſupper, very inferior indeed to the feaſts of Ventidius, but far ſuperior to thoſe of Curius. This entertainment was to be graced by ſimplicity, neatneſs, and decent amuſements only. Juvenal poſſeſſed juſtneſs of underſtanding, and honeſty of heart; but his character was deficient in point of ſweetneſs and ſenſibility. He has neglected an opportunity of expreſſing thoſe ſentiments, which one friend, when he feels them, is always ready to pour into the boſom of another. The free and philoſophical converſation which the confidence of friendſhip inſpires and warrants, is but ill ſupplied at his ſupper by the reading of Homer. Horace took care not to forget, in his charming picture of an entertainment diſtant and uncertain, thoſe amiable feelings with which the near reality of a ſimilar repaſt does not inſpire Juvenal. Here, however, I would make a diſtinction between this ſatiriſt and Boileau. Neither of them were endowed with tenderneſs of ſentiment. But this defect in Boileau proceeded from a coldneſs of heart and fancy, which rendered him but little ſuſceptible of any paſſion whatever. Juvenal's heart and fancy were both of them ardent; but their warmth exhauſted itſelf in paſſions ſtrong, dark, and elevated, not in affections which are amiable and tender.

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Septembre 4.]—Ja n'ai fait qu'achever la douzième Satyre de Juvénal, v. 100—130. Cette ouvrage me faire voir combien Juvénal avoit le génie de la ſatyre; mais qu'il n'avoit que ce génie. Certainement il ne ſongeoit pas à faire une ſatyre: il vouloit féliciter un de ſes amis qui venoit d'échapper à un grand naufrage; après y avoir employé les deux tiers de la ſatyre, il s'échappe à la fin, il ſe ſouvient que cet ami, pour le ſalut de qui il va offrir tant de ſacrifices, a trois enfans. Que ſa conduite eſt différente de celle des *captatores*, dont Rome étoit remplie, qui ne s'attachoient qu'aux riches ſans enfans! Il oublie ſon ami, et il n'eſt plus queſtion que de ces faquins. Le tableau qu'il en fait eſt vif, et très ſupérieur à ſa deſcription de la tempête. Celle-ci eſt trainante, foible, et confuſe; l'ouvrage d'un déclamateur, et quelquefois d'un écolier.

J'ai achevé le dix ſeptième tôme de la *Bibliotheque Raiſonnée*. J'y trouve le deuxième et troiſième *Extraits de l'Hiſtoire du Concile de Trente de Fra Paolo, par le Pere le Courayer*. On croiroit que l'ame de l'illuſtre Servite étoit paſſée dans celle du chanoine régulier; les talens, les vertus, et juſqu'aux foibleſſes, tout leur eſt commun. Cet ouvrage eſt un beau monument de l'hiſtoire des réligions, la partie la plus curieuſe de celle de l'eſprit humain, pour qui ſait s'élever au deſſus de tous les préjugés de parti et de ſecte.

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September 4.]—I did nothing but finiſh the twelfth Satire of Juvenal, v. 100—130, the end. This performance ſhews the author's genius for ſatire, but alſo that it was the only kind of genius with which he was endowed. In this piece, he certainly did not at firſt intend writing a ſatire, but only to congratulate one of his friends, who had been ſaved from a dreadful ſhipwreck. After employing, on this ſubject, two-thirds of the poem, he is at once diverted from it, by recollecting that his friend, for whoſe ſafety he is to offer ſo many ſacrifices, has three children. This conduct in himſelf ſtrikes him as totally oppoſite to that of the teſtament-hunters, with whom Rome abounded, and whoſe attentions were ſolely beſtowed on rich people who were childleſs. He forgets his friend, for the pleaſure of expoſing thoſe knaves. The lively picture which he draws of them, is far ſuperior to his deſcription of the tempeſt, which is tedious, languid, confuſed, diſgraced by declamation, and even by puerility.

I finiſhed the ſeventeenth volume of the *Bibliotheque Raiſonnée*. It contains the ſecond and third extract from Father Paul's Council of Trent, tranſlated by Father Courayer. It ſhould ſeem as if the ſoul of the illuſtrious Servite animated the regular Canon: the ſame talents, virtues, and even weakneſſes, are common to both. This work is a beautiful monument of the hiſtory of religion, the moſt curious part of the hiſtory of the human mind, for thoſe who can ſoar above the prejudices of

De verbis ambiguis à Reitzio. Un beau deſſein, très mal exécuté. *Diſſertation ſur le Suicide, par Robeck.* L'auteur s'eſt jetté dans l'Elb. On ne ſauroit douter de ſa ſincérité ; mais ſes lumières ne l'égaloient point.

Septembre 5.]—J'ai écrit plus d'une page de mon Recueil. J'ai lu la treizième Satyre de Juvénal, v. 1—249.

6.]—J'ai relu la treizième Satyre de Juvénal, et j'ai lu la quatorzième, v. 1—331. Ce poëte cherche à conſoler un de ſes amis, à qui un coquin venoit de faire perdre dix mille ſeſterces en niant un depôt qui lui avoit été confié. Un théologien trouveroit dans cet ouvrage des nouvelles preuves de l'incertitude des Payens ſur un état futur, et ſur la Providence. Il parle avec une énergie preſque divine, des tourmens d'une conſcience bourrelée par le ſentiment affreux d'avoir violé les loix de la juſtice, et du ſupplice de celui qui porte toujours ſon bourreau au dedans de ſon cœur. Ses ſonges ne lui retracent que des objets affreux; et s'il ſurvient un malheur, une maladie, l'idée de punition qu'il y attache, les rend encore plus douloureux. Mais il ne décide jamais, ſi ces craintes ont un fondement réel. Elles aſſocient le malheur et le vice par l'effet qu'elles ont ſur l'imagination ; mais quelle influence doivent elles avoir ſur la raiſon ? Juvénal en parle tout auſſi peu que des peines du méchant dans l'autre vie. La ſeule fois qu'il les rapelle, c'eſt

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facts and parties. *De verbis ambiguis* a Reitzio : good deſign, ill executed. A Diſſertation on Suicide, by Robeck. The author threw himſelf into the Elbe. It is impoſſible to doubt his ſincerity, which far ſurpaſſed his underſtanding.

September 5.]—I wrote above a page of my collection, and read the thirteenth Satire of Juvenal, conſiſting of 249 verſes.

6.]—I read a ſecond time, the thirteenth Satire of Juvenal, and the fourteenth, conſiſting of 331 verſes, for the firſt time. In the firſt, the poet offers conſolation to a friend, who had been defrauded of ten thouſand ſeſterces, by a knave, who denied the depoſit of that ſum. In this ſatire, a divine might find new proofs of the uncertainty of the Pagans reſpecting a Providence and a future ſtate. The poet ſpeaks almoſt divinely of the torments of a guilty conſcience ; of its horrid remorſe for having violated the laws of juſtice ; and of the dreadful ſufferings of him who bears his puniſhment always in his own heart. His dreams appal him with the moſt frightful images ; and the pain of every calamity that befalls him, is heightened by his regarding it as a puniſhment. But he does not decide whether theſe terrors reſt on any ſolid foundation. Wickedneſs and miſery are aſſociated in the fancy ; but does reaſon prove that there is a neceſſary connection between them ? Juvenal does not conſider this queſtion, any more than the puniſhment of the wicked in another life. He

c'eſt avec un ſorte de mépris. Encore après avoir épuiſé toute ſon eloquence à peindre les punitions du vice, il n'en trouve point de plus fortes, ni de plus efficaces que celle du magiſtrat. C'eſt par celle-la qu'il finit. Juvénal, cependant, ne ſe piquoit point de la philoſophie impie des Grècs. C'étoit un vieux Romain, qui s'attachoit plus à Caton qu'à Chryſippe, et qui reſpectoit ſincèrement la divinité, quoiqu'il ſe mocquât un peu de la multiplicité des dieux de ſes concitoyens.

Septembre 7.]—J'ai achevé le *dix huitième tôme de la Bibliotheque Raiſonnée.* J'y vois *Lettres de Leibnitz.* Parmi l'univerſalité de ſes talens, le théologien nous arrete ici. Leibnitz étoit philoſophe; pouvoit il ſonger ſérieuſement à une réunion des réligions? *Vitæ Servii Sulpicii et P. Alpheni.* La vie du premier de ces juriſconſultes eſt auſſi intéreſſante que celle de l'autre l'eſt peu. Everard Otton en eſt l'auteur. *Heineccii Opuſcula.* Parmi ces diſſertations, celle ſur les habillemens des premiers Chrétiens eſt ſavante et curieuſe. *Catonis Diſticha.* Après avoir vu les preuves de M. Carnegzieter, on ne peut guères douter que Dionyſius Cato n'ait été Payen, et qu'il n'ait veçu avant le ſiecle de Conſtantin. Faut il en effet être Chrétien, pour débiter d'un ſtyle ſi bas des maximes d'un bon ſens auſſi commun?

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He mentions this but once, and then contemptuouſly. Having exhauſted his whole eloquence in deſcribing the puniſhments of vice, he thinks none ſo powerful and efficacious as that inflicted by the magiſtrates, with which he concludes. Yet Juvenal had never imbibed the impious philoſophy of the Greeks; he was an old Roman, who hearkened to Cato rather than to Chryſippus; and who ſincerely venerated the divinity, though he was inclined to laugh at the polytheiſm of his fellow-citizens.

September 7.]—I finiſhed the eighteenth volume of the *Bibliotheque Raiſonnée.* It contains the letters of Leibnitz. This univerſal genius here appears as a theologian. As a philoſopher, could Leibnitz really hope that an union might be effected among religions? *Vitæ Servii Sulpicii et P. Alpheni.* The life of the firſt of theſe lawyers is as intereſting, as that of the ſecond is the reverſe. It is written by Everard Otto. *Heineccii Opuſcula.* Among theſe diſſertations, that concerning the dreſs of the firſt Chriſtians is learned and curious. *Catonis Diſticha.* After having read the proofs brought by M. Carnegzieter, it is impoſſible to doubt that Dionyſius Cato was a Pagan who lived before the age of Conſtantine. It was not neceſſary, ſurely, to be a Chriſtian, to be able to retail in the loweſt ſtyle, maxims of the plaineſt common ſenſe.

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Septembre 8.]—J'ai écrit deux pages de mon Recueil; et j'ai relu la quatorzième Satyre de Juvénal, v. 1—106.

9.]—Le premier volume des *Lettres du Baron de Bielfeld*, qui me tombèrent par hazard entre les mains, m'ont amuſé et m'ont diſtrait. La deſcription de Berlin, de Potzdam, et d'Hanover, m'ont plu. La vie du roi de Pruſſe dans ſa retraite, y eſt bien crayonnée: on y voit l'aurore d'un beau jour, mais on ne voit point des préſages de tempêtes; auſſi le portrait eſt il un peu flatté. Pour Homere et l'Angleterre, le Baron les connoit autant l'un que l'autre.

13.]—J'ai achevé *le neuvième tôme de la Bibliotheque Raiſonnée*. J'y vois *le quatorzième et dernier Extrait de l'Hiſtoire du Concile de Trente de Fra Paolo, par le Pere le Courayer*. La politique de la maiſon d'Autriche eſt aſſez fine. Elle a toujours ſu profiter de cette ſuperſtition dont les autres nations étoient les victimes. Elle a réjetté, en particulier, le Concile de Trente, en paroiſſant l'accepter avec beaucoup de reſpect. *Les Commentaires de Cæſar, par Oudendorp:* bon et péſant variorum. *Penſées et Diſſertations Théologiques d'Alphonſo Turretin:* foible raiſonneur, mais bon écrivain. *Miracles de l'Abbé Paris, par M. de Montgeron:* ce fanatiſme des Janſeniſtes eſt une de ces maladies épidémiques de l'eſprit humain, qui méritent beaucoup d'attention.

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September 8.]—I wrote two pages of my collection, and read over again the fourteenth Satire of Juvenal, v. 1—106.

9.]—The firſt volume of the Letters of Baron Bielfeld having accidentally fallen into my hands, engaged and amuſed me. I was pleaſed with his deſcription of Berlin, Potſdam, and Hanover. The life led by the King of Pruſſia, in his retreat, is well ſketched. We behold the morning of a beautiful day; but as there are no preſages of the tempeſt, the picture is a little too flattering. As to Homer and England, the Baron is juſt as well acquainted with the one as with the other.

13.]—I finiſhed the nineteenth volume of the *Bibliotheque Raiſonnée*: it contains the fourteenth and laſt extract from Father Paul's Hiſtory of the Council of Trent, tranſlated by Courayer. The refined policy of the Houſe of Auſtria has always known how to avail itſelf of that ſuperſtition of which other nations have been the victims. Auſtria, in particular, rejected the authority of the Council of Trent, which ſhe had appeared to admit moſt reſpectfully. *Cæſar's Commentaries, by Oudendorp:* a good and bulky edition. *Thoughts and Theological Diſſertations, by Alphonſo Turretin:* a weak reaſoner, but a good writer. The *Miracles of Abbé Paris, by Montgeron.* This fanaticiſm of the Janſeniſts is one of thoſe epidemic maladies of the human mind, which deſerves much attention.

September

Septembre 16.]—J'avois un peu negligé Juvénal. J'en ai lu aujourd'hui pour la ſeconde fois la quatorzième Satyre, v. 106—331; et, pour la première, la quinzième, v. 1—174. Il y a des ſatyres plus plaiſantes que la quatorzième; il y en a où le poëte prend un vol plus ſublime; mais il n'y en a aucune où il déploye autant de talens philoſophiques, la briéveté, l'art d'enchainer ſes idées et ſa préciſion. Sa briéveté n'eſt point celle ſi commune aujourd'hui d'étrangler ſes penſées, en croyant les reſſerrer, et d'imaginer qu'on a beaucoup fait, lorſqu'en peu de mots on laiſſe entrevoir obſcurément le quart d'une idée; mais cette briéveté de Tacite et de Monteſquieu, qui ſait retrancher tout ce qui n'eſt qu'acceſſoire, pour renfermer l'idée principale dans une expreſſion forte et préciſe. Voyez dans cette ſatyre les vers 166—171; où dans cinq lignes, en choiſiſſant les circonſtances les plus caractériſtiques, le poëte vous met devant les yeux la ſimplicité des anciens Romains, leur amour du travail, l'union des familles, la fécondité des femmes, la ſobriété de leurs repas, et leur haine d'un grand nombre d'eſclaves étrangers. Toute cette ſatyre n'eſt qu'un tiſſu bien travaillé; les idées naiſſent les unes des autres, ou du moins les tranſitions ſont toujours aiſées, et preſque inſenſibles. Avec quelle juſteſſe, avec quelle fineſſe, ne ſuit il pas le progrès de l'avarice dans le cœur humain? Il la prend dans ſon origine, et l'a fait paſſer

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September 16.]—I had a little neglected Juvenal. To-day I read, for the ſecond time, the fourteenth Satire, v. 106—331, the end; and, for the firſt time, the fifteenth Satire, v. 1—174. There are ſatires more agreeable than the fourteenth; there are others in which the poet takes a loftier flight; but there are none in which he ſo much diſplays his genius for philoſophy, the art of connecting his ideas, his preciſion, and brevity. His brevity reſembles not that ſo common among writers of the preſent age, who often ſtrangle a thought in hopes of ſtrengthening it; and who applaud their own ſkill, when they have ſhewn to us, in a few abſurd words, the fourth part of an idea: it is the brevity of Tacitus and Monteſquieu, which, after retrenching whatever is ſuperfluous or unneceſſary, includes the principal thought in a preciſe and vigorous expreſſion. By ſelecting the moſt characteriſtic circumſtances, the poet ſets before your eyes, in five lines, (v. 166—171,) the ſimplicity of the ancient Romans, their love of labour, their domeſtic happineſs, the fruitfulneſs of their wives, their ſober diet, and their averſion to being ſerved by a multitude of foreign ſlaves. Throughout the whole of this ſatire, the texture is ſkilfully combined; the thoughts either riſing immediately the one from the other, or the tranſitions being ſo natural, that they are almoſt imperceptible. How juſtly and artfully does the poet deſcribe the progreſs of avarice in the human heart? tracing it from its origin, in ſordid

paſſer de la lézine aux arts honteux, et de là à l'injuſtice, aux violences, et, enfin, aux plus grands crimes; le pere qui le premier lui a inſpiré ce goût funeſte, veut en vain le rappeller. Après avoir longtems été le ſpectateur étonné de ſes crimes, il en devient quelquefois la victime.

Trepidumque Magiſtrum
In cavea magno fremitû, leo tollet alumnus ;

image pleine de force et de hardieſſe. Ce maître du lion avoit cultivé ſa férocité naturelle, pour le rendre plus digne de l'attention de l'amphithéâtre.

Septembre 17.]—J'ai lu la quinzième Satyre de Juvénal la ſeconde fois, v. 1—174; et la ſeizième et dernière deux fois, v. 1—60. La haine de Juvénal contre la nation et la religion des Egyptiens, y paroit aſſez à découvert dans la première de ces ſatyres. Je n'en ſuis nullement ſurpris. Juvénal, homme de bon ſens, en mépriſoit les abſurdités; il avoit vu quelles atteintes ce culte, introduit à Rome, avoit porté aux mœurs de ſes compatriotes; que leurs aſſemblées tumultueuſes qui cachoient l'age, le rang, et le ſexe, ſous les ombres du myſtère et de la nuit, ouvroient la porte à la débauche la plus effrenée, pendant que leurs prophetes et leurs devins enſeignoient aux femmes et aux enfans, à calculer, et quelquefois à abréger,

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ſordid parſimony, to mean contrivances for gain; and from thence to injuſtice, violence, and the greateſt crimes. The father who firſt inſpired into his ſon this miſerable paſſion, vainly ſtruggles to check his flagitious career; and after being long the aſtoniſhed ſpectator of his crimes, ſometimes becomes their victim.

Trepidumque Magiſtrum
In cavea magno fremitû, leo tollet alumnus ;

is an image equally bold and impreſſive. This maſter of the lion had exaſperated his natural ferocity, in order to render him more deſerving the attention of the amphitheatre.

September 17.]—I read the fifteenth Satire of Juvenal, v. 1—174, the ſecond time; and alſo read the ſixteenth and laſt Satire. In the firſt of theſe Juvenal expreſſes, undiſguiſed, his hatred againſt the Egyptian nation and religion. This does not at all ſurpriſe me. As a man of good ſenſe, Juvenal deſpiſed the abſurdities of this worſhip; he ſaw how much its introduction into Rome had corrupted the morals of his fellow-citizens; and perceived that thoſe crowded aſſemblies, in which the diſtinctions of age, rank, and ſex were concealed and confounded, under the veil of night and myſtery, opened a door to the moſt abominable debauchery, at the ſame time that the Egyptian prophets and fortune-tellers taught women and children to calculate,

ger, les jours d'un pere, ou d'un mari. Un exil, qui le fixoit parmi une nation qu'il mépriſoit autant qu'il la déteſtoit, devoit aigrir ſon humeur, et porter ſes ſentimens au plus haut point. J'aurois ſeulement voulu qu'ils ne l'euſſent pas rendu injuſte. Dans un tumulte que la ſuperſtition excita, le peuple Egyptien mangea la chair d'un des ennemis qu'il avoit égorgé. L'action eſt affreuſe, j'en conviens ; mais il n'en faut pas conclure que les Egyptiens ſont auſſi barbares que les Cyclopes et les Læſtrigones. Les François en ont bien fait autant au Marechal d'Ancre, et les Hollandois au Penſionnaire de Witt. L'on ne doit jamais mettre en parallele les mœurs fixes et conſtantes d'une nation, et ces momens de fureur et de délire. Juvénal fait encore un peu trop le déclamateur. Il croit aggraver le crime des Egyptiens; il le diminue par tous ſes raiſonnemens, par ſon exemple des *Vaſcones*, &c. On peut blâmer celui qui viole les principes de Zenon; mais ce n'eſt que la nature outragée qui nous fait frémir. Mais je reconnois bien mon poëte dans cette deſcription pleine de ſel, du culte, que les Egyptiens rendoient aux animaux, et même aux vegetaux*, dans cette origine de la ſociété, fondée ſur la bienveillance et la ſociabilité, que la nature n'a accordées qu'aux hommes ſeuls †, et dans cette image horrible, mais belle, de la férocité d'un Egyptien.

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calculate, and ſometimes to haſten, the deaths of their fathers and huſbands. His own baniſhment into a country which was the object of his contempt or deteſtation, naturally ſharpened his animoſity, and carried his reſentment to the utmoſt pitch. I only wiſh that he had reſtrained it within the bounds of juſtice. In a tumult excited by ſuperſtition, the Egyptians devoured the fleſh of one of their fallen enemies. From this horrid action it was not fair to conclude, that the Egyptians equalled in barbarity the Cyclops and the Leſtrigons. The French treated with equal brutality Mareſhal d'Ancre, and the Dutch Penſionary de Witt. The fixed and permanent character of a people, ought never to be inferred from moments of madneſs and fury. The poet alſo too much indulges his talent for declamation. Inſtead of aggravating the crime of the Egyptians, he in reality leſſens it by his unſeaſonable reaſonings, his example of the Vaſcones, &c. He who violates the principles of Zeno may be worthy of blame; but the monſter who inſults the dictates of nature can alone excite horror. The genius of our poet is clearly diſplayed in the witty deſcription of the worſhip which the Egyptians paid to animals *; in the origin of ſociety, founded on thoſe principles of benevolence, which are implanted by nature in the heart of man only †; and in that dreadful, though beautiful picture of the ferocity of an Egyptian.

* Sat. xv. v. 1—14. † Id. xv. 129—158.

La ſeïzième Satyre n'eſt pas trop reconnue pour être de Juvénal. Elle eſt aſſez foible, et même negligée ; mais il me ſemble que je reconnois la touche du maître au vers 55. Cette ſatyre eſt, cependant, d'un aſſez grand prix pour l'hiſtoire. On n'a pas trop remarqué juſqu'à quel point les ſoldats avoient pouſſé leurs privilèges ſous les empereurs. On a bien vu que dans le tems de ſédition, ils renverſoient leurs trônes ; mais on a ignoré qu'en tems de paix ils les partageoient. Je ne connois point d'attentat plus hardi à une petite portion de la ſociété, que de ſe ſouſtraire de la juriſdiction commune, et d'exiger même que ſes différens avec les autres citoyens ſoient decidés par ſes propres juges. Le clergé l'a fait dans les tems d'ignorance ; mais j'excuſerois plutôt cette entrepriſe dans un corps qui étoit cenſé poſséder toute la vertu, et qui poſsédoit réellement toute la ſcience de ces ſiecles, qu'a des ſoldats, dont l'ignorance, la groſſiereté, et les maximes militaires et deſpotiques, les éloignoient ſi fort de la profeſſion de juge.

J'ai fini Juvénal, que je régrette beaucoup de n'avoir pas plutôt connu, et qui ſera déſormais un de mes auteurs favoris. Comme j'ai couché par écrit mes obſervations principales, à meſure que je les faiſois, il me reſte peu de choſe à en dire. Je me bornerai à deux remarques ; ſur le tems où Juvénal a vecu, et ſur ſa verſification. 1. Il n'y a point de poëte Latin ſur lequel

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The ſixteenth Satire is not clearly proved to be Juvenal's. It is written weakly, and negligently; but I think we may recognize the maſter's hand in v. 55. This ſatire, however, is of conſiderable importance in hiſtory. It has not been ſufficiently remarked to what extent the privileges of ſoldiers were carried under the emperors. In moments of ſedition, it was manifeſt, they overturned their thrones; but it was not known that in time of peace they ſhared their ſovereignty. I know not of a bolder enterpriſe, in any ſmall portion of a community, than that of withdrawing itſelf from the juriſdiction of the ordinary magiſtrates, and inſiſting that its differences, even with the other claſſes of citizens, ſhould be decided by its own judges. The clergy obtained theſe privileges in the dark ages; but ſuch pretenſions ſeem to have been more excuſable in a body, which was believed to poſſeſs all the virtue, and which really poſſeſſed all the learning of the times, than they could poſſibly be in the Roman ſoldiers, whoſe ignorance, groſſneſs of manners, deſpotic and military maxims, removed them to ſo great a diſtance from the character belonging to a judge.

I finiſhed Juvenal, whom I regret not being earlier acquainted with; and who, in future, will be one of my favourite authors. Having written my obſervations on him, as they occurred in reading his Satires, I have but little to add on the ſubject; and ſhall confine myſelf to two remarks: the firſt, as to the time in which he lived; the ſecond, concerning his verſification. 1ſt, There is not any Latin poet concerning

lequel nous ayons auſſi peu de lumières. Soit modeſtie, ſoit fierté, il a negligé de nous apprendre le tems de ſa naiſſance, et les circonſtances de ſa vie. Il n'y a aucun de ſes ouvrages auquel quelque grand évènement ait donné lieu, et dont cet événement fixe la date. Il paroit même avoir pris à tâche de nous confondre, en parlant ſouvent de pluſieurs perſonnes qui ont veçu dans des tems aſſez éloignés, comme de ſes contemporains. Il ne nous reſte que les quatre mots d'une ancienne vie du poëte, écrite par un auteur inconnu; mais cette vie redouble nos embarras, tant elle eſt oppoſée aux inductions aſſurées qu'on peut tirer des propres ouvrages de Juvénal. Selon cet hiſtorien et le vieux ſcholiaſte, notre poëte a veçu ſous Néron, qui l'exila en Egypte, où il mourut très peu de tems après. Cependant il eſt certain qu'il ſurvêçu à Domitien; qu'il vit la condemnation de Marius Priſcus; que Martial, qui ne ſe rétira en Eſpagne que ſous Trajan, le laiſſa à Rome; et l'on peut ſoupçonner, par le date d'un conſulat, qu'il étoit en Egypte vers la troiſième année du regne d'Adrien. Toutes ces époques s'accordent très bien avec le ſyſtème du ſavant Dodwell, qui penſe que ce fut ce dernier empereur qui le relégua. J'ai lu cet ouvrage *(les Annales Quintilianes)* il y a quelque tems. N'ayant plus le livre ſous la main, j'ignore à preſent le détail de ſes preuves; mais ſi l'on peut raiſonner ſur les vraiſemblances, j'en entrevoit pluſieurs. 2. La verſification de Juvénal me paroit ſupérieure à celles

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cerning whom we have ſo little information; whether from pride or modeſty, he has neglected to tell us either the time of his birth, or the circumſtances of his life. None of his works were written in commemoration of any great event, which might have aſcertained their date. It ſeems as if he had taken a pleaſure in perplexing us, by often ſpeaking of many perſons as his contemporaries who lived at very different periods of time. There remain but a few words of an old life of Juvenal, written by an unknown author; which life augments our uncertainty, by its oppoſition to the cleareſt inferences from the poet's own works. According to that biographer and his ſcholiaſt, Juvenal lived under Nero, who baniſhed him to Egypt, where he died ſoon afterwards. Yet it is certain that he ſurvived Domitian; that he witneſſed the condemnation of Marius Priſcus; that Martial, who did not retire into Spain until the reign of Trajan, left him at Rome; and from the date of a conſulſhip, there is reaſon to ſuſpect, that he was in Egypt in the third year of the reign of Adrian. All the æras perfectly correſpond with the ſyſtem of the learned Dodwell, who thinks that our poet was baniſhed by the laſt named emperor. Some time ago, I read Dodwell's work, the Quintilian Annals. I have not the book at hand, and cannot recollect the proofs which he brings; but I can ſee ſeveral probabilities tending to ſupport his opinion. 2. Juvenal's verſification appears to me to be ſuperior to that

celle de la plus-part des poëtes Latins. Entre ſes mains la langue des Romains perd preſque toute ſa dureté. Sa poëſie eſt coulante, harmonieuſe, et animée, et le ſens n'y eſt cependant jamais ſacrifié. Je croirois preſque que les vers venoient ſe placer ſur le bout de ſa plume, quand j'en vois parmi une infinité de beaux, quelqu'uns qui ſont d'une rudeſſe et d'une langueur affreuſe. Un homme capable de les laiſſer paſſer, devoit avoir travaillé avec très peu d'attention à ſa verſification. Il lui auroit été ſi facile de les corriger. Je remarque auſſi, que ſa poëſie devint moins riche et moins ornée dans les dernières ſatyres. Si elles ſont rangées dans l'ordre chronologique, la raiſon en ſeroit facile à trouver.

Comme la Satyre de Sulpitia ſur l'exil des philoſophes ſe trouve à la fin de celles de Juvénal, j'ai voulu la voir. J'ai lu cette pièce deux fois, v. 1—70. Les éloges de Martial m'avoient prévenus en faveur de cette dame; mais, à mon avis, elle les mérite aſſez peu. Peut-être que ſon génie trop foible pour l'eſſort qu'elle a voulu prendre ici, ſe prêtoit mieux aux ſujets qui ne demandoient que la fineſſe, la légereté, et la ſenſibilité. Peut-être auſſi que le faiſeur d'épigrammes, auſſi peu délicat ſur les louanges que ſur les ſatyres, prodiguoit, ſans réflexion, ſon encens à une femme de condition, qui accueilloit les gens de lettres dans ſa maiſon. 1. Il n'y a nul plan,

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that of moſt of the Latin poets. Managed by him, the Roman language loſes all its roughneſs. His verſes are flowing, harmonious, and animated; although he never ſacrifices the ſenſe to the ſound. I ſhould fancy that the lines flowed ſpontaneouſly from his pen, did I not perceive, amidſt a multitude of fine ones, ſome few that are diſguſting, by their rudeneſs or their languor. To have allowed them to paſs uncorrected, a poet muſt have been extremely inattentive to his verſification; ſince they might have been mended ſo eaſily. I remark alſo, that his poetry is more ſparing of ornament in his laſt ſatires. If they are placed in chronological order, this difference may be eaſily accounted for.

As the Satire of Sulpitia, on the baniſhment of the philoſophers, is printed with the Satires of Juvenal, I had an inclination to examine it; and therefore read it twice over, v. 1—70. The praiſes beſtowed by Martial had prepoſſeſſed me in favour of this lady; but, in my opinion, thoſe praiſes were not her due. Her genius, perhaps, was too feeble to ſupport her in this loſty flight; but was better adapted to ſubjects that required only taſte, ſpirit, and ſenſibility. The epigrammatiſt, perhaps, had as little delicacy in his praiſe as in his ſatire; and was careleſsly prodigal of his flattery to a woman of faſhion, whoſe houſe was the reſort of men of letters. 1. The work

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plan, nul arrangement. Un ſujet auſſi beau diſparoit totalement entre ſes mains. Au lieu de la philoſophie gémiſſante, des arts éperdus, et de l'ignorance qui rétablit ſon ancien empire, je ne vois dans un poëme de ſoixante dix vers, qu'une invocation et une peroraiſon, qui en occupent vingt trois, et qui ne m'apprennent rien, ſinon que Sulpitia avoit beaucoup de vanité et d'affectation; et ſans huit vers jettés par hazard au milieu de la ſatyre *, je ſerois encore à en connoitre le ſujet, comme je le ſuis encore a deviner le but et le ſens de la digreſſion, ou elle examine ſi le bonheur ou l'adverſité convenoit mieux à la république. 2. Pour le ſtyle et la poëſie, malheureuſement pour Sulpitia, on ne peut point critiquer de ces défauts qui annonçent le génie, ou du moins de l'imagination. Ici tout eſt froid, tout eſt dur; nulle invention, nulle harmonie; une verſification qui ne ſatisfait ni l'oreille ni l'eſprit. 3. On reproche aux femmes de n'avoir point de préciſion dans l'eſprit. En ce cas Sulpitia étoit bien femme. Sans parler de la ſageſſe civile et de la ſcience, qu'elle confond au point de paroître ignorer qu'on les ait jamais diſtinguées, je ne veux que l'exemple de l'image la plus fauſſe et la plus choquante que j'aye connue. Elle compare les philoſophes exilés par Domitien aux Gaulois chaſſés par Camille; ſans parler des autres diſſonances

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is without method or plan; and the beauty of the ſubject is deſtroyed by her manner of treating it. Inſtead of lamenting that the throne of ignorance ſhould be eſtabliſhed on the ruins of philoſophy and the arts, twenty-three lines of a poem conſiſting of ſeventy, are conſumed in an invocation and concluſion, which inform us of nothing, except that Sulpitia was a woman of great vanity and affectation: and were it not for eight verſes caſually inſerted in the middle of the ſatire *, I ſhould not be able to gueſs its ſubject, as I ſtill am at a loſs to diſcover the meaning and uſe of the digreſſion, where ſhe examines whether proſperity or adverſity were moſt uſeful to the republic. 2. As to the ſtyle and poetry, it is the misfortune of Sulpitia, that ſhe has not left room for criticiſing faults, that proceed from genius or fancy. Her work is characteriſed by coldneſs, hardneſs, poverty of invention, rudeneſs of harmony, and a verſification that gratifies neither the ear nor the mind. 3. Women have been accuſed of want of preciſion. In this reſpect Sulpitia does not belie her ſex. Without mentioning that ſhe confounds ſcience with wiſdom, as if thoſe two things had never been diſtinguiſhed, I ſhall only give an example of the moſt incongruous and abſurd ſimile that I ever remember to have met with. The philoſophers baniſhed by Domitian are compared with the Gauls expelled by Camillus. It is needleſs to point out the abſur-

* Bello fecunda ſecundo.

diſſonances qui s'y trouvent, d'un corps des gens de lettres comparé à une nation de barbares, et d'un baniſſement civil, à la défaite d'une armée. Sulpitia auroit pu ſe ſouvenir que les Gaulois avoient brulé la ville, qu'ils avoient aſſiégé le capitole, et que la victoire de Camille lui valut le titre de ſecond fondateur de Rome. 4. Il faut, cependant, rendre juſtice à Sulpitia. J'ai trouvé dans ſa ſatyre une image qui m'a fait plaiſir. Rome y eſt repreſentée après toutes ſes victoires comme ce combattant des jeux (ce Milon) qui reſtoit ſeul dans la carrière, ſans pouvoir trouver un antagoniſte. Cette image eſt heureuſement conçue, et rendue avec clarté; elle auroit pu l'être avec plus de force.

Septembre 7.]—J'ai commencé aujourd'hui *le Traité ſur l'ancienne Rome, de Fabiano Nardini, dans la traduction Latine de Tollius, inſerée dans le quatrième tôme du Threſor des Antiquités Romaines de Grævius*, que M. Pavillard m'a procuré de la bibliotheque publique de Geneve. Les ſavans eſtiment beaucoup cet ouvrage; mais je vois que l'Abbé Langlet de Freſnoy fait aſſez peu de cas de la verſion. J'ai lu aujourd'hui *L. i. C. i, ii. p.* 881—897 *de Nardini.* Il ſoutient l'origine qu'on donne communement à la ville de Rome par des raiſons aſſez communes. C'eſt le ſujet du premier chapitre. Mais le ſecond eſt fort interéſſant; c'eſt l'enceinte de la première ville de Romulus. Elle ne

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dity of comparing a body of men of letters with a nation of barbarians, and a legal baniſhment with the defeat of an army; and Sulpitia ought to have remembered that the Gauls had burnt the city, beſieged the capital, and that their conqueror, Camillus, merited the title of ſecond founder of Rome. 4. Juſtice, however, muſt be done to Sulpitia. Her ſatire is adorned by one ſtriking image. Rome, after all her victories, is repreſented under the figure of the wreſtler Milo, who remained alone in the liſts, vainly expecting an antagoniſt. This image is happily conceived; and clearly, though not forcibly, expreſſed.

September 7.]—I this day began the deſcription of ancient Rome, by Fabiano Nardini, tranſlated into Latin by Tollius, and inſerted in the fourth volume of Grævius's Roman Antiquities, which Mr. Pavillard borrowed for me from the public library of Geneva. This work is much valued by the learned; though I perceive that the Abbé l'Anglet de Freſnoy ſpeaks lightly of its tranſlation. I read L. i. C. i, ii. p. 881—897. Nardini vindicates the account commonly given of the origin of Rome, by arguments very generally known. This is the ſubject of the firſt chapter. The ſecond is very intereſting, ſince it examines the extent of the firſt city, built by Romulus, which compre-

ne comprenoit que le Mont Palatin ; et lorſque les Sabins avoient pris le capitole, ils n'étoient maîtres que de la citadelle.

Septembre 18.]—J'ai lu *Nardini, L. i. C. iii, iv, v, vi, vii, viii, ix, x. p.* 897—945. Il traite d'un nombre d'objets avec beaucoup de ſavoir, aſſez de jugement, et une exactitude de détails qui inſtruiſent ordinairement, mais qui ennuyent quelquefois. Après avoir achevé de décrire la première ville de Romulus, il traite de celle de Tatius, que ce nouvel allié y ajouta ſur le Mont Capitolin ; et paſſe enſuite à la forme que Servius Tullius (le moins célebre, mais peut être le plus grand de ſes légiſlateurs) lui donna, et de ſes murailles qui en déterminerent l'enceinte, juſqu'au tems d'Aurelien. Il en ſuit avec beaucoup de ſoin les veſtiges ; et ſes grandes connoiſſances du local, le mettent preſque toujours ſur la voye. Il réſulte de toutes ſes opérations que l'enceinte de l'ancienne Rome étoit à peine auſſi grande que celle de la Rome moderne : fait qui renverſe de fond en comble tous les ſyſtêmes de Lipſius et de Voſſius. Nardini explique fort heureuſement le fameux paſſage ou Pline parle des douze portes qu'on ne devoit compter que pour une ſeule fois. Il réſulte de deux paſſages de Ciceron et de Tite Live que pluſieurs portes de Rome avoient deux Arcades qu'un appelloit *Jani* ; et qu'on voit encore ſur les anciens monumens. Nardini n'eſt pas auſſi heureux dans ce qu'il dit du *Pomærium*. Malgré toutes les hypothèſes,

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comprehended only the Palatine Mount ; and when the Sabines took the capitol, this meant the citadel.

September 18.]—I read Nardini, L. i. C. iii, iv, v, vi, vii, viii, ix, x. p. 897—945, which terminates the firſt book. A variety of ſubjects are treated with great learning, conſiderable judgment, and a minute accuracy ; which is commonly inſtructive, but ſometimes tireſome. Having finiſhed his deſcription of the city built by Romulus, he examines the addition made to it by Tatius, the ally of that king, on the Capitoline Hill ; and then proceeds to conſider the form given to it by Servius Tullius, (the leaſt celebrated, but perhaps the greateſt of all its legiſlators,) and the wall which bounded the extent of Rome to the reign of Aurelian. This wall he traces with great attention, directed by an exact local knowledge. It reſults from the whole of his obſervations, that the circuit of ancient Rome was ſcarcely ſo conſiderable as that of the modern : a fact which totally overturns the ſyſtems of Lipſius and Voſſius. Nardini is very happy in explaining the famous paſſage of Pliny, which treats of the *twelve* gates ; and which ought not to be reckoned more, ſince we learn from two paſſages of Cicero and Livy, that ſeveral of the Roman gates had two arches, called Jani ; which are ſtill diſtinguiſhable on ancient monuments. Nardini is not equally ſucceſsful in explaining the Pomœrium. In ſpite of all his

hypothèſes, il reſte toujours trois propoſitions également, conſtatées, et cependant contradictoires. 1. Que le *Pomœrium* étoit un eſpace de terrein conſacré des deux côtés des murs. 2. Que les murs de Rome ſont démeurés les mêmes depuis Servius Tullius juſqu'à Aurélien. 3. Que Sylla, Jules Ceſar, et l'empereur Claude ont recule le *Pomœrium*.

J'ai achevé aujourd'hui *le vingtième tome de la Bibliotheque Raiſonnée*. J'y ai trouvé *Le Diodore de Sicile, traduit par l'Abbé Teraſſon*. Il eſt ſingulier qu'un homme, qui mépriſoit les plus grands écrivains de l'antiquité, ait pu devenir le traducteur d'un hiſtorien, dont l'utilité fortuite eſt ſupérieure aux talens réels. Quoique la traduction ſoit eſtimée, on releve ici un aſſez grand nombre de ſes défauts. *Les deux éditions de Tite Live et ſes ſupplemens, l'une par Drakenborch, l'autre par M. Crevier.* Dans la première, je vois le texte de Tite enſeveli dans tous les commentaires bons et mauvais qu'on a fait ſur lui. Je vois dans l'autre une vie ſenſée de l'auteur, un choix raiſonné des meilleurs remarques, et beaucoup de goût et de ſagacité de la part de l'éditeur. Je vois que celui-ci a ſu renfermer les quinze premiers livres dans 828 pages, (y compris encore ſes propres prolegomènes,) pendant qu'il en à fallu à l'autre 2159 pour les dix neuf premiers livres, *cum notis variorum*; je ne nie pas cependant que l'édition Hollandoiſe ne ſoit un

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hypotheſes, there are ſtill three propoſitions on this ſubject, which reſt on equally good authority, and are yet contradictory to each other. 1. That the Pomœrium was a conſecrated ſlip of ground on both ſides of the walls. 2. That the walls of Rome had the ſame extent from Servius Tullius to Aurelian. 3. That Sylla, Julius Cæſar, and the emperor Claudius, extended the Pomœrium.

I this day finiſhed the twentieth volume of the *Bibliotheque Raiſonnée*; which contains the tranſlation of Diodorus Siculus, by the Abbé Teraſſon. It is remarkable that a man, who deſpiſed the fineſt writers of antiquity, ſhould have condeſcended to become the tranſlator of an hiſtorian, whoſe accidental utility far ſurpaſſes his real merit. Though this tranſlation be eſteemed, the critic here expoſes many of its errors. Two editions of Titus Livius, with his ſupplements; one by Drakenborch, and the other by Crevier. In the firſt, the text of Livy is buried under a weight of the commentaries, good or bad, that have been written on that author. The ſecond contains a ſenſible life of the hiſtorian, a judicious ſelection of the beſt remarks on his work, and diſplays as much intelligence as taſte on the part of the editor. He includes the firſt fifteen books, together with his own prolegomena, in 828 pages; whereas the Dutch editor beſtows 2159 pages on the firſt nineteen books, *cum notis variorum*. The latter edition, however, may be conſidered as a good repertory.

Syntagma

un bon repertoire. *Syntagma Diſſertationum ad Hiſtoriam Eccleſiaſticam pertinentium a Moſhemio.* Elles me paroîſſent meilleures que ſes diſſertations théologiques. *La vérité des Miracles de M. de Paris, le deuxième et troiſième Extrait.* Le journaliſte épluche avec beaucoup de ſoin la guériſon du jeune d'Alphonſe de Palacios. Si tous ces miracles reſſemblent à celui-ci, il n'etoit pas néceſſaire aux Jeſuites de recourir à l'œuvre du démon. *La Friponnerie Laïque du Docteur Bentley.* Réponſe au fameux livre de Collins, pleine d'érudition et d'injures. Le traducteur et le journaliſte ont renchéri ſur lui à l'égard des dernières.

Septembre 19.]—J'ai lu *Nardini, L. i. C. i, ii, iii. p.* 949—961. Après avoir fixé les limites de la ville, il décrit les ſept collines qui y étoient renfermées; la méthode oppoſée n'auroit elle pas été plus claire et plus naturelle? Il examine fort bien les diviſions différentes du peuple et de la ville; les *tribus* et les *curiæ* de Romulus, les *tribus* de Servius, les quatorze régions d'Auguſte, et les ſept régions des premiers papes. Je voudrois qu'il eût recherché la diſtribution des *curiæ*, après le regne de Servius. Les partagea t'on de nouveau entre les *tribus* de ce prince? Les *tribus* de Romulus ſubſiſtèrent elles uniquement pour les *comitia curiata?* La diviſion des *curiæ*, n'eut elle plus rien de commun avec

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Syntagma Diſſertationum ad Hiſtoriam Eccleſiaſticum pertinentium a Moſhemio. His eccleſiaſtical diſſertations ſeem to me to have more merit than his theological ones. *The Truth of the Miracles of Mr. Paris*; ſecond and third Extract. The journaliſt carefully ſifts the cure of young Alphonſo of Palacios: if none of the miracles was better than this, the Jeſuits needed not to have aſcribed them to the devil. *La Friponnerie Laïque, Lay Fraud*, by Dr. Bentley. An anſwer to the famous book of Collins, full of learning and ſcurrility; in the latter of which the author is outdone by his tranſlator and critic.

September 19.]—I read Nardini, L. ii. C. i, ii, iii. p. 949—961. After fixing the limits of the city, he deſcribes the ſeven hills which they included. The reverſe of this method would perhaps have been more natural. He explains very clearly the different diviſions of the people and of the city, the tribes and curiæ of Romulus, the tribes inſtituted by Servius, the fourteen regions of Auguſtus, and the ſeven regions of the firſt popes. I wiſh he had inquired into the diſtribution of the curiæ after the reign of Servius, and determined whether they were again divided among the tribes inſtituted by that prince; whether the diviſion of the tribes by Romulus continued to ſubſiſt merely for the purpoſe of the *comitia curiata*; or whether, after

avec celle des tribus? Le dernier ſentiment me paroîtroit le plus vraiſemblable.

Septembre 20.]—J'ai lu Nardini, *L. ii. C. iv, v. et L. iii. C. i, ii, iii, iv, v, vi, et une partie du vii. p.* 961—1005. Il y parle des écrivains qui nous ont laiſſé des deſcriptions de Rome, tels que Publius Victor, Sextus Rufus, Onuphrius Panvinius, et la Notice de l'Empire. Ils ſont utiles comme ayant eu ſous les yeux un grand nombre de monumens qui ne ſubſiſtent plus que dans les livres. Malgré tous leurs avantages néanmoins, leur exactitude eſt ſi inferieure à celle des critiques modernes, (d'un Nardini par exemple,) que ceux-ci ſe voyent à tout moment en état de ſuppléer à leurs omiſſions, de relever leurs mépriſes, et de remarquer même quelquefois leurs contradictions. Après ces préliminaires, Nardini paſſe à la deſcription des quatorze régions de la ville; il décrit fort en détail la première région, *(Porta Capena,)* et une partie de *la deuxième (Mons Cœlius).* On peut dire qu'en général ſes recherches ſont heureuſes, et qu'en combinant une infinité de paſſages diſperſés dans les anciens auteurs, auſſi bien les uns avec les autres, qu'avec l'état actuel des lieux, il parvient à déterminer la ſituation de la plus part des monumens. Dans la deſcription qu'il fait du vallon d'*Egeria,* (aujourdhui Caffarella,) qui s'étend à gauche de la *Porte Capena,* entre

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the time of Servius, the diviſion of the people by curiæ, had no longer any relation to their diviſion by tribes. The latter opinion appears to me the more probable.

September 20.]—I finiſhed the ſecond book of Nardini, chapters fourth and fifth. I alſo read the third book, C. i, ii, iii, iv, v, vi, vii. p. 961—1005. He ſpeaks of the authors who have given us deſcriptions of Rome; ſuch as Publius Victor, Sextus Rufus, Onuphrius, Panvinius, and the *Notitia Imperii.* Their chief utility ariſes from their having had before their eyes many monuments which are now known only by books. Yet notwithſtanding this advantage, their deſcriptions are ſo inferior in point of accuracy to thoſe of modern critics, (Nardini for example,) that the latter are continually obliged to correct their miſtakes, to ſupply their defects, and ſometimes even to point out their contradictions. After theſe preliminary matters, Nardini proceeds to deſcribe the fourteen regions of the city; treating minutely, in this part of his work, the firſt region, or that of the Porta Capena; and the ſecond, or that of the Mons Cœlius. We may pronounce his reſearches in general to be ſucceſsful. By combining a multitude of paſſages ſcattered in ancient authors, both with each other, and with his local knowledge of Rome, he is enabled to aſcertain the ſituation of the greater part of its monuments. His account of the valley of Egeria, which lies on the left of the *Porta Capena,* between the Latin and Appian ways, illuſtrated, much

entre la voye Latine et la voye Appienne, j'ai gouté le plaiſir d'entendre beaucoup mieux mon Juvénal. Nardini employe la moitié d'un chapitre a rechercher la vraie ſignification des mots de *domus* et d'*inſula*, et à refuter le ſentiment de Lipſius la-deſſus. Grævius n'eſt point content ni de l'un ni de l'autre. Si ces Meſſieurs, meilleurs critiques qu'ils n'étoient logiciens, avoient apporté autant de ſoin à ſe faire des idées nettes qu'à entaſſer des citations, je crois qu'ils auroient vu, ſans difficulté, 1. Que le mot *inſula*, metaphorique dans ſon origine, ſignifioit tout batiment de toute eſpece quelconque, qui étoit entièrement iſolé, et dont les murailles étoient ſéparées des murailles voiſines par un eſpace plus ou moins grand. C'eſt la notion primitive de ce mot. Elle eſt appuyée par la raiſon et l'autorité de Feſtus, et il faut bien ſe garder d'y faire entrer des idées acceſſoires. 2. Sans diſconvenir que dans les premièrs ſiecles de Rome, il n'y eut beaucoup de ces batimens, on peut dire hardiment qu'après l'incendie de Néron, ils devinrent beaucoup plus nombreux, et que dans le ſiecle de Conſtantin ils rempliſſoient toute la ville. Tacite nous apprend un édit très ſage de Néron, portant qu'on ne rebatiroit plus les maiſons avec des murs mitoyens, mais que chaque maiſon auroit ſes murailles particulières. Peut on déſigner plus clairement des *inſulæ?* Peut on douter d'un autre côté, que cette édit n'ait

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to my ſatisfaction, ſeveral paſſages in Juvenal. He employs the half of a chapter in inveſtigating the true meaning of the words *domus* and *inſula*, and in confuting Lipſius's opinion on that ſubject. Grævius is equally diſſatisfied with the explications of Lipſius and his antagoniſt. If theſe antiquaries, who were better critics than logicians, had been at as much pains to acquire an exact idea of their ſubject, as to heap up citations, I am perſuaded they would eaſily have perceived, 1. That the word *inſula*, which in its application to the houſes of Rome, was at firſt metaphorical, denoted every edifice that was intirely inſulated, and whoſe walls were completely ſeparated from thoſe of the neighbouring buildings. This primitive ſignification of the word is ſupported both by the nature of the thing and the authority of Feſtus; and we ought not to mix with this eſſential characteriſtic, any acceſſory ideas. 2. Without diſputing that, in the firſt ages of Rome, the number of ſuch edifices was great, we may boldly affirm that it became much greater after the conflagration in the reign of Nero; and that in the age of Conſtantine, buildings called *inſulæ* filled the whole extent of the city. Tacitus informs us of a wiſe regulation made by Nero, forbidding the uſe of walls common to two contigueus houſes, and requiring that the walls of each houſe ſhould be diſtinct and ſeparate from thoſe of the houſes neareſt to it. The *inſulæ* cannot be more accurately defined than by this

n'ait été ſuivi de ſon exécution, quand on voit dans Publius Victor, que dans le quatrième ſiècle, il y avoit quarante ſix mille *inſulæ* dans la capitale, et qu'à l'exception tout au plus de dix huit cens *domus*, toutes les habitations particulières ſont compriſes ſous ce nom. Dès que le fait eſt conſtaté, il faut plûtot ſonger à l'expliquer qu'à le conteſter. Ainſi je ne dirai point que toute la ville n'a pas pu être rebatie ſelon l'édit de Néron, puiſque l'incendie qui arriva ſous ſon regne n'en conſuma qu'une partie. Cet édit étoit certainement ſage: pourquoi ſes ſucceſſeurs ne l'auroient ils pas confirmé? En ce cas les trois cens ans ecoulès entre Néron et Victor ſuffiſent bien pour renouveller la ville, et pour la rebatir toute entière ſur le nouveau plan. On n'a pas meilleure grace de ſe récrier ſur le peu d'agrémens de toutes ces maiſons iſoleés. La ſureté ne mérite elle pas le ſacrifice de la beauté? C'eſt d'ailleurs ſi fort une beauté de convention que je ne ſens point ce défaut. Dès le moment que les rues étoient larges, et les maiſons bien alignées, je ne crains plus rien pour le coup d'œil. 3. Cet édit en reglant les ſituations des maiſons en laiſſoit le forme et la grandeur à la diſpoſition de chaque particulier. La maiſon d'un artiſan et celle du Néron étoient également *inſulæ* des qu'elles en poſſedoient la marque caractériſtique, celle d'etre iſolées de tout autre batiment. Le nombre des unes et des autres a du cependant etre aſſez borné. Celui des grands eſt toujours

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this deſcription; and we cannot doubt whether the edict was carried into execution, when we read in Publius Victor, that in the fourth century there were 46,000 *inſulæ* in the capital; and that, with the exception of not more than 1800 *domus*, all the dwellings of Rome were comprehended under that name. Since the fact is aſcertained, it is our buſineſs not to conteſt, but to explain it. I will not therefore allege that the whole city could not have been re-built agreeably to Nero's edict, becauſe there was only a part of it conſumed by the conflagration under his reign. As the edict was a wiſe one, it would naturally be perpetuated by his ſucceſſors; and in the ſpace of three hundred years from Nero to Victor, there was time for rebuilding the whole city according to the new plan. The unpleaſing effect of ſo many ſeparate houſes to the eye, ought not to create any difficulty: ſafety is to be preferred to beauty; eſpecially to a beauty dependent on faſhion; ſo that, provided the ſtreets were ſtraight and ſpacious, the eye would be abundantly gratified. 3. This edict regulated only the ſituation of houſes, but left their ſize and ſhape to the diſcretion of each proprietor. Nero's palace and the houſe of an artificer were equally entitled to the appellation of *inſulæ*, provided they had the ſpecific character of ſtanding detached and ſeparate from all other buildings. The number of ſuch *inſulæ* could not be conſiderable. The *great* form but a ſmall proportion of any community;

toujours petit; et je penſe que la dépenſe, auſſi bien que la difficulté et le danger d'avoir une petite maiſon ſeparée des toutes les autres, a du engager la plus part du gens du peuple à ſe contenter d'un appartement de louage. On voit même par Juvénal et par Martial qu'ils s'en contentoient. Dès lors la cupidité induſtrieuſe des hommes me prouve mieux que tous les paſſages, qu'il a du s'élever beaucoup d'entrepreneurs qui travailloient pour la beauté de la ville et la commodité du peuple, en conſtruiſant de grands maiſons, dont ils louoient les differens appartemens à pluſieurs familles. Cet uſage, généralement répandu, étendit bientôt la ſignification d'*inſula*, en y uniſſant des idées nouvelles et acceſſoires. On commençoit à s'en ſervir pour déſigner proprement un aſſemblage de pluſieurs ménages ſous le même toit, et conſéquemment pour exprimer une maiſon louée, et louée à des gens du commun. C'eſt ainſi que Pétrone et les juriſconſultes nous la repreſentent. 4. Ne pourroit on point du nombre des *inſulæ* conjecturer celui des habitans de Rome? Victor et la Notice de l'Empire s'accordent ſur le prèmier. Il y en avoit 46,602. Je vois dans Juvénal que les maiſons de Rome étoient ordinairement à quatre étages*; et à les ſuppoſer remplies chacune d'une famille de ſix perſonnes, l'*inſula* en contenoit vingt quatre. Celles qui étoient louées (et c'étoit le grand nombre) ne devoient pas en avoir moins; et

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and the expence, together with the inconvenience and danger, attending a ſeparate dwelling, incline me to believe that the lower claſſes at Rome were contented with lodgings; which appears really to have been the caſe, both from Juvenal and Martial. The avaricious induſtry of man will ſerve better to convince us than all the paſſages in antient authors, that there would be a number of builders, who promoted the beauty of the city and the convenience of its inhabitants, by erecting large edifices, of which the ſeparate apartments were let to different families. This practice, which became general, greatly extended the ſignification of the word *inſulæ*, by connecting with it a new meaning. It began to denote a multitude of families living under the ſame roof, and therefore a houſe hired to the lower claſſes of the people: and in this ſenſe it is taken by Petronius and the writers on the Roman law. 4. From the number of the *inſulæ* would it be poſſible to aſcertain that of the inhabitants of Rome? Victor and the *Notitia Imperii* fix the former at 46,602. We learn from Juvenal, that the houſes of the Romans conſiſted commonly of four ſtories*; and if we ſuppoſe each ſtory to have lodged a family of ſix perſons, each of the *inſulæ* would contain twenty-four inhabitants. Thoſe which were let to hire could not have fewer, and the palaces

* Juvenal Satir. iii. 197—202.

of

et les palais des riches en renfermoient bien davantage *. Heureuſement on peut répartir l'excédent ſur les petites maiſons particulières. A multiplier donc cette ſomme par celle des *inſulæ*, nous aurons pour le total des habitans de Rome 1,118,448 ames. Ce nombre me plait aſſez; il remplit la grande enceinte de la ville, et tout ce que nous liſons de ſon immenſité, ſans paſſer toute fois les bornes de la vraiſemblance. Je pourrois montrer en détail, que le ſyſtême de Nardini ne donneroit qu'environ 360,000 habitans à la capitale du monde, tandis que l'hypothèſe de Grævius en exigeroit quatre ou cinq millions. L'un et l'autre de ces nombres me paroîſſent également inſoutenable. 5. Quant aux dix huit cens maiſons, *domus*, qui ſont comptées à part dans toutes les deſcriptions, leur nom, leur nombre, et un paſſage de Suetone m'engagent à croire qu'elles étoient les maiſons principales, les hôtels de Rome. Je ne crois pas, cependant, qu'il faille les diſtinguer des *inſulæ*. Si leur grandeur les tiroit de cette claſſe, leur ſituation iſolée et diſtincte les faiſoit rentrer dans l'idée primitive et ſpéciale de ce mot †.

Septembre 22.]—Le ſecond tome des Lettres du Baron de Bielfeld m'a détourné de Nardini. Son caractère m'intéreſſe. Je trouve dans ſes lettres

* Il faut ſe ſouvenir combien les Seigneurs Romains avoient d'eſclaves.

† V. ſurtoute cette queſtion, *Lipſ. ad Tacit. Annal. xv. Nardini Roma vetus, L. iii. C. iv. p.* 985, 986, 987 : *et Græv. in Præfat. ad tom. iv. Theſaur. Antiq Roman.* Je me ſers de toutes leurs citations.

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of the rich would contain a far greater number *. This ſurplus may be divided among the ſmall *inſulæ* not let to hire, but belonging to thoſe who inhabited them: ſo that by multiplying the number of *inſulæ* by twenty-four, we ſhall have 1,118,448 for the inhabitants of Rome. I am pleaſed with this number, which, without paſſing the bounds of credibility, correſponds with the great extent of the city, and with all that we are told of its populouſneſs. It might be clearly proved that Nardini's ſyſtem would give but 360,000 inhabitants to the capital of the world; whereas Grævius's hypotheſis would require four or five millions: both which numbers ſeem to me highly improbable. 5. As to the 1800 houſes, *domus*, which in all the deſcriptions of Rome are reckoned ſeparately, their name, their numbers, and a paſſage of Suetone concur in making me believe that they were the principal buildings, or palaces of Rome I think, however, they need not be diſtinguiſhed from the *inſulæ*; ſince if they are removed from this claſs by their greatneſs, they may be again reduced to it, by their detached ſituation, which was the original and ſpecific meaning of the word †.

September 22.]—The ſecond volume of Baron Bielfeld's Letters withdrew my atténtion from Nardini. I am intereſted in the Baron's character; his letters give a

* We muſt remember that the ſlaves were numerous in great families.

† See concerning the whole queſtion, *Lipſ. ad Tacit. Annal. xv. Nardini Roma vetus, L. iii. C. iv. p.* 985, 986, 987 : *et Græv. in Præfat. ad tom. iv. Theſaur. Antiq. Roman.* I have availed myſelf of all their quotations.

lively

une image aſſez naïve des cours d'Allemagne. J'aurois préferé à la vérité quelques circonſtances du caractère et de l'hiſtoire du roi de Pruſſe, et des ſoupers de Potzdam, à tous ces galas et ces mariages. Mais la diſcretion et la crainte impoſent des loix bien rigoureuſes en Allemagne.

Septembre 23.]—J'ai lu *Nardini, L. iii. le reſte du C. ſeptième, et le viii, ix, x, xi, xii. p.* 1005—1039. Mon auteur acheve de décrire la deuxième région, paſſe enſuite à la troiſième *(Iſis et Moneta)*, et commence la quatrième *(Templum Pacis)*. Comme il approche du centre de la ville, des quartiers remplis d'anciens monumens, ſes matériaux deviennent plus abondans. Il dépeint la *Via Sacra* avec beaucoup de netteté; il eſt vrai qu'il pouvoit s'aider d'un grand nombre de points determinés. Cette rue fameuſe étoit bornée d'un côté par *l'Arcus Fabianus*, qui s'ouvroit dans le *Forum Romanum*; de l'autre côté elle aboutiſſoit au *Coloſſeum*, qui la ſéparoit de la rue *Suburra*, qu'on a eſſayé vainement de tranſporter ailleurs, et donc Nardini fixe la poſition avec beaucoup de ſavoir et d'exactitude. La cérémonie qui ſe pratiquoit dans la *Regia*, porte, ſelon moi, toutes les marques de la plus haute antiquité: un peuple, qui voulant repréſenter le Dieu de la Guerre, ne ſavoit ou ne vouloit point imiter la figure humaine, et qui l'adoroit ſous la forme d'un

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lively picture of the German courts. I ſhould have preferred indeed ſome account of the character and hiſtory of the king of Pruſſia, and the ſuppers at Potzdam, to the deſcription of all thoſe galas and marriages. But fear or diſcretion impoſe rigorous laws on a German author.

September 23.]—I read Nardini, L. iii. the remainder of C. vii. and C. viii, ix, x, xi, xii. p. 1005—1039. He finiſhes the deſcription of the ſecond region, and proceeds to that of the third (Iſis and Moneta), which he alſo concludes; and then commences the deſcription of the fourth (Templum Pacis). As he draws near to the center of the city, his materials become more abundant, from the greater quantity of ancient monuments in that neighbourhood. He traces diſtinctly the Via Sacra; whoſe ſituation, indeed, is aſcertained by a variety of ſure limits. This famous ſtreet is bounded, on one ſide, by the Fabian arch, which led to the Roman Forum; and, on the other, it terminates at the Coloſſeum, by which it was ſeparated from the ſtreet called Suburra; which ſome antiquaries vainly endeavoured to place elſewhere; but whoſe poſition is fixed by Nardini with much learning and accuracy. The ceremony practiſed in the Regia, bears, in my opinion, all the marks of the higheſt antiquity: a people, deſirous of repreſenting the God of War, but who were incapable or unwilling to imitate the human figure, and therefore adored him under the form

d'un lance : le ſacrifice d'un cheval fait dans les champs, dont on enlevoit la tête ſanglante, et qu'on attachoit à la muraille de la *Regia :* tout (dis-je) m'annonce une origine Scythique, et les mœurs d'un peuple nomade. Il n'y a pas juſque aux combats des habitans de la *Via Sacra*, et de ceux de la *Suburra*, qui ne rappellent la barbarie de cette inſtitution, établie dans un ſiecle où la ſociété ſe formoit à peine. En ſuivant le *Via Sacra*, l'on trouve le *Temple de la Paix*, et le *Coloſſeum*. Rome doit au plus avare de ſes princes deux de ſes plus beaux monumens. Heureux le pays, dont les ſouverains ſont avares dans les détails, pour être magnifiques dans le grand !

Septembre 24.]—J'ai lu *Nardini, L. iii. C. xiii, xiv, xv, et L. iv. C.* 1—10. *p.* 1039—1125. Il pourſuit la deſcription de la quatrième région, et paſſe enſuite à la cinquième *(Eſquilinus)*, la ſixième *(Alta Semita)*, et la ſeptième *(Via Lata)* ; et il met bien ſous les yeux l'action infernale de Tullia. Elle montoit le *Vicus Cyprius*. Elle étoit déja preſqu'à l'extrémité de cette rue, où elle ſe partageoit en deux branches ; la droite *(Clivus Virbius)* montoit à l'Eſquilin, et conduiſoit au palais de Servius Tullius ; la gauche *(Vicus Patricius)* paſſoit entre l'Eſquilin et le Viminal, et formoit une rue où les Patriciens demeuroient ſous les yeux de leur roi. Ce fut dans cet endroit que le corps ſanglant de ſon pere ne put arrêter le char de *Tullia*.

L'horreur

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of a ſpear ; a horſe ſacrificed in the field, whoſe bloody head was carried in proceſſion, and fixed to the wall of the Regia ; every thing in theſe rites points to a Scythian origin, and indicates the manners of wandering barbarians. Even the military ſports of the inhabitants of the Via Sacra and Suburra date their origin from a period when ſociety was yet in its infancy. The Via Sacra leads to the Temple of Peace and the Coloſſeum, two of the fineſt monuments of Rome, which that city owes to the moſt avaricious of its princes. Happy the people, whoſe princes, by habitual œconomy, are capable of executing great undertakings!

September 24.]—I read Nardini, L. iii. C. xiii, xiv, xv. and L. iv. C. i—x. p. 1039—1125. He continues and concludes the deſcription of the fourth region, and proceeds to the fifth (Eſquilinus), the ſixth (Alta Semita), and the ſeventh (Via Lata). He ſets clearly before our eyes the infernal action of Tullia. She aſcended the Vicus Cyprius, and had already reached the extremity of that ſtreet, where it divides into two branches : that on the right led to the Eſquiline Mount and the palace of Servius Tullius ; that on the left (Vicus Patricius) joined the Eſquiline and the Viminal, forming a ſtreet where the Patricians lived under the eyes of their king: It was here that the bloody body of her father could not ſtop the chariot of Tullia.

L'horreur public détacha ce lieu du *Vicus Cyprius*, dont il faiſoit partie, et lui fit prendre le nom de *Vicus Sceleratus*. La huitième Satyre du première livre d'Horace offre une petite difficulté par rapport au Mont Eſquilin. Les jardins de Mecêne occupoient un terrein deſtiné auparavant aux cimetières du peuple. Cela paroit clairement. Mais dans quel tems ce changement s'eſt il fait? Nardini penſe que ce fut ſous le regne de Servius. Cependant, il me ſemble qu'un coup d'œil ſur cette ſatyre ſuffit pour faire voir qu'il n'eſt point ici d'alluſion froide et recherchée à des évenemens arrivés depuis cinq cens ans, mais que le poëte y parle d'un changement fait de ſon tems, ſous ſes yeux, et par les ſoins de ſon protecteur. Le Mont Eſquilin (me dit on cependant) étoit depuis Servius dans l'enceinte de la ville. Enterroit on des eſclaves dans une ville où l'on accordoit à peine cet honneur aux empereurs? Je ſens tout le poids de l'objection. Mais ſi l'Eſquilin étoit renfermé dans les murailles de Rome, l'étoit il dans le *Pomœrium?* Nous n'en ſavons rien. Le Mont Aventin étoit dans l'enceinte de Servius. Six ſiecles après l'empereur Claude l'environna de murailles. La defence d'enterrer les morts dans les villes tenoit au droit pontifical; et pour les pontifes, les limites étoient celles qu'ils tracoient eux mêmes, *le Pomœrium*. Je ne donne qu'une explication d'hypothèſe; mais c'eſt tout ce que je puis donner.

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The horror excited by her deed, ſeparated this place from the *Vicus Cyprius*, and gave to it the name of *Vicus Sceleratus*. In the eighth ſatire of the third book of Horace, a difficulty occurs reſpecting the Eſquiline Mount. The gardens of Mecœnas ſtood on a ground formerly employed as a public burying place. There is not any doubt of the fact; but it is uncertain when this change took place. Nardini thinks that it was in the reign of Servius. But it ſeems to me, that a glance at this ſatire is ſufficient to ſhow that the paſſage in Horace is not a cold and far-fetched alluſion to an event that happened five hundred years before his own time; but that he ſpeaks of a change operated under his own eyes, and by the direction of his patron. But Mount Eſquelin, I ſhall be told, was ever ſince the time of Servius within the walls of Rome: and can it be believed that ſlaves ſhould have been interred in a city, which ſcarcely granted that honour to emperors? I feel the whole weight of this objection; yet I would aſk, whether the Eſquiline, though within the walls, was therefore within the Pomœrium? This cannot be determined. Mount Aventine was within the circuit traced by Servius, and the emperor Claudius ſurrounded it with walls ſix centuries afterwards. The prohibition of interring in cities proceeded from the pontifical law; and the college of prieſts regulated, at pleaſure, the limits of the Pomœrium. This is but an hypotheſis, yet it is the only ſolution I can give of the difficulty. We

Sur le même Mont Eſquilin on voit encore un arc de triomphe, érigé par un particulier à l'empereur Gallien. L'ouvrage en eſt groſſier ; mais l'adulation de l'inſcription l'eſt encore d'avantage. Un prince qui laiſſoit ſon pere dans les fers de Perſes, et l'empire en proye à tous ſes ennémis, y eſt loué pour ſa valeur, qualité dominante chez lui, et qui ne le cédoit qu'à la ſeule piété. Qu'on transforme les vices d'un monarque dans des vertus, qui peuvent y avoir quelque rapport; qu'on nomme ſon ambition grandeur d'ame, ſa lacheté amour de la paix, ſa crainte juſtice ; c'eſt la régle; on auroit tort de s'èn offenſer. Mais incenſer en lui les vertus les plus oppoſées à ſon caractère! On eſt preſque tenté d'y voir un ſatyre ſévère cachée ſous l'ironie. Cette inſcription eſt bien plus forte que le *pax ubique*, que M. Addiſon avoit trouvé ſur une médaille du même Gallien.

Septembre 25.]—J'ai lu *Nardini, L. v. C. i, ii, iii, iv. p.* 1125—1149. Il eſt enfin arrivé au centre de la ville, au *Forum Romanum*, où l'on ne peut faire un pas, ſans rencontrer les monumens de la religion, de la grandeur, et de la politique des Romains. Malheureuſement la plus part de ces anciens monumens n'exiſtent plus que dans les auteurs. Ceux-ci nous parlent d'une petite chapelle de la concorde, dont je dirai deux mots. Elle étoit moins l'ouvrage de la piété que de la haine. Flavius, cet ennémi juré de la nobleſſe,

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ſtill ſee on Mount Aventine a triumphal arch, which a private citizen raiſed in honour of the emperor Gallienus. The rudeneſs of the work is ſurpaſſed by the coarſe flattery of the inſcription. A prince, who left his father a priſoner among the Perſians, and the empire a prey to its enemies, is extolled for his valour, which was only exceeded by his piety. It is allowable to transform the defects of princes into kindred excellencies ; to call their ambition magnanimity; their ſeverity juſtice ; and their cowardice moderation. This does not offend us, becauſe it is the cuſtom. But when Gallienus is flattered for virtues moſt oppoſite to his character, we are almoſt tempted to believe that, under the flattery, a ſevere ſatire is concealed. This inſcription is ſtill more impudent than the *pax ubique*, which Mr. Addiſon read on a medal of the ſame Gallienus.

September 25.]—I read Nardini, L. v. C. i, ii, iii, iv. p. 1125—1149. He has now reached the centre of the city, where it was impoſſible to advance a ſtep without finding ſome monument of the religion, greatneſs, or policy of Rome; but unfortunately the greater part of thoſe monuments no longer exiſt, except in ancient authors. They ſpeak of a little chapel dedicated to Concord, concerning which I ſhall ſay a few words. This chapel was the work rather of hatred than of piety; it was built by C.

bleſſe, ſongeoit à mortifier ſon orgueil par ce temple. Comment y réuſſit il? 1. En le dédiant lui-même. Le ſénat vit avec indignation qu'un édile oſat s'attribuer des fonctions réſervées toujours aux conſuls et aux dictateurs*. 2. D'une façon encore plus ſenſible, quoique plus indirecte; peu de lecteurs l'ont apperçue dans une paſſage de Pline †. Flavius, au milieu d'une diſſention civile, avoit fait vœu de conſacrer cette chapelle à la Concorde, ſi elle vouloit réunir les ordres de l'état. Lorſqu'il la conſacra, il l'accompagna d'une inſcription qui fixa la date de ſa dédicace à cent quatre ans, après celle de la concorde du capitole ‡, ouvrage de Camille, et la ſuite d'un vœu ſemblable. On conçoit aſſez quelle mortification la nobleſſe devoit éprouver à la vue de cette Concorde plebeienne d'un édile, placée vis-à-vis de la Concorde patricienne de ſon dictateur. Dans ce beau paſſage il n'y a que la date qui me paroit fautive. La première dédicace étant de l'an de Rome 386, et la ſeconde de l'an 448, il eſt clair qu'au lieu de 104, il faut lire 62.

† *Poſt Capitolinam*, ſelon l'édition de Daléchamp. Je voudrois voir celle de Hardouin. Nardini lit *poſt capitolium*, leçon qui me paroit très fautive. Plin. Hiſt. Natur. l. xxxiii. 1.

J'ai

Flavius, that ſworn enemy of the nobles, with a view to mortify their pride. How did he accompliſh this purpoſe? 1. By performing the ceremony of dedication himſelf. The ſenate beheld with indignation an edile arrogating to himſelf the functions hitherto reſerved for dictators and conſuls *. 2. In a manner leſs direct indeed, but ſtill more offenſive, which but few readers have perceived in a paſſage of Pliny §. In the midſt of a ſedition, Flavius vowed to conſecrate a temple to the goddeſs Concord, on condition that ſhe re-eſtabliſhed harmony among the different orders of citizens. The chapel was conſecrated, and the æra of its dedication fixed by an inſcription, at the diſtance of 104 years from that of the Concord of the capitol ‡, which had been built by Camillus, in conſequence of a ſimilar vow. It may eaſily be imagined how much the patricians were mortified at ſeeing this plebeian Concord, the work of an edile, ſtanding in the neighbourhood of the patrician Concord of their dictator. In this intereſting paſſage, the date only is erroneous. The firſt dedication was in the year of Rome 386; the ſecond, in the year 448. Inſtead of the numbers 104, we muſt therefore read 62.

* T. Liv. ix. 46.

§ Poſt Capitolinam, according to the edition of Delcampius. I ſhould like to conſult that of Hardouin. Nardini erroneouſly reads poſt capitolium. Plin. Hiſt. Natur. l. xxxiii. 1.

‡ Plutarch. in Camill.

I finiſhed

J'ai achevé *le vingt et unième tome de la Bibliotheque Raiſonnée.* J'y trouve *Eloge Hiſtorique d'Alphonſe Turretin, par M. Vernet.* Il n'eſt pas mal écrit. C'eſt dommage que le ſujet ne ſoit pas plus beau. Une bonne latinité, des idées empruntées des Anglois, peu connus alors, et une modération rare aux théologiens de ſon tems, ont fait toute ſa réputation. Auſſi commence-t-elle à paſſer. *Diſſertations de l'Académie de Cortone :* les ſujets ſont très mal choiſis, mais aſſez bien traités. *Lettres de M. Mayans, et Vie du Doyen Marti, à la tête de ſes Lettres, publiées par le même M. Mayans.* La barbarie de leur pays, que ces deux Eſpagnols ne ceſſent de déplorer, demande de l'indulgence. Ils en ont beſoin. *Hiſtoire Critique de la Philoſophie, par M. Deſlandes :* ouvrage léger et ſpirituel. *Heſiode, par M. Robinſon :* la préface de cette édition me paroit bien travaillée. *Premier Extrait d'un Ouvrage de M. Weſſeling, ſur cette fameuſe Inſcription de Bérenice, qui a tant exercé les ſavans.* M. Weſſeling ne la conſidere que par rapport aux Juifs.

Septembre 26.]—J'ai lu *Nardini, L. v. C. v, vi, vii, viii, ix, x, xi, xii. p.* 1149—1216. Après avoir enfin épuiſé le *Forum Romanum,* il paſſe aux quartiers qui l'environnient, et ſurtout au *Forum* de Céſar, à ceux d'Auguſte, et de Trajan. Un *Forum* étoit proprement une place fort ornée de temples

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I finiſhed the twenty-firſt volume of the *Bibliotheque Raiſonnée.* It contains the panegyric of Alphonſo Turretin, by Mr. Vernet; in which the beauty of the ſtyle exceeds that of the ſubject. This piece owes its fame to its excellent latinity; to ideas borrowed from England, and then new on the continent; and to a degree of candour not uſual with theologians of that age. Its celebrity is now in the wane. *Diſſertations of the Academy of Cortona :* the ſubjects are well treated, but ill choſen. *Letters of Mr. Mayans, and the Life of Dean Marti prefixed to his Letters, publiſhed by the ſame Mr. Mayans.* The barbariſm of their country, which theſe two Spaniards continually deplore, entitles them to an indulgence, of which they ſtand in much need. The *Critical Hiſtory of Philoſophy, by Mr. Deſlandes :* a lively, but light performance. *Heſiod, by Mr. Robinſon:* the preface is elaborate. *Firſt Extract from Mr. Weſſelings Diſcourſe on the famous Inſcription of Berenice,* which has ſo much exerciſed the ingenuity of the learned. He conſiders it only in relation to the Jews.

September 26.]—I read Nardini, L. v. C. v, vi, vii, viii, ix, x, xi, xii. p. 1149—1216. After having exhauſted the ſubject of the Roman Forum, he paſſes to the ſurrounding monuments, particularly the Forum of Cæſar, that of Auguſtus, and that of Trajan. A Forum was properly a place adorned on all ſides with temples and porticos; but

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et de portiques à l'entour, mais dont le batiment eſſentiel étoit une baſilique, où ſiegeoient les tribunaux de juſtice. Comme ces tribunaux ſe tenoient auparavant dans la place, c'eſt delà que quelques auteurs confondent ſouvent le *Forum* et le *Baſilica*; et qu'ils en parlent quelquefois comme d'une place ouverte, et quelquefois comme d'un batiment couvert. La colonne de Trajan, placée au milieu de ſon *Forum*, eſt un beau monument, mais l'inſcription l'agrandit infiniment. Conſerver par un grand ouvrage la memoire d'un ouvrage plus grand encore; élever une magnifique colonne de cent vingt ſix pieds, pour annoncer qu'on a applani une montagne de cette hauteur: c'eſt le ſublime de l'architecture, de cette architecture qui parle autant à l'eſprit qu'aux yeux, et que les Romains entendoient mieux que tous les peuples de la terre. En paſſant par le *Forum* d'Auguſte, j'apperçois le temple de *Mars le Vengeur*. Depuis un édit d'Auguſte, le ſénat s'y aſſembloit toujours, pour accorder les triomphes. Ce réglement, qui paroit n'être que de police, tient eſſentiellement aux grands changemens de ce prince, et à tout ſon ſyſtême politique. Le ſénat s'aſſemboit autrefois dans le temple de Mars ou de Bellone, mais toujours hors des murailles. Le général ne pouvoit point conſerver ſa qualité militaire dans la ville. Mais après qu'on eut accordé à Auguſte cette commiſſion extraordinaire d'*Imperator*,

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whoſe eſſential characteriſtic conſiſted in a Baſilica, or court of juſtice. As the Roman judges anciently ſat under the open air, authors have been led to confound the Forum with the Baſilica, and to mention it ſometimes as an open ſquare, and at other times as a covered building. Trajan's pillar, which ſtands in the middle of his Forum, is a beautiful monument, and highly dignified by its deſcription. To preſerve by one great work the memory of a work ſtill greater; to raiſe a pillar one hundred and twenty-ſix feet high, in order to celebrate the levelling of a mountain of equal altitude, is worthy of that ſublime architecture which ſpeaks to the mind as much as to the eyes, and which the Romans underſtood better than any people on earth. In croſſing the Forum of Auguſtus, you perceive the temple of Mars the Avenger; where, in conſequence of an edict of that prince, the ſenate aſſembled for the purpoſe of decreeing triumphs. This edict, which ſeemed merely a regulation of police, was eſſentially connected with the great changes introduced by Auguſtus, and with his whole ſyſtem of policy. The ſenate formerly aſſembled in the temples of Mars or Bellona, which ſtood without the walls; the general not being allowed to hold his military rank in the city. But when Auguſtus was inveſted with the extraordinary character

rator, le nouveau généraliſſime demeuroit armé au milieu du *Forum*, et tenoit le glaive toujours levé ſur la tête des citoyens.

Septembre 27.]—J'ai lu *Nardini, L. v. C. xiii, xiv, xv, xvi. p.* 1237—1297. J'ai eu beaucoup de peine à m'en faire une idée. Il y eſt queſtion de pluſieurs objets aſſez compliqués, et dont il eſt difficile de ſe former une image nette ſans le ſecours d'une repréſentation ſenſible. Une bonne carte topographique du Mont Capitolin m'auroit été fort utile. Cependant ſi Nardini en avoit fait une *, ſon éditeur l'a oubliée. La carte de M. d'Anville me paroit très exacte pour la configuration générale; mais il ne faut point y chercher les détails. Ajoutez que le ſtyle de Nardini, ou de ſon traducteur, eſt très embaraſſé, et que ſa méthode eſt aſſez extraordinaire; puiſque le treizième chapitre ſuppoſe la lecture du quatorzième, comme le onzième et le douzième avoient ſuppoſé l'intelligence du treizième. Toutefois après une lecture réitérée, et une méditation approfondie, j'ai ſurmonté ces obſtacles, et peut être ont ils ſervi à graver plus fortement dans mon eſprit l'image du Mont Capitolin. Il avoit deux ſommets très ſéparés l'un de l'autre, quoique aſſez ſouvent confondus par les anciens, et méconnus

* Il y renvoye lui-même, V. L. v. C. x. p. 1208.

par

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character of Imperator, this new generaliſſimo remained for life in the midſt of the Forum, and held the ſword always raiſed over the heads of the citizens.

September 27.]—I read Nardini, L. v. C. xiii, xiv, xv, xvi. p. 1237—1297, which concludes the book; of which I found it very difficult to form a diſtinct idea. He treats of ſeveral objects, and thoſe ſo complicated, that it is ſcarcely poſſible to paint them in the mind without ſeeing them delineated on paper. A good topographical chart of the Capitoline Mount would have been extremely uſeful; but if ſuch a chart was made by Nardini *, it is here omitted by his editor. That of D'Anville exhibits accurately the general outline; but does not repreſent particulars. Nardini's ſtyle, or that of his tranſlator, is alſo exceedingly puzzling; and his arrangement faulty in the extreme; ſince the thirteenth chapter ſuppoſes the reader acquainted with the fourteenth, and the eleventh and twelfth chapters cannot be underſtood without a previous acquaintance with the thirteenth. By repeated peruſals, and attentive meditation, I at length ſurmounted theſe obſtacles, which have ſerved perhaps to engrave more deeply in my mind the image of the Capitoline Mount. It had two ſummits, quite diſtinct from each other, though often confounded by the ancients, and miſtaken by the

* He refers to it himſelf, V. L. v. C. x. p. 1028.

moderns.

par les modernes. Celui du midi, qui dominoit le Tybre, et qui étoit borné par les rochers Tarpeiens, ſi eſcarpés autrefois, et ſi imperceptibles aujourdhui, s'appelloit *Arx*, la citadelle. Le ſommet ſeptentrional étoit proprement le capitole. Il étoit occupé par le temple de Jupiter. Le vallon qui ſéparoit ces deux ſommets s'appelloit l'*Intermontium*. Ce fut dans ce vallon, dans un bois touffu qui l'ombrageoit, que Romulus établit le fameux *Aſylum* la pépinière de ſa colonie. Dans la ſuite le bois diſparut, et ceda la place à des édifices magnifiques. Une muraille forte formoit l'enceinte des deux montagnes et du vallon. On montoit au capitole par trois chemins, qui y menoient depuis le Forum. 1. Les *Centum Gradus*, qui commençoient un peu au-deſſus du temple de la Concorde, et qui aboutiſſoient à celui de Junon *Moneta* dans la citadelle. 2. Le chemin de l'*Aſylum*, c'étoit celui des triomphes. 3. *Le Clivus Capitolinus*: ſa ſituation n'eſt pas auſſi déterminée que celle des autres. Après avoir peſé les argumens de Marlianus et de Nardini, je dois dire qu'ils me paroiſſent très foibles et les uns et les autres. Cependant j'adopterai l'opinion du premier. Dès le moment qu'un des trois chemins avoit le nom propre de *Clivus Capitolinus*, je crois qu'il conduiſoit au capitole proprement dit. Ainſi ſelon cette ſuppoſition, chaque ſommet avoit ſon chemin particulier, ſans compter celui qui étoit commun aux deux.

Septembre

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moderns. The ſouthern ſummit, which overlooked the Tiber, was almoſt contiguous to the rude Tarpeian rocks, which are now ſcarcely perceptible; and was called *Arx*, the citadel. The northern ſummit properly formed the capitol. It was the ſcite of the temple of Jupiter. The valley ſeparating the two mountains was called *Intermontium*, and covered with a thick foreſt; where Romulus eſtabliſhed the famous Aſylum, which was the nurſery of his colony. Afterwards the foreſt diſappeared, to make room for magnificent edifices. The valley and both mountains were incloſed with a ſtrong wall. Three roads led to the capitol from the Forum. 1. The *Centum Gradus*, which began a little beyond the temple of Concord, and terminated at the temple of Juno Moneta in the citadel. 2. The road belonging to the Aſylum, which was that through which conquerors paſſed in triumph. 3. The *Clivus Capitolinus*, whoſe ſituation is leſs accurately determined than that of the two others. After carefully weighing the arguments of Marlianus and Nardini, I am obliged to ſay, that neither party ſupports his opinion with much force. I adopt, however, that of the former; if one of the roads had the name of *Clivus Capitolinus*, it is natural to think that it led to the capitol, properly ſo called; and on this ſuppoſition each ſummit muſt have had its particular road, beſides that common to both.

Septembre 28.]—J'ai lu *Nardini, L. vi. C. i, ii, iii, iv, v, vi, vii, viii. p.* 1237—1297. Cet auteur, après avoir achevé cette huitième région, qui comprenoit le *Forum* et le capitole, ſort de la porte Carmentale pour parcourir la neuvième *(Campus Martius)*, qui n'entra dans l'enceinte de la ville qu'après la conſtruction de la muraille d'Aurélien. Après l'expulſion des Tarquins, le peuple conſacra à Mars un champ qui leur avoit apartenu, et qui ſervit déſormais aux exerciſes militaires, et aux aſſemblées du peuple. Une certaine Tarutia, qui légua au peuple ſon champ entre celui de Mars et le Tybre ; et Flaminius, qui lui laiſſa quelques prés hors de la porte Carmentale, agrandirent bientôt ce domaine public, qui n'étoit encore qu'une plaine raſe et unie, où l'œil ne découvroit qu'une priſon aſſez ancienne, un temple de Bellone, (bati A. U. C. 457,) et les *Equiria* et les *Septa*, qui reſſembloient plutôt à des parcs de moutons qu'à des batimens publics. On peut appercevoir trois époques principales parmi tous les changemens plus inſenſibles qui ont du s'y faire. 1. Peu de tems avant la ſeconde guerre Punique, (vers l'an de Rome 535,) ce Flaminius qui périt enſuite à la bataille de Thraſymêne, conſtruiſit un cirque ſur le terrein qui avoit été autrefois à ſes ancêtres. Ce cirque fut bientôt environné des temples d'Hercule Muſagète, et de Junon, du portique d'Octavius, &c. et

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September 28.]—I read Nardini, L. vi. C. i, ii, iii, iv, v, vi, vii, viii. p. 1237—1297. Having deſcribed the eighth region, comprehending the Forum and the Capitol, he proceeds through the *Porta Carmentalis*, to examine the ninth, or Campus Martius, which was without the city till encloſed by Aurelian's wall. The Romans, after expelling the Tarquins, conſecrated to Mars a field which had belonged to that family; and which afterwards ſerved for the place of military exerciſes, and the aſſemblies of the people. The legacy of Tarutia, conſiſting of a field between the Campus Martius and the Tiber, and that of Flaminius, conſiſting of ſome meadows beyond the Porta Carmentalis, ſpeedily enlarged the bounds of the public property; which ſtill continued a bare and ſmooth plain, except that the ſight was interrupted by an antient priſon ; by a temple of Bellona, built in the year of Rome 457 ; and by the *Equiria* and *Septa*, which reſembled rather incloſures for ſheep than public edifices. In the changes which the Campus Martius gradually underwent, we may diſtinguiſh three principal æras. 1. Towards the year of Rome 535, and a little before the ſecond Punic war, the ſame Flaminius, who afterwards periſhed in the battle near the lake Thraſymenus, built a circus on the ground which had formerly belonged to his anceſtors. This circus was ſoon ſurrounded by the temple of Hercules Muſagetes, by that of Juno, and by the portico of Octavius, &c. and a ſmall

et un petit fauxbourg commençoit à s'établir hors de la porte Carmentale, vers le milieu du ſeptième ſiècle de Rome. 2. Vers la fin du ſeptième ſiècle, le grand Pompée, de rétour de ſes conquêtes orientales, *ſpoliis orientis onuſtus*, voulant conſtruire quelques bâtimens publics, et ſe trouvant gêné dans la ville, recula les bornes de ce fauxbourg vers la Champ de Mars. Ce fut là qu'il établit ſon théâtre magnifique, le premier qu'on eut vu à Rome. Il l'accompagna d'un temple de Vénus, d'une *curia*, d'un portique, d'un beau jardin, et d'un temple, qu'il conſacra à la fortune des Chevaliers. 3. Parmi les grands deſſeins d'Auguſte pour l'embelliſſement de la ville, il n'eut garde d'oublier *le Campus Martius*; il le remplit de beaux édifices, et encouragea les grands de Rome à ſuivre ſon exemple. Perſonne ne s'y prêta avec plus de zèle que ſon gendre Agrippa. Ses magnifiques *Septa*, ſes bains, ſes jardins, et ſon étang, mais ſurtout le panthéon, ſont autant de monumens de ſa magnificence. Le Champ de Mars étoit devenu, du tems de Strabon, un fauxbourg qui ne cédoit qu'avec peine à la ville même. Il n'a jamais cependant, été peuplé à proportion de ſon étendue; les jardins publics emportoient beaucoup de terrein, et il reſtoit toujours une eſpace aſſez grand, réſervé comme auparavant aux exercices de la jeuneſſe. Déja du tems de Cicéron*, on parloit de comprendre le *Campus Martius* dans l'enceinte

ſmall ſuburb began to be built without the Porta Carmentalis, towards the middle of the ſeventh century of Rome. 2. Towards the end of that century, the great Pompey, at his return from his eaſtern conqueſts, *ſpoliis orientis onuſtus*, wiſhed to diſtinguiſh himſelf by ſome public edifices; but there not being room within the walls, he extended the bounds of this ſuburb towards the Campus Martius; and built there his magnificent theatre, the firſt that had been ſeen at Rome. This theatre was furrounded by a temple of Venus, a *curia*, a portico, a fine garden, and a temple conſecrated to the fortune of the knights. 3. Amidſt his other great deſigns for embelliſhing the city, Auguſtus did not forget the Campus Martius. He adorned it with beautiful buildings, and encouraged the grandees of Rome to follow his example. None imitated him more eagerly than his ſon in law Agrippa, of whoſe magnificence the *Septa*, baths, gardens, lake or baſon, and above all the pantheon, were conſpicuous proofs. In the time of Strabo, the ſuburb of the Campus Martius was but little inferior to the city itſelf. Its populouſneſs, however, was never proportional to its extent; the public gardens occupied much ground; and there was ſtill left an empty ſpace for the military exerciſes of the Roman youth. As early as the time of Cicero *, there was mention of taking the Campus Martius within the walls, that it might be

* Cic. ad Attic. xiii. 33.

l'enceinte de la ville, de le remplir de maiſons, et de faire ſervir le champ du Vatican de l'autre côté du Tybre aux anciens uſages du Champ de Mars. Mais ce projet n'eut jamais lieu. A combien de réflexions ce petit tableau ne donneroit il pas lieu? Ce peuple roi (qui méritoit bien ce nom) jouiſſoit collectivement de tous les droits de la ſouveraineté, et de tous les agrémens de la grandeur. Un citoyen ne ſortoit de ſa maiſon que pour ſe promener ſous un beau portique, pour prendre ſa place avec 80,000 de ſes compatriotes dans un théâtre magnifique, où l'on étaloit les raretés de toute la terre; ou pour ſe délaſſer dans ces Thermes où l'on avoit ſu réunir tous les plaiſirs des ſens et de l'eſprit, avec le faſte des plus grands monarques. Les ambitieux prodiguoient leurs richeſſes au peuple, d'abord pour obtenir ſes graces; enſuite pour lui faire oublier qu'on les avoient obtenues. Mais on s'étonne toujours de voir ces grands de la république, un Pompée, un Agrippa, qui achevent avec facilité des pareils ouvrages. Quelles étoient les ſources inépuiſables de leurs treſors? Les provinces et la guerre. Les généraux ſans principes, déſoloient les ſujets de l'état; ceux à qui il reſtoit encore quelque vertu, ſe contentoient de dépouiller ſes ennemis. Quelles richeſſes pouvoient ſuffir à la magnificence de Pompée? Cependant on pouvoit louer ce même Pompée à la face du peuple Romain, pour la modération et le déſintéreſſement qui le diſtinguoient ſi avantageuſement des autres généraux.

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filled with buildings, while a field belonging to the Vatican ſhould be ſet apart for the purpoſes in which the Field of Mars had formerly been employed. But this project was never carried into execution. How many reflections does this ſlight ſketch naturally excite! That people of kings, who ſo well deſerve this appellation, enjoyed collectively all the rights of ſovereignty, and all the pleaſures of grandeur; a citizen never ſtirred from his houſe, but he walked under a beautiful portico; or took his ſeat with 80,000 of his countrymen in a magnificent theatre, which exhibited the greateſt curioſities on earth; or repoſed himſelf in thoſe *thermæ*, or baths, in which were united all the pleaſures of the mind and ſenſes, with the pomp befitting the greateſt monarchs. Ambitious generals laviſhed their wealth on the people, firſt to obtain preferment, and afterwards to make them forget that it had been beſtowed. But it will always be matter of ſurpriſe, how the grandees of Rome, a Pompey or an Agrippa, could ſo eaſily accompliſh ſuch vaſt undertakings. What ſources could ſupply their extraordinary expences? War and the Provinces. Unprincipled generals robbed the ſubjects of the ſtate; thoſe who had any remains of virtue, were ſatisfied with plundering the public enemy. What vaſt wealth was neceſſary for ſupporting the magnificence of Pompey! Yet the moderation and diſintereſtedneſs, by which he was honourably diſtinguiſhed from other generals, was praiſed publicly in the preſence of the

généraux *. Son triomphe étaloit aux yeux de Rome les richeſſes de l'Orient ſubjugué; mais dans le tems que les armées étoient à la république, ces richeſſes auroient augmenté le tréſor public. Depuis longtems les chefs s'étoient fait une habitude de ſe les approprier †, et exigoient encore la réconnoiſſance du peuple, pour l'emploi qu'ils faiſoient de ſon bien. Rien n'a du indigner autant les citoyens contre le faſte de Lucullus, que de voir que ce voluptueux qui rapportoit tout à lui-même, et rien au public, conſtruiſoit des maiſons et des jardins pour vaincre les élémens, et pour rapprocher les climats, mais qu'il n'élevoit pas un ſeul monument pour les dieux, ni pour ſes compatriotes. Parmi les ouvrages d'Agrippa, j'en apperçois un, qui me démontre combien ce citoyen vertueux ſongeoit encore à la république, et avec quelle bonne foi il ſervoit un maître dont il pénétroit peu la politique artificieuſe. Ce ſont les *Septa*. Un homme qui ornoit les lieux des aſſemblées du peuple Romain, ignoroit ſans doute qu'Auguſte minoit leur autorité à pas lents, et les conduiſoit inſenſiblement au point où ſon ſucceſſeur pouvoit les abolir ſans crainte.

J'ai achevé le *vingt deuxième tôme de la Bibliotheque Raiſonnée*. J'y trouve *le ſecond Extrait du Syntagma de Weſſeling, ſur le fameux paſſage de Victor Tunnunenſis*, dont les incrédules ſe ſont ſi fort prévalus. Il les

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the Roman people *. His triumph diſplayed in the ſtreets of Rome the wealth of the ſubjugated eaſt; although, during the ages when the army really belonged to the republic, that wealth would have increaſed the treaſury of the ſtate; but the generals had been long accuſtomed to appropriate the ſpoils of war †, and to expect gratitude from the people, for the oſtentatious employment of the people's riches. The citizens muſt have felt indignation againſt the pride of Lucullus, when they beheld that ſelfiſh voluptuary making houſes and gardens which bade defiance to the elements, and brought together the ſeaſons, without raiſing a ſingle monument for the honour of the gods, or the accommodation of his fellow-citizens. Among the works of Agrippa, there is one which ſhews how much that virtuous citizen ſtill loved the republic, and how honeſtly he ſerved a maſter, of whoſe artful policy his own ſimplicity was the dupe. This work is the *Septa*. A man who adorned the place of aſſembly for the Roman people, muſt have been ignorant that Auguſtus was gradually undermining their authority, and bringing their aſſemblies into ſuch contempt, that his ſucceſſor could without fear totally aboliſh them.

I finiſhed the twenty-ſecond volume of the *Bibliotheque Raiſonnée*. I find the ſecond extract of Weſſeling's Treatiſe on the famous paſſage of Victor Tunnunenſis,

* Cicero pro lege Manilia, C. xxii, xxiii.

† Bergier Hiſt. des Grands Chemins de l'Empire, L. i. C. xxi. p. 77—80.

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les bat en ruine, et tout autrement que Bentley. *Sermons de Foſter :* toujours judicieux et modérés. Ouvrage *ſur les Services étrangers, par M. de Bochat.* Quand la raiſon séroit convaincue, le cœur s'éleveroit toujours contre cet uſage barbare des Suiſſes; mais il s'en faut beaucoup que la raiſon ſoit convaincue. *Lettres de Marti, dernier Extrait.* M. Marti eſt préciſément un des littérateurs du quinzième ſiècle. Auſſi eſt il comme eux à l'aurore de la ſcience. Un ſavoir grand, mais mal choiſi; une vénération infinie pour les anciens, et cette eſpece d'imitation de leurs mœurs qui en eſt la marque la plus ſure. Beaucoup de projets laiſsés imparfaits, faute de ſecours; beaucoup d'obſervations bonnes ou mauvaiſes, mais déja faites dans tous les pays de l'Europe. *Erudition des Apôtres.* Ouvrage très curieux du Docteur Lami de Florence. *Hiſtoire des anciens Traités, par Barbeyrac :* exact et utile. *Hiſtoire naturelle du Languedoc, par M. Aſtruc:* auſſi bien faite qu'elle eſt curieuſe. Ce premier extrait contient la géographie, ſa première claſſe. À cette occaſion, il entre dans un détail très intéreſſant ſur la province Narbonoiſe, la Septimanie, dont il donne un étymologie bien forcée, et ſur tous les auteurs anciens qui ont parlé du Languedoc.

Septembre 29.]—J'ai lu *Nardini, L. vi. C. ix, x, xi, xii. xiii, xiv, et xv. p.* 1297—1347. Il y parcourt le reſte de la neuvième région, la plus étendue,

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of which Infidels have ſo much availed themſelves. He beats all their works in pieces, and far more effectually than Bentley. Foſter's Sermons: always moderate and judicious. A work on Foreign Service, by Mr. Bochat. Were reaſon convinced, yet the heart would always rebel againſt this barbarous cuſtom of the Swiſs: but reaſon is far from being convinced of the utility of this practice. Marti's Letters, ſecond extract. Mr. Marti is merely a ſcholar of the fifteenth century, and ſtill at the dawn of ſcience: much ill-choſen erudition, a profound veneration for the ancients, and that ſervile imitation of their manners, which is its ſureſt mark. Many deſigns left imperfect for want of aſſiſtance; and many obſervations, good and bad, but already made in all the countries of Europe. *The Learning of the Apoſtles:* a very curious performance, by Mr. Lami of Florence. *The Hiſtory of Ancient Treaties, by Barbeyrac:* accurate and uſeful. *The Natural Hiſtory of Languedoc, by Mr. Aſtruc:* curious and well written. The firſt extract contains the article geography, which is his firſt claſs; where he enters into a very intereſting account of the Narbonneſe province; of Septimania, of which he gives a very forced etymology; and eſpecially of the ancient authors who ſpeak of Languedoc.

September 29.]—I read Nardini, L. vi. C. ix, x, xi, xii, xii, xiv, xv. p. 1297—1347. He deſcribes the remainder of the ninth region, the moſt extenſive, and alſo

étendue, et une des plus ornées de la ville. Delà il paſſe à la dixième, *(Mons Palatinus,)* petite en elle-même, mais fameuſe pour avoir été d'abord le berceau de la nation, et enſuite le ſiege de l'empire. Auguſte s'y établit dans la maiſon de l'orateur Hortenſius, où tout reſpiroit la modeſtie d'un citoyen plutôt que la magnificence d'un monarque. Tibère l'agrandit du côté du *Forum.* Caius la pouſſa juſqu'au temple de Caſtor. Néron voulut y renfermer la ville entière. Il couvrit le Mont Palatin de bâtimens juſqu'au cirque; d'un autre côté il remplit d'édifices la plaine entre le Palatin, l'Eſquilin, et le Cælius, juſqu'à s'approcher des jardins de Mecêne. On montoit à ce palais *(Domus Aurea)* par la *Via Sacra:* vers le milieu de la rûe on trouvoit la Grande Cour *(Veſtibulum)*, à l'endroit où fut dans la ſuite le temple de la Paix. Plus loin l'on entroit dans la première ſalle *(Atrium)*, qui conduiſoit aux jardins, aux portiques immenſes, et à l'étang ſitué dans l'emplacement de l'amphithéâtre de Titus. Veſpaſien détruiſit la plus part de ces bâtimens, et réduiſit le palais au Mont Palatin, dont il continuoit toujours d'occuper la plus grande partie. Domitien y fit de grands embelliſſemens, et preſque tous ſes ſucceſſeurs y ajouterent quelque choſe, juſqu'au tems où abandonné par les empereurs, il tomba de vieilleſſe ſous Theodorie. Le palais Farnèſe remplit aujourd'hui cette ſituation. Le palais.

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one of the moſt ornamented of the whole city. From thence he proceeds to the tenth, *Mons Palatinus*; ſmall in itſelf, but famous both as the cradle of the nation and the ſeat of its empire. Auguſtus fixed his reſidence there, in the houſe of the orator Hortenſius, affecting the modeſty of a citizen, rather than the magnificence of a prince. Tiberius enlarged this reſidence on the ſide next to the Forum; and Caius extended it to the temple of Caſtor. Nero ſeemed to wiſh comprehending in it the whole city. He covered the mount Palatine with buildings that reached to the circus; and, on the other ſide, filled with edifices the plain bounded by the Palatine, the Eſquiline, and mount Cælius, even to the neighbourhood of Mecenas's gardens. The aſcent to his palace, the Domus Aurea, led through the Via Sacra, in the middle of which ſtreet ſtood the *Veſtibulum*, or great court, which was afterwards the ſcite of the Temple of Peace. Farther on ſtood the great hall, or Atrium, which led to his gardens, immenſe porticos, and the lake or pool which afterwards became the ſcite of Titus's amphitheatre. Veſpaſian deſtroyed the greateſt part of thoſe buildings, and confined his palace to the Palatine Mount, the greater part of which he continued to occupy. Domitian added many embelliſhments, which were encreaſed by almoſt all his ſucceſſors, until the Palatine palace, being forſaken by the emperors, periſhed of decay, in the reign of Theodoric. The Farneſe palace now ſtands on its ruins. The imperial

lais Imperial étonnoit les ſpectateurs par l'étendue des bâtimens, la magnificence des meubles, le prix des ornemens curieux, et par le nombre de temples qu'il renfermoit, et qui lui donnoient un air auguſte et ſacré. Je doute que la beauté de l'architecture y répondit; bati ſans un plan fixe, il étoit l'ouvrage ſucceſſif de cinquante princes, qui n'ont pu lui donner le premier mérite, l'harmonie de l'enſemble, et la proportion des parties. Malheureuſement encore il a du perdre en goût à meſure qu'il augmentoit en magnificence. Simple ſous Auguſte, dans les beaux jours des arts, il n'a reçu ſes principaux ornemens que des mains déja foibles et languiſſantes de ſes ſucceſſeurs. Auſſi les anciens ne l'ont il jamais compté parmi les beaux édifices de Rome.

Septembre 30.]—J'ai lu *Nardini, L. vii. C. i, ii, iii, iv, v, vi, vii, viii, ix. p.* 1347—1402. Il y décrit l'onzième région *(Circus Maximus)*, la douzième *(Piſcina Publica)*, et la treizième *(Mons Aventinus)*. Il entre dans un aſſez grand détail à l'occaſion du cirque, le plus vaſte peut-être de tous les bâtimens deſtinés aux ſpectacles. Tarquin l'ancien, qui le conſtruiſit, paroît avoir moins enviſagé la petiteſſe actuelle de ſon empire, que la haute deſtinée qui l'attendoit dans l'avenir. Tout peut nous convaincre que le cirque étoit capable de contenir un peuple nombreux; mais Denys d'Halicarnaſſe

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imperial reſidence aſtoniſhed every beholder by its vaſt extent, the magnificence of its furniture, the richneſs of its ornaments, and the multitude of its temples; from which laſt it derived an auguſt and ſacred appearance. I think it doubtful, whether the elegance of the architecture correſponded to all this grandeur. Since it was the work of fifty ſucceſſive princes, it muſt have been built without any fixed plan, and therefore deficient in the principal merit of proportion and harmony. Unfortunately too, it muſt have loſt in point of taſte, in proportion as it gained in magnificence. Simplicity was the aim of Auguſtus, in an age when art flouriſhed; and ornaments were added by the feeble and languiſhing taſte of his ſucceſſors. This palace, therefore, has never been numbered among the beautiful edifices of Rome.

September 30.]—I read Nardini, L. vii. C. i, ii, iii, iv, v, vi, vii, viii, ix. p. 1347—1402. He deſcribes the eleventh region, or Circus Maximus; the twelfth, or Piſcina Publica; and the thirteenth, or Mons Aventinus. He enters into many particulars concerning the circus, the largeſt perhaps of all the edifices deſtined for the exhibition of ſhows. Tarquinius Priſcus, by whom it was built, ſeems not to have adapted it to the ſmallneſs of the ſtate in his own time, but to the greatneſs which fortune had in ſtore for Rome. Every particular tends to convince us, that the circus was fitted for containing a vaſt number of people. Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus

licarnaſſe le fixe à 150,000 perſonnes: Pline à 260,000: Victor à 380,000: le Victor moderne à 385,000, et la Notice de l'Empire à 405,000. Au milieu de ces différences énormes, quel parti faut il prendre? Celui de conſulter les faits, les lieux, et l'expérience. La poſition, et les bornes du cirque nous ſont connues; elles ont toujours été preſque les mêmes, et la plus part des changemens n'ont affecté que l'intérieur du bâtiment, puiſque ceux, qui en ont reconnu les ruines, ont de la peine à lui trouver les trois ſtades et demie de longueur, que ſon premier fondateur lui donna *. Denys d'Halicarnaſſe lui aſſigne quatre *jugera*, ou 960 pieds Romains de largeur. Pline lui donne trois ſtades ſeulement de long, ſur une ſtade, ou 625 pieds Romains de largeur. Mais cette contradiction apparente devient, ſelon l'explication de Nardini, un principe lumineux †. Denys d'Halicarnaſſe a enviſagé l'enceinte extérieure du cirque; Pline n'a fait attention qu'a l'enceinte intérieure. Les bâtimens, qui l'environnoient, emportoient la différence des ſommes, et comme ils étoient remplis par les ſpectateurs, il nous importe d'en connoître l'étendue préciſe. Pour trouver leur largeur, il ne faut que ſouſtraire 625 pieds de 960; il nous en reſtera 335. Si l'on en

† Par rapport à la largeur du cirque, Pline lui-même confirme expreſſément cette explication.

prend

ſays, 150,000; Pliny, 260,000; Victor, 380,000; the modern Victor, 385,000; and the Notitia Imperii, 405,000. In this great diverſity of authorities, how ought we to form our judgment? By conſulting facts, places, and experience. We know the ſituation and the bounds of the circus. They always remained the ſame; and the alterations which took place, regarded only the interior arrangement of the edifice, ſince thoſe who have examined its ruins, are ſcarcely able to trace the three ſtadia and a half in length, which were aſſigned to it by the firſt founder *. Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus gives it four *jugera*, or 960 Roman feet in breadth; Pliny makes it three ſtadia long, and one ſtadium, or 625 Roman feet, broad. This apparent contradiction Nardini conſiders as a ſource of much information ‡. According to his explanation, Dionyſius ſpoke of the exterior circumference, and Pliny of the interior. The intermediate buildings exhauſted the difference; and as theſe were filled with ſpectators, their extent is an object of importance. To find their breadth, we have only to ſubtract 625 feet from 960; the remainder is 335 feet; the half of which, 168 feet,

* Traité des Meſures Itineraires, par M. d'Anville, p. 59.

‡ As to the breadth of the circus, Pliny himſelf expreſsly confirms this explanation.

prend la moitié, nous aurons, pour les ſpectateurs de chaque côté, trois ſtades (1875 pieds Romains) de longueur ſur 168 pieds de largeur. Les bâtimens couverts, qui en formoient l'enceinte extérieure, étoient de bois, à deux étages, eux-mêmes environnés d'un portique. Des ſiéges de pierres, placés comme dans les amphithéâtres, deſcendoient de touts côtés depuis les bâtimens couverts juſqu'à l'Euripus et à l'Arène. Le portique extérieur a du être au moins double ; il occupoit donc une trentaine de pieds. Des 138 qui me reſtent, j'en aſſignerois volontiers 48 aux ſiéges couverts, et 90 à ceux de pierre. Toutes choſes conſidérées, cette propoſition me paroit la plus naturelle ; mais on peut repartir différemment cette ſomme des 138 pieds, ſans beaucoup déranger les calculs. Si l'on conſidere la petiteſſe du pied Romain *, et la grande attention qu'on avoit à procurer aux ſpectateurs toutes ſortes de commodités, il me paroit difficile de donner à chaque perſonne

* Le pied Romain, le pied d'Angleterre, et le pied de Roi, ſont dans la proportion de 1306, 1351½, et 1440. Le premier contient à peu près 11⅝ pouces meſure d'Angleterre, et 10⅞ meſure de France. *Traité des Meſures, &c. p.* 164. Après y avoir mûrement réflechi, j'aimerois mieux ne donner à chaque perſonne que 2½ pieds Romains. J'aurois 120,000 perſonnes pour les places, et 30,000 pour l'excédent. J'aurois encore quelque choſe à dire ſur la meſure locale de M. D'Anville, mais il vaux mieux attendre que je ſois à Rome.

Florence, le 11 Juillet 1764.

moins

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multiplied by three ſtadia, 1875 feet, will give the ſpace allotted for the ſpectators on both ſides. The covered buildings, which formed the exterior circumference, were made of wood, two ſtories high, and ſurrounded by a portico. The ſeats were of ſtone, and arranged like thoſe of the amphitheatre, deſcending on all ſides from the covered building to the *Euripus* and the *Arena*. The exterior portico muſt have been double: it therefore occupied thirty feet. Of the 138 which remain, I would allow 48 for the covered ſeats, and 90 for thoſe of ſtone. Every thing conſidered, this proportion appears to me the moſt probable; although the 138 feet may be otherwiſe diſtributed without injuring our calculations. When we reflect on the ſmallneſs of the Roman foot †, and the great attention beſtowed in procuring every ſort of conveniency for the ſpectators, leſs than two feet and a half can ſcarcely be allowed for

† The Roman, Engliſh, and Paris foot, are in the proportion of 1306, 1351½, and 1440. The firſt contains nearly 11⅝ inches of Engliſh, and 10⅞ of French meaſure. *Traité de Meſures*, &c. p. 164. After attentively reflecting on the ſubject, I prefer allowing to each perſon 2½ feet. This will give 120,000 perſons who were ſeated, and 30,000 who ſtood in the porticos. There is ſtill ſomething to be ſaid concerning Mr. D'Anville's meaſurement of the circus; but this will be better deferred, until I have viſited Rome.

Florence, 11th July, 1764.

each

moins de deux pieds et demi, et à chaque banc (y compris l'intervalle) moins de trois pieds de profondeur. Je vois donc 750 perſonnes qui rempliſſoient les trois ſtades du premier banc, puiſque les dégrés de pierre avoient 90 pieds ; on y montoit par 30 marches, qui étoient en même tems des ſiéges. Ils contenoient 22,500 perſonnes. Chaque étage des bâtimens couverts partagoit ſur la même longueur ces 48 pieds en 16 bancs. Les 32 contenoient ainſi 24,000 ſpectateurs, et le total de ceux, qui pouvoient être aſſis de chaque côté du cirque, étoit de 46,500 perſonnes. Les deux côtés réunis nous en donnent 93,000. Reſte encore un des bouts du cirque, car l'autre étoit occupé par les *Carceres*. Sa longueur étoit la largeur du cirque, une ſtade, ou 625 pieds. Ainſi en lui donnant la même profondeur qu'aux côtés, et en ſuivant les mêmes loix, dans notre calcul, il devoit contenir le tiers des ſpectateurs qui occupoient un côté ; c'eſt à dire environ 15,500 perſonnes. Ce nombre, ajouté au 93,000, nous fournit un total de 108,500 ſpectateurs aſſis dans le cirque. Je conçois aſſez qu'aux grands jeux, le goût déterminé du peuple a pu remplir les portiques d'une foule, à qui les plaiſirs faiſoient oublier les fatigues. Mais j'ai peine à y reçevoir plus de 40 ou 50 mille perſonnes. Auſſi Denys d'Halicarnaſſe, qui a décrit le cirque, n'en démande pas davantage pour achever la ſomme de 150,000 ſpectateurs, dont il

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each perſon, and three feet in depth for the benches, as well as for the intervals between them. The firſt bench then, extending three ſtadia, contained 750 perſons, ſince the ſtone ſeats roſe to the height of 90 feet. The ſpectators aſcended by thirty ſteps, which ſerved alſo for ſeats. They contained 22,500 perſons. Each ſtory of the covered buildings, being of the ſame length, divided the 48 feet which it occupied into ſixteen benches; the two ſtories, comprehending thirty-two benches, therefore, contained 24,000 perſons; the whole ſpectators ſeated on either ſide amounted to 46,500; and the total, on both ſides together, to 93,000. There ſtill remains one of the ends of the circus, for the other was occupied by the *Carceres*. It was as long as the circus was broad; that is, a ſtadium, or 625 feet; ſo that if we allow to it the ſame depth as to the ſides, and calculate on the ſame principles, it muſt have contained 15,500, or a third part of thoſe contained by each of the ſides. This number, added to 93,000, gives 108,500 for the whole ſpectators ſeated in the circus. It may well be imagined, that at the great games, the paſſionate love for thoſe amuſements would crowd the porticos with ſpectators, who ſacrificed their eaſe to their curioſity. But I think they could not well exceed 40 or 50,000. More are not required for completing the number of 150,000, aſſigned by Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus. To

il le remplit. Pour expliquer la multitude énorme que les deux Victors *, et la Notice de l'Empire y ont placé, je ne démande qu'une ſuppoſition. C'eſt que ces écrivains du Bas Empire avoient peu de jugement, et encore moins de goût. Ceux qui les ont examiné, ne me chicaneront pas la deſſus. Des compilateurs de cette eſpèce diſtinguent mal la licence d'un poëte, ou l'hyperbole d'un inſcription flateuſe. Quand Juvénal s'abandonnant à toute la véhémence de ſon feu et de ſon indignation, s'écrie avec force

Totam hodie Romam circus capit †;

quand on lit dans une inſcription de Trajan, que ce prince aggrandit le cirque pour le rendre capable de contenir tout le peuple Romain ‡, ces abréviateurs n'auront ils pas pu prendre ces expreſſions à la rigueur, et exprimer le nombre des ſpectateurs par celui des citoyens? Si l'on prend la ſomme annonçée dans l'ancien Victor, le moins défectueux de trois, et qu'on y ajoute des eſclaves Romains, ſélon la proportion Athénienne, nous trouverons que le total des habitans de Rome montoit à 1,140,000. Comme

* Le Victor moderne eſt l'édition la plus étendue du même auteur publiée par Pavinius. Il y a beaucoup d'additions que les critiques mépriſent avec raiſon, comme l'ouvrage d'un impoſteur. *Nardini Roma Vetus, L. ii. C. v. p.* 965.

ce

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explain the prodigious multitude mentioned by the two Victors §, and the Notitia Imperii, I require but one ſuppoſition, which is, that thoſe writers of the Lower Empire had but little judgment, and ſtill leſs taſte. Thoſe who are beſt acquainted with them will not diſpute the point. Compilers of their claſs might miſtake for hiſtoric truth a poetical licence, or the exaggeration of a flattering inſcription. When Juvenal, giving way to the warmth of his indignation, cries out

Totam hodie Romam circus capit †;

when an inſcription in honour of Trajan ſays, that this prince rendered the circus capable of containing the whole people of Rome ‡, theſe abridgers might explain ſuch paſſages literally, and thus expreſs the number of ſpectators in the circus by that of Roman citizens. If we conſider the paſſage of the ancient Victor, the leaſt erroneous of the three, and add to the number mentioned in it, that of the Roman ſlaves, according to the proportion which the Athenian ſlaves bore to the citizens, we ſhall find that the whole inhabitants of Rome amounted to 1,140,000. My conjecture is

§ The moſt judicious edition of the modern Victor is that publiſhed by Pavinius. The numerous additions are juſtly deſpiſed as the work of an impoſtor. *Nardini Roma Vetus*, L. ii. C. v. p. 965.

† Juvenal Satir. xi. 195.

‡ Dio. Caſſ. apud Nardini, L. vii. C. ii. p. 1355.

ſtrengthened

ce nombre n'eſt point éloigné de celui que nous avons fixé * par une opération plus exacte, je trouverois de la vraiſemblance à ma conjecture. Si on la rejette, il faut dire tout ſimplement, que ces trois écrivains ſe ſont trompés de la façon la plus groſſière. Mais je ne ſaurois me réſoudre à en dire autant de Pline. Cependant il n'y a point de reſſource; le naturaliſte détermine lui-même que c'eſt du cirque embelli et agrandi par Julius Céſar, dont il parle. Denys d'Halicarnaſſe étoit contemporain du dictateur, et il écrivit ſous ſon ſucceſſeur. Lire 160,000, au lieu de 260,000, ce ſeroit couper le nœud Gordien. Mais les manuſcrits!

Octobre 1.]—J'ai lu *Nardini, L. vii. C. x, xi, xii, xiii. et L. viii. C. i, ii, iii. p.* 1402—1446. Mon auteur paſſe enfin le Tybre. Il examine la quatorzième et dernière région *(Tranſtiberina)*, et le Mont Vatican, qui n'a jamais été compris dans l'enceinte de l'ancienne Rome. Le huitième livre commence par une récapitulation générale des édifices de la ville; il paſſe delà à quelques objets généraux, tels que le Tybre, et les ponts qu'on y avoit batis. C'eſt ſur la profondeur de cette rivière que je vais hazarder quelques réflexions. L'expérience nous abandonne ici. Il ne ſeroit pas difficile de déterminer la profondeur actuelle du Tybre, mais elle ne concluroit rien pour celle qu'elle pouvoit avoir anciennement. Les ruines des édifices,

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ſtrengthened by obſerving, that this number nearly agrees to that aſcertained by a more exact calculation *. But if this explanation be rejected, we muſt pronounce that thoſe writers have moſt grofsly deceived themſelves. I am unwilling to ſay as much of Pliny; yet there is no alternative; the naturaliſt declares that he ſpeaks of the circus as embelliſhed and enlarged by Julius Cæſar. Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus was contemporary with the Dictator, and publiſhed his work under his ſucceſſor. We might cut the Gordian knot by reading 160,000 inſtead of 260,000. But what becomes of the manuſcripts!

October 1.]—I read Nardini, L. vii. C. x, xi, xii, xiii. and L. viii. C. i, ii, iii. p. 1402—1446. The author at length croſſes the Tiber, and examines the fourteenth and laſt region, called Tranſtiberina, and the Mount Vatican, which never was encloſed within the walls of ancient Rome. The eighth book begins by a general recapitulation of the edifices of the city; from thence he proceeds to ſome general topics; ſuch as the Tiber and its bridges. I ſhall venture to make ſome reflections on the depth of that river. On this ſubject we can derive nothing from experience; for though we may eaſily meaſure the preſent depth of the Tiber, this will not aſcertain what it was an-

* Journal, 20th September, p. 67, 68.

ciently,

édifices, qui ont preſque exhauſsé les vallons au niveau des montagnes, ont du produire le même effet ſur le lit de ce fleuve. Il faut donc conſulter les anciens ; mais notre embarras augmente, lorſqu'on croit apperçevoir une contradiction frappante entre deux auteurs de la première force. Pline nous parle partout du Tybre, comme d'une rivière navigable aux plus grands bâtimens *. Ce vaiſſeau immenſe qui porta l'obéliſque du Vatican, d'Alexandrie à Rome, remonta le Tybre avec autant de facilité qu'il avoit deſcendu le Nil †. D'un autre côté, Strabon ‡ nous aſſure que les grands amas de limon que le Tybre charioit dans ſon cours, et qu'il dépoſoit à ſon embouchure, obligeoit les grands vaiſſeaux de s'alléger d'une partie de leur cargaiſon avant que de pouvoir remonter juſqu'à la ville. Si cette contradiction eſt auſſi réelle qu'elle le paroit d'abord, il ſeroit difficile de croire que des auteurs auſſi exacts ſe ſeroient trompé ſur une choſe ſi notoire, et il ſeroit preſque impoſſible de ſavoir à qui l'on doit attribuer la faute. Mais ne pourroit on point diminuer la différence, ſi on ne la fait pas entiérement diſparoître par les reflexions ſuivantes ? 1. Je vois beaucoup de prévention dans le récit de Pline ; un deſſein formé d'étaler tous les avantages du Tybre, et de l'égaler aux plus grands fleuves. Ce deſſein ſeul pouvoit lui dicter une

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ciently. The ruined edifices which have raiſed the vallies almoſt to the height of the mountains, muſt have produced a ſimilar change in the bed of the river. It becomes neceſſary, therefore, to have recourſe to the ancients; and our difficulty is much encreaſed by an apparent contradiction between two authorities of the firſt rank. Pliny every where mentions the Tiber as navigable for the largeſt ſhips *. The prodigious veſſel which carried the obeliſk of the Vatican from Alexandria to Rome, ſailed up the Tiber as eaſily as it had ſailed down the Nile †. Strabo ‡, on the contrary, aſſures us, that the vaſt heaps of mud which were waſhed down by the current, and depoſited at the mouth of the river, rendered it neceſſary for large ſhips to unload a part of their cargo, before they could arrive at the city. If this contradiction is as ſtrong as it at firſt ſight appears, it will be difficult to conceive how ſuch accurate writers could be deceived in a matter ſo generally known ; and ſcarcely poſſible to determine which of the two is chargeable with the fault. The difference between them may perhaps be diminiſhed, if not totally removed, by the following reflections. 1. In the narration of Pliny I perceive much prepoſſeſſion; a deſire to exaggerate the advantages of the Tiber, and to magnify it by a compariſon with the greateſt rivers. Nothing ſhort of

* Plin. Hiſt. Natur. L. ii. 5. † Idem, L. xvi. 40. L. xxxvi. 9.
‡ Strabon. Geograph. L. v. p. 60.

2 ſuch

une comparaiſon auſſi fauſſe que celle qu'il établit entre cette rivière et le Nil. L'une et l'autre portoient le vaiſſeau de l'obéliſque ; donc le Tybre a autant d'eau que le Nil: un géant peut ſoulever un poid de dix livres, un nain le ſouleve auſſi; donc le nain eſt auſſi fort que le géant. Voila le raiſonnement de Pline. Le voyage de l'obéliſque ne prouve que le fait même, et ne conclut rien ſur la profondeur plus ou moins grande des deux rivières. 2. L'expérience nous apprend que les rivières qui charient beaucoup de limon, et de ſable, n'en ſont point embaraſſées dans leur cours. Entrainés par ſa rapidité, ils les ſuivent juſqu'à leur embouchure, et ne s'arrêtent que lorſqu'elles n'ont plus de force. C'eſt alors qu'il s'en forme des amas conſidérables; mais comme il y a des courans à l'embouchure de preſque toutes les rivières, ils en ſuivent la direction, et ſe rejettent ſur le côté voiſin. C'eſt ainſi que le Rhône pouſſe tous ſes embarras ſur les côtés du Languedoc, dont il a bouché tous les ports. Le Tybre dépoſoit de même tout ſon amas de limon ſur les rivages du *Latium:* le port d'Oſtie en étoit devenu impraticable. Il reſtoit ſûrement quelques bancs de ſable que la diſpoſition du terrein y avoit arrêtés dans certains endroits; mais on pouvoit les ſurmonter, ou pouvoit les éviter; et de la relation de Strabon bien entendue, il reſulte ſeulement que pour remonter le Tybre dans un vaiſſeau qui tiroit beaucoup d'eau,

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ſuch a deſign could have made him compare it with the Nile, to which it is ſo much inferior. Both rivers had carried the veſſel containing the obeliſk. The Tiber, therefore, is equal to the Nile. A giant liſts a weight of ten pounds, ſo does a dwarf; the dwarf therefore is as ſtrong as the giant. Such is Pliny's reaſoning. The tranſportation of the obeliſk muſt be allowed; but no concluſion can be drawn from it concerning the equality of depth in the two rivers. 2. Experience teaches us, that rivers which carry down much ſlime and ſand, are not thereby rendered more ſhallow, except near to their mouths, where the ſtrength of their ſtreams is commonly much abated. There great accumulations are formed; but as currents much prevail at the mouths of rivers, the accumulations naturally follow their direction, and throw themſelves on the neighbouring coaſt. In this manner the Rhine diſcharges its obſtructions on the coaſt of Languedoc, whoſe harbours are thereby blocked up. The Tiber, likewiſe, diſcharged its mud on the coaſt of Latium, by which the harbour of Oſtia became inacceſſible. Some ſand-banks, doubtleſs, remained in particular places of the river in conſequence of local circumſtances: but theſe obſtacles might be ſurmounted or ſhunned; and, from Strabo's narrative well conſidered, we can only infer that a veſſel drawing

d'eau, il falloit de l'habileté et du courage. 3. Le commerce n'inſpire pas le dernier. Je conçois facilement avec Strabon, que les négocians étrangers déchargeoient avec plaiſir une partie de leur cargaiſon ſur les chaloupes qui les attendoient, et leurs maîtres intéreſſés ne manquoient point de leur exagérer tous les périls de cette navigation. Je comprens encore avec Pline, qu'un Caligula, qui ne comptoit pour rien ni ſes treſors, ni ſes ſujets, et qui ſe piquoit de mépriſer la raiſon, et de vaincre les élémens, pouvoit faire tout ce que n'étoit pas impoſſible. Tout a du concourir à ſon deſſein. Le lit du fleuve bien nettoyé auparavant; des écluſes ménagées avec art, et les travaux réunis des hommes et des chevaux, auront fait remonter juſqu'à Rome le vaiſſeau qui y apporta l'obéliſque du Vatican. Je ne doute pas même qu'un eſſai auſſi heureux n'ait convaincu les navigateurs qu'une partie des obſtacles étoient imaginaires, et qu'en perfectionnant leur art, ils n'ayent trouvé le moyen de diminuer ceux qui étoient réels. Quoiqu'il en ſoit pour les vaiſſeaux, il eſt conſtant que les galères qui tiroient beaucoup moins d'eau, remontoient le Tybre avec une grande facilité. Caton fit cette navigation ſur un ſeptiême, et il ne prit terre qu'aux *Navalia*, ſous le Mont Aventin. Rome étoit donc une ville maritime, et malgré

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drawing much water, could not ſail up the Tiber without exertions of ſkill and courage. 3. The latter is not inſpired by commerce. We can eaſily, therefore, believe with Strabo, that foreign merchants were glad to unload part of their cargoes, and to put them on board of lighters, which were ready for their ſervice; and whoſe maſters, from motives of intereſt, would not fail to exaggerate the dangers of the voyage. I can believe alſo with Pliny, that a Caligula, who ſported equally with his treaſures and the lives of his ſubjects, and who valued himſelf on ſetting reaſon and the elements at defiance, could do every thing not impoſſible. Every exertion would ſecond his enterpriſe. The bed of the river would be previouſly cleared; ſluices would be ſkilfully diſtributed; and the ſtrength of men and horſes would impel to Rome the veſſel carrying the obeliſh of the Vatican. I doubt not that the ſucceſs of this trial would convince mariners that part of the obſtacles were imaginary; and that, by improving their art, even thoſe which were real might be much diminiſhed. Whatever was the caſe with ſhips, it is certain that gallies, which indeed draw much leſs water, eaſily ſailed up the Tiber to Rome. Cato performed this voyage in a galley with ſeven tire of oars, and landed at the *Navalia*, near the foot of the Mount Aventine. Rome therefore was a maritime city, and open to the inſults of a hoſtile fleet, notwithſtanding the

malgré l'autorité de Camille, ou de Tite Live *, elle étoit exposée aux insultes d'une escadre ennemie. Pourquoi les Carthaginois, souvent maîtres de la mer, n'ont ils jamais su tenter cette entreprise? S'ils étoient entrés dans la rivière vers le soir, ils auroient pu à la pointe du jour, débarquer au pied du capitole †. Mais ils manquoient de hardiesse, et leur marine étoit plutôt commerçante que militaire.

Octobre 2.]—J'ai lu *Nardini, L. viii. C. iv, v. p.* 1446—1460; *la fin de ce livre et de tout l'ouvrage.* Il est excellent. Beaucoup de pénétration et d'exactitude, jointes à une grande lecture, doivent laisser peu de chose à découvrir à ses successeurs. Peut être est il un peu diffus, et qu'il n'a pas toujours toute la netteté possible. Je lui reprocherois aussi de trouver trop de difficultés, et d'employer des pages entières à expliquer ce qu'une seule observation juste et précise éclairciroit d'abord. Je suis très content de moi vis-a-vis de cet auteur. J'ai lu ce traité dans seize jours, et cependant je l'ai fort bien lu, et d'une façon très attentive et très réfléchie.

J'ai achevé le *vingt troisième tome de la Bibliotheque Raisonnée.* J'y trouve un deuxième Extrait de l'*Histoire Naturelle du Languedoc, par M. Astruc.* Dans la partie des mœurs, j'ai été frappé des vestiges du Paganisme qui s'y

† La navigation n'étoit que de seize milles Romains.

trouvent

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the opinion of Camillus, or rather of Titus Livius *, to the contrary. Why did not the Carthaginians, who were often masters of the sea, attempt such an enterprise? Had they embarked on the river towards evening, they might before day-break have landed at the foot of the capitol ‡. They had not courage for the undertaking, and their ships were not so well fitted for war as for commerce.

October 2.]—I read Nardini, L. viii. C. iv, v. p. 1446—1460; which concludes the whole work; the excellence of which, its accuracy, judgment, and learning, must leave but small gleanings for subsequent writers. Perhaps he is chargeable with being too diffuse, and sometimes with want of perspicuity. I am inclined also to accuse him of raising up difficulties, and of employing whole pages on what might be ascertained by one just and clear observation. I am satisfied with my diligence with respect to this work, which I have read in sixteen days, with much attention and reflection.

I finished the twenty-third volume of the *Bibliotheque Raisonnée*; which contains the second extract of Mr. Astruc's Natural History of Languedoc. In the article respecting manners, we find striking vestiges of Paganism still remaining in that province; I speak not of those general characters of superstition which are common to all men,

* T. Liv. V. 54.

‡ The navigation was only sixteen Roman miles.

 because

trouvent encore. Je ne parle pas de ces traits généraux de ſuperſtition qui ſont communs à tous les hommes, parcequ'ils ſont hommes, mais de quelques uſages ſi ſinguliers et ſi arbitraires qu'ils décelent leur origine. Qu'il eſt difficile d'abolir la religion, ou la langue d'un peuple ! *Satyres de Sectanus, avec la Réponſe de Coſellius, &c.* Guerre littéraire, qui a deſhonoré prèſque tous les ſavans de l'Italie, ſans faire beaucoup d'honneur à leur eſprit. Le Jeſuite Sectanus en a cependant plus que ſes adverſaires. Leurs noms toutefois me feroient croire que ſa cauſe ne vaut rien. *Bibliotheque des Manuſcrits, par le Pere de Montfaucon:* ouvrage ſavant et utile, mais qui n'eſt complet que ſur la France. Il eſt preſque néceſſaire à tout littératur. *Oroſe, par M. Havercamp.* Edition bienfaite, et donc en avoit beſoin, d'un très mauvais auteur, qui ne doit ſon mérite qu'à la perte de ſes confrères qui valoient bien mieux que lui.

Octobre 3.]—Comme le quatrième tome du Threſor de Grævius contient pluſieurs autres ouvrages qui ſe rapportent tous aux antiquités de la ville de Rome, j'ai voulu en lire quelqu'uns. J'ai commencé par la courte, mais fameuſe *Diſſertation d'Iſaac Voſſius de Antiquæ Urbis Romæ Magnitudine; et j'ai lu cette pièce toute entière, p.* 1497—1516. On connoit aſſez les paradoxes de ce critique. Il donne libéralement à l'ancienne Rome plus de trente milles d'enceinte ſans ſes fauxbourgs, et plus de ſoixante et dix en les y comprenant.

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becauſe they are men; but of ſome practices ſo ſingular and arbitrary, that it is impoſſible to miſtake their origin. How difficult is it to aboliſh the religion and language of a nation! The *Satires of Sectanus, with Coſellius's Anſwer:* a literary war, which diſhonoured almoſt all the learned in Italy, without procuring much fame for their talents. Thoſe of the Jeſuit Sectanus were the moſt diſtinguiſhed; but the names of his adverſaries incline me to think that his cauſe was not good. *A Library of Manuſcripts, by Father Montfaucon:* this work is learned and uſeful, but is not complete except as to France. It is almoſt neceſſary for every man of letters. *Oroſius, by Mr. Havercamp:* a good edition, which was much wanted, of a very bad author, whoſe ſole value ariſes from the loſs of his fellow-labourers, who were far ſuperior to himſelf.

October 3.]—I looked into the fourth volume of Grævius Theſaurus, which contains ſeveral other treatiſes, beſides Nardini's, on the antiquities of Rome. I began by reading the whole of the ſhort but famous Diſſertation of Iſaac Voſſius on the magnitude of that city. His paradoxes are well known. He aſſigns upwards of thirty miles for the circuit of Rome, independently of the ſuburbs; and upwards of ſeventy

miles

Il y place plus de quatorze millions d'habitans *, et comme il eſt auſſi avare pour les modernes, qu'il eſt généreux envers les anciens, il aſſure hardiment que les trois royaumes les plus floriſſans de l'Europe ne ſauroient aujourd'hui produire ce nombre de ſujets. Ces nouveautés étoient trop révoltantes pour ne pas trouver des adverſaires qui les ont réfutées avec autant de ſavoir que de force. Voſſius n'a que deux argumens qui puiſſent éblouir un moment. Un paſſage de Denys d'Halicarnaſſe, qu'il n'a point entendu, et un autre de Pline qu'il a corrumpu. Pour le premier, je renverrai ſeulement à Nardini, qui a démontré de la manière la plus victorieuſe, que lorſque cet hiſtorien a comparé la grandeur d'Athenes à celle de Rome, il n'a voulu parler que d'Athenes proprement dite; et que le port du Pirée n'étoit point compris dans l'enceinte de la ville †. Pour le paſſage de Pline, je renverrois au ſavant Freret, qui en a donné l'explication la plus naturelle et la mieux liée ‡. Je ne diſconviens pas que ſon hypothèſe n'ait encore ſes difficultés, mais dèſqu'une partie du paſſage eſt auſſi claire que l'autre eſt obſcure, il faut expliquer celle-ci par celle-la, et non point corriger celle-la ſur celle-ci. Je ne parlerai ici que d'un ſeul argument de Voſſius. Il eſt ingénieux; et de-

* Voſſius, p. 1514—1515. Ses calculs ſont un peu embrouillés comme à l'ordinaire, mais je prends ſon propre réſultat.

puis

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miles when the ſuburbs are included. He fills that vaſt extent with more than fourteen millions of inhabitants §; and being as niggardly towards the moderns, as prodigal with reſpect to the ancients, he aſſures us that this number of ſubjects is not to be found in the three moſt flouriſhing kingdoms of Europe. Theſe ſtrange novelties could not fail to provoke the indignation of many adverſaries, by whom they were ably and learnedly refuted. There are but two authorities for Voſſius, and theſe merely fitted to dazzle and bewilder; a paſſage of Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus, which he miſconſtrues, and a paſſage of Pliny, which he has corrupted. For the firſt, I would refer to Nardini, who proves clearly that when Dionyſius compares the ſize of Rome with that of Athens, he does not include the harbour of the Piræus †. For the paſſage of Pliny, I would refer to the learned Freret, who explains it very naturally in connexion with the context ‡. I do not ſay that his hypotheſis is without its diſficulties; but of the two parts of a paſſage, when one is clear and another obſcure, I ſay that the latter muſt be explained by the former, and not the reverſe. I ſhall conſider but one argument adduced by Voſſius. It is ingenious, and ever ſince I firſt read it in the

§ Voſſius, p. 1514—1515. His calculations are, as uſual, ſomewhat confuſed; but I give the reſult as ſtated by himſelf.

† Nardini Roma Vetus, L. i. C. vi. p. 912—916.

‡ Nouvelles de la République des Lettres, par Bayle; mois de Janvier 1685.

puis que je l'ai vu la première fois dans les *Nouvelles de la Rêpublique de Lettres*, j'en ai toujours été frappé. Le bois d'Egérie (dit il) étoit aux portes de Rome dans les premiers ſiecles de cet état; dans le tems de ſa grandeur, l'on trouve le bois d'Egérie auprès d'Aricie, et à quinze *milles du Forum*. On peut croire, ajoute-t-il, qu'à meſure qu'on agrandiſſoit la ville, l'on reculoit ce bois, afin de lui conſerver toujours ſa ſituation relative d'être dans les fauxbourgs, un peu au delà de la Porte *Capena*. Il en eſt de même du *Clivus Virbius*, et du Lac de Juturne qu'on retrouve pareillement aux environs d'Aricie, après les avoir laiſſé au centre de la ville *. Encore une fois l'idée eſt très ingénieuſe, mais pluſieurs raiſons m'empêcheroient de faire grand fond la deſſus. 1. Ce ſont ici des hypothêſes au lieu de faits. Tous les écrivains parlent du bois d'Egérie, de la Porte *Capena*, et du bois d'Aricie; mais aucun n'y ſuppoſe la moindre liaiſon. Aucun ne parle du dernier comme n'étant en effet que le premier, dont on avoit reculé la ſituation. Le ſeul Servius fait entendre que la Nymphe Egérie du bois d'Aricie, étoit celle dont Numa ſe vantoit d'avoir eu les bonnes graces †; mais l'identité de divinité ne conclut point celle du bois ſacré. Je ſais que les dieux champêtres n'étoient point ceux des nations entières, et que l'étendue de leur culte étoit bornée par celle de leurs bienfaits; mais je ſais auſſi que dans le monde

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Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres, it has left on my mind a ſtrong impreſſion. The wood of Egeria, he ſays, was at the gates of Rome in the firſt ages of the republic; but in the age of Roman greatneſs, this wood was in the neighbourhood of Aricia, and fifteen miles from the *Forum*. It may be ſuppoſed, he adds, that in proportion as the city was enlarged, this wood was gradually cut down, ſo that it might ſtill continue to keep its former ſituation with regard to the ſuburbs, and ſtand a little beyond the Porta Capena. The ſame thing happened as to the Clivus Virbius and the lake of Juturna, which are in the neighbourhood of Aricia now, but were in the center of the city formerly *. This idea is doubtleſs ingenious; but many reaſons convince me that it is falſe. It is founded entirely on hypotheſis. All writers mention the Porta Capena, the wood of Egeria, and that of Aricia; but none ſuppoſe any connection between them, or that the latter was merely a continuation of the former. Servius, indeed, and he alone, ſays that the nymph Egeria of the wood Aricia, was the ſame goddeſs with whom Numa was familiar †. But the identity of the goddeſs does not prove that of the ſacred wood. I know that rural divinities were not the gods of whole nations, and that their worſhip

* Voſſius de Rom. Magnitud. C. iv. p. 906, 907.

† *Nympha in Aricino nemore, quam amicam ſuam Numa eſſe fingebat.* Serv. ad Æneid. L. vii. V. 762.

was

monde mythologique, comme dans le monde naturel, tout étoit lié par des gradations preſqu'imperceptibles, et qu'on remontoit par une chaine ſucceſſive d'êtres depuis la Dryade juſqu'au Maître du tonnere. La Dryade ſans pouvoir, ſans connoiſſance, et preſque ſans ſentiment, n'exiſtoit que dans l'arbre qu'elle occupoit, et dont on la diſtinguoit à peine. Mais Egérie étoit d'une ordre plus relevé ; ſemblable à Faunus, qui paſſoit rapidement de l'Arcadie au pays des Sabins *, le bois ancien qu'elle habitoit auprès d'Aricie, ne devoit point empêcher que Numa ne lui en conſacrât un autre aux portes de Rome, et qu'il ne perſuadât aux peuples qu'elle l'honoroit frequemment de ſa préſence. Encore ſi je hazardois une ſuppoſition des plus naturelles, c'eſt que tout le pays entre Rome et Aricie n'étoit anciennement qu'une forêt, où l'on voyoit deux chapelles conſacrées à la Nymphe ; et que lorſqu'on défricha ces bois, on en laiſſa toujours ſubſiſter les deux extrémités par reſpect pour elle. 2. Bien loin que le bois d'Aricie paroiſſe d'une fondation plus nouvelle que celui de la Porte *Capena*, ſelon la chronologie de la fable, tout y annonce un antiquité ſupérieure à celle de Rome. Hyppolite vint en Italie 400 ans avant la naiſſance de Romulus ; or toutes les traditions du lieu ſe rapportent au tems de ce prince ; le *Virbius*, nom qui annonçoit ſa nouvelle

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was often confined to the diſtrict which had experienced their kindneſs; but I know alſo, that in the mythological, as well as in the natural world, there is a perpetual chain of beings riſing above each other by almoſt imperceptible degrees, from the lowly Dryad to Jupiter armed with the thunder. The Dryad, deſtitute of power, knowledge, and almoſt of ſenſation, exiſted in her native tree, from which ſhe was ſcarcely diſtinguiſhable. But Egeria was of a higher order, and not inferior to Faunus, who frequently came from Arcadia to the territory of the Sabines *; ſo that though the ancient wood near to Aricia was her proper habitation, this needed not to hinder Numa from conſecrating to her another, at the gates of Rome; or from perſuading the people that ſhe frequently honoured him there with her preſence. It is a natural ſuppoſition that the whole country between Rome and Aricia was a continued foreſt, at each extremity of which there was a chapel conſecrated to the Nymph; and that when the country was cleared, the trees were allowed to ſtand at both extremities from reſpect to Egeria. 2. The wood of Aricia is ſo far from being of a later date than the Porta Capena, that if we can have any dependence on the chronology of the fabulous ages, that wood was more ancient than the city of Rome. Hippolitus came into Italy 400 years before the birth of Romulus, and the former prince is connected with all the traditions which prevailed in the country about Aricia. The name Virbius indicated

* Horat. Carm. L. i. Ode xvii.

nouvelle vie, la Nymphe Egerie qui l'accueillit dans ſon antre, et qui pleura ſi tendrement ſes malheurs* : ces traditions ſont fabuleuſes, j'en ſuis perſuadé, mais les fables ne ſont pas l'ouvrage d'un jour. Crues pieuſement de tout le canton, elles y ſont anciennes ; le bois ſacré auquel elles ſont liées, l'eſt encore davantage ; et ces fables mêmes renverſent la fable encore moins vraiſemblable, qui ne rapporte ſa conſécration qu'aux tems de la grandeur de Rome, et de l'agrandiſſement de la ville, c'eſt à dire à celui d'Auguſte, ou du moins des derniers conſuls. 3. Le principe ſur lequel on établit cet uſage de reculer les lieux conſacrés, eſt contraire à celui de toutes les ſuperſtitions locales. On révère un lieu honoré par la préſence et les miracles d'un Dieu, où il a déployé ſa puiſſance, où il a prodigué ſes bienfaits, et non point un rapport imaginaire et fantaſque avec des endroits voiſins, qui lui ſont étrangers. Le culte, pour ainſi dire, eſt attaché au ſol, et l'on ne peut changer l'un ſans abolir l'autre. Le temple de Jupiter *Elicius*, *le Lupercal*, la maiſon de Romulus, ſubſiſtoient encore ſous les empereurs, et ſubſiſtoient toujours dans leur premier emplacement. L'exemple tiré des portes ne conclut rien, il faut néceſſairement ouvrir des portes nouvelles dans une nouvelle enceinte, et il eſt aſſez naturel de leur donner les noms des anciennes

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his new life ; the nymph Egeria received him in her grotto, and tenderly compaſſionated his misfortunes *. Theſe traditions, I well know, are fables; but ſuch fables are not the work of a day. They were piouſly believed by the whole diſtrict, in which they had taken deep root ; the ſacred wood, which was their ſcene, muſt have been more ancient than themſelves; and though fictions, they deſtroy the ſtill more improbable fiction of the confecration of the wood of Aricia in the age of Roman greatneſs, and the enlargement of the city, that is, in the time of Auguſtus, or, at leaſt, of the lateſt conſuls. 3. The ſuppoſition that ſacred places changed their ſite, and retreated as it were before the greatneſs of Rome, is contrary to the ſpirit of all local ſuperſtitions. The Pagans revered a place honoured by the preſence and miracles of a god, where he had diſplayed his power, and conferred his benefits; but they did not aſſociate with their reverence for this place, a veneration for all the adjacent country, which had not any connection with the divinity. Their worſhip was attached, as it were, to the ſoil, and the one could not be changed without aboliſhing the other. The temple of Jupiter Elicius, the Lupercal, the houſe of Romulus, always remained in their original ſites. The argument drawn from the gates is not concluſive. New walls neceſſarily require new gates, which naturally retain the names of thoſe which they re-

* Virgil. Æneid, vii. 761—781 ; et Serv. ad locum Ovid. Metamorph. L. xv.

place,

anciennes aux quelles elles repondoient, et qui devenoient inutiles. 4. Comment auroit on ſongé à conſerver le rapport ancien du bois d'Egérie avec la Porte *Capena?* Du tems de Numa cette porte n'exiſtoit pas encore. Elle faiſoit partie de l'enceinte et des murailles que Servius Tullius conſtruiſit autour de la ville *. 5. Des trois exemples qu'on employe, le bois d'Egérie étoit hors de la Porte *Capena*; le Lac de *Juturne* étoit dans le *Forum*, et le *Clivus Virbius* à la montée de l'Eſquilin. En les reculant, on auroit au moins ſongé à conſerver leurs rapports mutuels. Mais une ligne tirée du centre du *Forum* à travers chacun de ces endroits, les auroit autant éloignés les uns des autres, que de la ville, au lieu de les raſſembler tous dans les environs d'Aricie. 6. Selon Voſſius, les murs de Rome avançoient juſqu'au dixième milliaire ſur la Voye Appienne. Cependant Aricie étoit alors comme aujourd'hui à ſeize milles Romains de la capitale. Tous les auteurs en conviennent; et ſi Strabon paroît y mettre un plus grand intervalle, on fait voir que ce géographe ſe ſervoit d'une meſure de ſtade plus petite que l'Olympique †. Je prévois qu'on me répondra que cet intervalle ne conclut rien pour l'enceinte de la ville, puiſqu'on ne comptoit point les milles depuis les portes, mais depuis le milliaire d'or; et qu'Aricie pouvoit être tout à la fois

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place, and which are demoliſhed as uſeleſs. 4. On what principle was it neceſſary to preſerve the relative ſituation of the wood of Egeria with regard to the *Porta Capena*? In the time of Numa this gate was not in exiſtence; ſince it belonged to the walls built around the city by Servius Tullius *. 5. Of the three examples given by Voſſius, the wood of Egeria was without the Porta Capena, the lake of Juturna was in the Forum, and the Clivus Virbius was at the foot of Mount Eſquiline. Had theſe monuments changed their ſites, care would have been taken to preſerve their relative ſituation with regard to each other. But a line drawn from the center of the Forum, and paſſing through each of thoſe places, while it removed them from the city, muſt alſo have removed them from each other, inſtead of collecting them all into one ſpot in the neighbourhood of Aricia. 6. According to Voſſius, the walls of Rome advanced to the 10th mile-ſtone on the Appian way. Yet Aricia was anciently, as it is at preſent, ſixteen miles diſtant from the capital. All authors agree in this point; and the greater diſtance aſſigned by Strabo has been ſhewn to proceed from his meaſuring by a ſtadium ſhorter than the Olympic †. I foreſee that it will be anſwered that ſince the miles were counted not from the gates of Rome, but from the golden pillar, Aricia might

* Nardini Roma Vetus, L. i. C. iv. p. 902, 903, 904.

† Cluver. Ital. Antiq. tom. ii. p. 920; et ſequent. Strabon. Geograph. L. v. p. 165. Meſures Itinéraires de M. d'Anville, p. 15.

fois à ſeize milles de cette colonne et du *Forum*, et à ſix milles ſeulement de la Porte *Capena*. La réponſe eſt bonne, il eſt vrai ; je ne dirai point la deſſus qu'un faiſeur d'itinéraires peut compter la diſtance ſur les milliaires, mais qu'un géographe comme Strabon, qu'un poëte comme Lucain, n'auroient point dit tout ſimplement, qu'Aricie étoit à ſeize milles de Rome, ſans remarquer que les fauxbourgs occupoient la plus grande partie de cet intervalle. Les diſtances ſe comptoient donc toujours du milliaire d'Auguſte. Mais *l'Aqua Claudia*, dont la ſource étoit entre le ſixième et le huitième milliaire ſur la route de Preneſte, avoit elle ſon origine dans la ville ? Le ſyſtême de Voſſius le demande. Cependant on voyoit cette ſource dans une campagne *(Prædium)* de Lucullus * : donc les murailles de la ville ne ſe ſont jamais étendués ſi loin. Cette obſervation, qui ſe porte ſur tout le ſyſtême de Voſſius, me paroit déciſive.

Quel génie ſingulier que ce Voſſius ! Il avoit beaucoup de lecture, de vivacité, et d'invention ; mais c'eſt bien l'eſprit le plus faux que je connoiſſe, le plus porté à outrer tous ſes jugemens, et le moins capable de réſiſter aux attraits d'une chimère brillante. C'étoit au reſte un très mal-honnête homme. On peut lui reprocher des démarches les plus contraires à la probité.

Octobre

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be ſixteen miles from this pillar and the Forum, and no more than ſix miles from the Porta Capena. The anſwer indeed would be good, had the diſtance been reckoned by a maker of itineraries ; but it is not ſuppoſable that a geographer like Strabo, or a poet like Lucan, would have ſaid that Aricia was ſixteen miles from Rome, had the ſuburbs filled up the intermediate ſpace, without making that remark. The diſtances then were always reckoned from the mile-ſtone erected by Auguſtus. I would aſk whether the Aqua Claudia roſe in the city, although its ſource is ſaid to have been at the ſixth and the eighth mile-ſtone on the road to Preneſté ? The ſyſtem of Voſſius requires the affirmative. Yet we find the ſource of this water at an eſtate *(Prædium)* belonging to Lucullus *. The walls of Rome therefore never extended to that diſtance. This obſervation, which bears againſt the whole of Voſſius's ſyſtem, appears to me deciſive.

What a ſingular character was this Voſſius ! He had much reading, vivacity, and invention ; but his underſtanding had a wrong bias ; he was prone to exaggeration in his opinions, and incapable of reſiſting the temptation of a brilliant chimera. He was beſides a very bad man. Some parts of his conduct betrayed a total want of probity.

* Sext. Fronten. de Aquæduct. Rom. L. i. p. 1635. iv. vol. Grævii Theſaurus.

October

Octobre 4.]—J'ai lu *la Diſſertation d'Octavio Falconieri, ſur la Pyramide de C. Ceſtius, p.* 1461—1482. Ce monument, ſitué à la porte *Oſtienſis*, et enchaſſé aujourd'hui dans les murs de la ville, eſt revêtu par tout d'un très beau marbre. Il a 165½ palmes Romains de hauteur, et chacune des baſes a 130 palmes de longueur. On a pratiqué une chambre au milieu de la pyramide qui a 26 palmes de long, 18 de large, et 19 de haut. C'eſt proprement le ſépulchre. Les murailles étoient couvertes d'un grand nombre de figures; il en reſte quelqu'unes qui ſont d'un très bon goût. Il réſulte de l'inſcription du monument et des explications que donne Falconieri de ces figures, que Ceſtius étoit un Romain diſtingué du tems d'Auguſte, et que ces peintures ſe rapportent toutes à ſon emploi d'Epule, ou de curateur des fêtes ſacrées. Jamais ancien n'a fait mention de cette belle pyramide. Quel regret cette réflexion ne donne-t-elle pas pour les ouvrages qui ont diſparu, et dont les auteurs ont vanté la beauté! La Diſſertation de Falconieri eſt bien faite.

J'ai lu auſſi la pièce de pere Ciaconius, ſur la *Columna Roſtrata de Duillius*. Comme je croyois d'abord que l'inſcription entière étoit originale, j'en tirois les plus belles conſéquences. Heureuſement j'ai vu enfin que l'original eſt gaté au point d'être inintelligible, et que le critique l'a rétabli aſſez heureuſement par ſes conjectures. J'en ai lu aujourd'hui p. 1809—1817.

Octobre

October 4.]—I read a Diſſertation by Octavio Falconieri, on the Pyramid of C. Ceſtius, p. 1461—1482. This monument, which ſtood at the Porta Oſtienſis, and which is now fixed in the city wall, is entirely covered with a beautiful white marble. It is 165½ Roman palms high, and the ſides of its baſe are each 130 palms long. There is a room in the middle of the pyramid twenty-ſix palms long, eighteen broad, and nineteen high. This is properly the ſepulchre. The walls were covered with a multitude of figures, ſome of which ſtill remain in a very good taſte. It appears from the inſcription of the monument and the explanations given of it by Falconieri, that Ceſtius was a man of diſtinction in the time of Auguſtus, and that the paintings relate to his employment of Epulo, or manager of the ſacred feſtivals. None of the ancients make mention of this beautiful pyramid; a reflexion which creates regret for the loſs of thoſe monuments, whoſe beauty they highly celebrate. Falconieri's Diſſertation is well written.

I read alſo a performance of father Ciaconius on the *Columna Roſtrata of Duillius*. Taking the whole inſcription for original, I began to draw from it many important conſequences. Happily I diſcovered that the original had ſuffered ſo much from the injuries of time, that it was rendered unintelligible, and that the critic had ſucceſſfully reſtored it by his conjectures. I this day read p. 1809—1817.

Octobre 5.]—Quoique la Colonne Roſtrale eut trompé mon attente, j'ai voulu l'achever. J'y ai trouvé des reſtitutions fort ingenieuſes, et de très bonnes obſervations ſur l'orthographe Latine, laquelle comme dans toutes les langues a quitté peu à peu l'étymologie pour ſe régler ſur la prononciation. Malheureuſement la colonne de Duillius que nous avons, n'a pas l'authorité d'une piece originale. On voit clairement par l'exemple de Maximus avec un *i*, qu'elle a été faite depuis Jules Céſar, et qu'on l'a réformée ſur la nouvelle orthographe.

J'ai fini cette *Diſſertation de Ciaconius*, *p.* 1817—1831. J'ai lu auſſi un *petit Morceau de Joſeph Caſtalio, ſur les Temples de la Paix et de Janus*, *p.* 1849—1856. Il eſt bien mauvais.

6.]—J'ai lu une *Diſſertation de Pierre Bargæus, de Everſoribus Ædificiorum Urbis Romæ*, *p.* 1869—1892. Le prejugé commun fait regarder les barbares du Nord comme les ennemis des arts, auſſi bien que des Romains. C'eſt à un Alaric, à un Genſeric, à un Totila, qu'on attribua la deſtruction des beaux monumens de la ville. Jamais il n'y eut de prejugé moins fondé ſelon mon auteur. Alaric uſa à peine des droits de la guerre. Genſeric ſe contenta de piller cette capitale. Totila renverſa une partie des murailles dans un moment de fureur, et les rétablit auſſitôt par raiſon. La plus part des ouvrages publics ſubſiſtoient ſous Théodoric; et ce prince veilloit

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October 5.]—Although the Columna Roſtrata diſappointed me, I read to the end of the treatiſe. It contains ſome very ingenious reſtorations of the original, and excellent obſervations on the Latin orthography, which, as happens in all languages, gradually loſt ſight of etymology, and came to be regulated by pronunciation. Unhappily the inſcription on the pillar of Duillius has not the merit of originality. We ſee clearly by the example of Maximus, written with an *i*, that the old ſpelling had been altered for the new, which prevailed from the time of Julius Cæſar.

I finiſhed Ciaconius's Diſſertation, p. 1817—1831. I read alſo a ſmall Treatiſe by Joſeph Caſtalio, on the temples of Peace and Janus, p. 1849—1856. It is a poor performance.

6.]—I read a Diſſertation of Peter Bargæus, *de Everſoribus Ædificiorum Urbis Romæ*, p. 1869—1892. By a common prejudice we conſider the northern barbarians as equally hoſtile to the arts and to the Romans; aſcribing the ruins of the fineſt monuments of the city to an Alaric, a Genſeric, or a Totila. Bargæus regards this opinion as totally unfounded. Alaric ſcarcely exercifed the rights of war. Genſeric was ſatisfied with pillaging Rome. Totila deſtroyed part of the walls in his fury, and repaired them when he recovered his reaſon. The moſt of the public edifices were

veilloit à leur conſervation avec beaucoup plus d'attention que ne l'avoient fait les derniers empereurs d'occident. Le zele des Papes, et ſurtout de Gregoire le Grand, ne voyoit dans un temple que l'idole à laquelle il étoit conſacré; il établiſſoit la religion ſur la ruine des beaux arts. Ce ſyſtême, détaillé avec beaucoup de ſavoir et de vraiſemblance, vaut mieux que les efforts qu'il fait pour juſtifier cette conduite des Pontifes; conduite plus digne de l'Alcoran que de l'Evangile. On ſe forme une idée auſſi fauſſe que peu avantageuſe des nations qui ont innondé l'empire dans le cinquième ſiecle. On les regarde comme des ſauvages ſortis tout d'un coup du fond des forêts, pour briſer ces barrières qui les ſéparoient du monde policé. Si l'on parloit ſeulement des nations Scandinaviennes, Scythiques, et Arabes, je ne diſconviendrais pas de la reſſemblance du portrait. Mais les Arabes agiſſoient par enthouſiaſme, les Danois par vengeance, et les Scythes par une férocité naturelle à tous les peuples nomades. Les nations Germaniques, les Goths *, les Vandales, les François, &c. avoient beaucoup perdu de leur ancienne barbarie avant que d'entrer ſur les terres de l'empire l'epée à la main. Depuis plus d'un ſiecle des corps nombreux de leur compatriotes ſervoient dans les armées Romaines; ils étudoient la langue de cette nation;

* Il ne decide point la fameuſe queſtion de l'origine des Goths.

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were ſtanding in the reign of Theodoric, who was more careful to preſerve them than had been the laſt emperors of the eaſt. The zeal of the Popes, and particularly of Gregory the Great, beheld nothing in a temple but the idol to whom it was conſecrated: he eſtabliſhed religion on the ruin of the fine arts. This account of the matter is explained by Bargæus with much learning and argument, and is far better than his attempt to juſtify this conduct in the Popes, which was ſurely more becoming the Alcoran than the Goſpel. Our notions are as falſe as unfavourable concerning the nations which over-ran the Roman empire in the fifth century. We look on them as ſavages juſt iſſued from the woods to break the boundaries which divided them from the civilized world. This opinion indeed may be applicable to the people of Scandinavia, to the Scythians, and the Arabs. The Arabs were actuated by enthuſiaſm; the Danes by vengeance; the Scythians by ferocity, common among wandering nations of ſhepherds. But the inhabitants of Germany, the Goths †, Vandals, and Franks, had deveſted themſelves of much of their barbariſm before they invaded the dominions of the Roman empire. For more than a century preceding that event, numerous bodies of their countrymen had ſerved in the Roman armies. They learned

† He decides not the famous queſtion concerning the origin of the Goths.

ils en empruntoient les mœurs. Ils avoient adopté ſa religion, ou du moins ils la révéroient. Ils avoient quelquefois du mépris pour les vaincus, jamais de la haine. Le ſoldat étoit quelquefois cruel, mais le général étoit rarement barbare, et le legiſlateur ne l'étoit jamais. Je paſſe rapidement ſur des objets qui mériteroient d'être approfondis.

J'ai lu auſſi *la Diſſertation du même Auteur, ſur les Obéliſques de la Ville, p.* 1905—1934, *la fin.* Elle eſt ſavante ; mais, qui en retrancheroit les écarts, lui laiſſeroit à peine ſix pages.

Octobre 7.]—J'ai commencé un ouvrage *d'Olaus Borrichius, de Antiqua Facie Urbis Romæ, dont j'ai lu p.* 1521—1546.

8.]—J'ai lu *Olaus Borrichius, p.* 1546—1576. J'ai achevé le vingt quatrième tome de la *Bibliotheque Raiſonnée.* J'y trouve *Hiſtoire du Ciel, par l'Abbé Pluche.* Cet auteur, mauvais philoſophe, et littérateur ſuperficiel, bâtit des ſyſtêmes ingénieux, qui n'éblouiſſent qu'un moment. Tirer des étymologies Egyptiennes de l'Hebreu, parcequ'on ſuppoſe que l'Hebreu reſſembloit au Phenicien, et que le Phenicien n'étoit pas fort éloigné de l'Egyptien ! Ces ſignes des ſaiſons et de l'agriculture, qui deviennent des Dieux ! Pouvoit on ſe tromper ſur des ſignes qui revenoient chaque année, et qui apportoient avec eux leur explication ſenſible ? Je demanderois

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the Latin language, ; they adopted civilized manners; and if they were not Chriſtians, they at leaſt revered Chriſtianity. The contempt which they ſometimes teſtified for the vanquiſhed, was not mixed with hatred. The ſoldier was ſometimes cruel, but the general was ſeldom barbarous, and the legiſlator never. I caſt but a rapid glance on objects, which would deſerve to be ſurveyed attentively.

I read alſo a Diſſertation of the ſame author on the Obeliſks in Rome, p. 1905—1934. It is learned; but if ſuperfluities were lopped off, might be reduced to ſix pages.

October 7.]—I began the work of Olaus Borrichius, *de Antiqua Facie Urbis Romæ*, and read p. 1521—1546.

8.]—I read Borrichius, p. 1546—1576. I finiſhed the twenty-fourth volume of the *Biblictheque Raiſonnée.* It contains the Hiſtory of the Heavens, by the Abbé Pluche. This author, who is a bad philoſopher and a ſuperficial ſcholar, builds ingenious ſyſtems, which dazzle but for a moment. He draws Egyptian etymologies from the Hebrew, becauſe he ſuppoſes that the Hebrew had much affinity with the Phenician; and that the Phenician was not very remote from the Egyptian ! The ſigns of the ſeaſons and of agriculture are changed into gods. But I would aſk whether it was poſſible that mankind ſhould ſo much miſtake thoſe ſigns which returned annually, bringing with them

demanderois au moins pour cette métamorphoſe plus de ſiècles que l'Abbé Pluche ne m'en auroit accordé. *Hiſtoire de Charles XII. par M. Aderfeld.* L'Alexandre du Nord avoit deja ſon Quinte Curce, il lui manquoit un Arrien. M. Aderfeld l'eſt plutôt par ſon exactitude que par ſon éloquence. *Lettres de Libanius, par M. Welf:* beau preſent. Nous n'avions que 250 de ces lettres. Ce ſavant nous en donne 1600, qu'il a tirées de la pouſſière de toutes les bibliotheques de l'Europe. *Ammonius de Differentiâ Verborum, &c. par M. Valkenaer:* c'eſt un petit recueil de quelques grammairiens Grecs, qui n'eſt pas ſans mérite. *Hiſtoire du Roi David:* ouvrage ſavant, ſingulier, et ridicule.

Octobre 9.]—J'ai lu *Olaus Borrichius, de Antiqua Facie Urbis Romæ, p.* 1576—1600.

10.]—J'ai fini *Olaus Borrichius, p.* 1600—1623. Je ſuis fort content de ce petit ouvrage. Borrichius eſt un homme curieux et inſtruit, qui parcourt tous les quartiers de la ville avec beaucoup d'ordre, et de netteté; qui laiſſe à l'écart toutes les minuties, et qui choiſit quelques objets curieux et principaux, dont il rende compte d'une manière aſſez intéreſſante, et dans un ſtyle coulant et facile. Il convient à tout homme, qui veut ſe faire une idée vraie, mais générale, de l'ancienne Rome; qui craint les grands ouvrages

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them their own explication. Such an extraordinary metamorphoſis muſt have required at leaſt many more ages than the Abbé Pluche would be willing to allow.—The Hiſtory of Charles XII. by Mr. Aderfeld. The Alexander of the North had already his Quintus Curtius. He ſtill wanted an Arrian. Mr. Aderfeld ſupplies the defect rather by his accuracy than his eloquence.—Lebanius's Letters, by Mr. Welf: a valuable preſent. We had only 250 of theſe letters. This learned man gives us 1600, recovered from the duſt of all the libraries of Europe.—*Ammonius de Differentia Verborum, &c.* by Mr. Valkenaer: a ſmall collection of ſome Greek grammarians, not without merit.—The Hiſtory of King David: a learned, ſingular, and laughable performance.

October 9.]—I read Olaus Borrichius, *de Antiqua Facie Urbis Romæ*, p. 1576—1600.

10.]—I finiſhed Olaus Borrichius, p. 1600—1623; and am much pleaſed with this little work. It is curious and learned. Borrichius examines the quarters of the city with order and perſpicuity; and, regardleſs of minute objects, fixes on the principal monuments, which he explains in a very entertaining manner, and in an eaſy flow of ſtyle. His work muſt be uſeful to thoſe who wiſh to form only a general, but juſt notion of ancient Rome; who are afraid of the large volumes of Donatus and Nardini,

ouvrages de Donatus et de Nardini, ou qui ſouhaite de raſſembler dans ſon eſprit les idées qu'il y a priſes. Pour trancher le mot, le livre de Borrichius eſt un excellent abregé de Nardidi, qu'il ſuit partout pas-a-pas. Il n'eſt que cela, et j'aurois voulu que le ſavant Danois ce fut contenter de ce mérite, ſans aſpirer à celui d'auteur original : ce n'eſt pas qu'on n'y trouve quelques obſervations curieuſes, quelques endroits même ou il releve Nardini, et le releve avec raiſon. En voici deux. 1. Borrichius prouve aſſez bien qu'on ne donnoit jamais aux empereurs de leur vivant le titre de *Divus* ; et que par conſequent tous les monumens, où il ſe rencontre, leur ont été élevés après leur mort. 2. Il fait voir contre Nardini que tous les jeux de la Déeſſe Flore ſe célébroient dans ſon cirque ; et que ce n'eſt que pour avoir mal compris un paſſage d'Ovide, que cet antiquaire a cru trouver deux fêtes de cette Déeſſe, dans une ſeule qui ſe chommoit le dernier d'Avril et le premier de Mai. Borrichius étoit Danois, et profeſſeur à Copenhague. Il paroit par differens endroits de ſon livre qu'il voyagea en Italie, en France, et en Angleterre vers l'an 1665 ; et qu'il publia ce petit traité près d'une vingtaine d'années après ſon retour. S'il ne ſe diſoit pas Danois, on le verroit aſſez à l'endroit où il parle des triomphes de Marius ſur le Mont Eſquilin. A la vue de ce monument de la défaite des Cimbres, ſon zele national s'enflamme, un

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dini, or who wiſh to digeſt methodically in their minds the knowledge which they have acquired from them. In one word, Borrichius is an excellent abridgment of Nardini, whom he eloſely follows. I could have wiſhed this learned Dane had been ſatisfied with this merit, without aſpiring to that of an original author ; yet it muſt be allowed that he makes ſome curious obſervations, and corrects Nardini judiciouſly ; of which the two following are examples. 1. He proves in a very ſatisfactory manner, that the emperors were never honoured with the title of Divus in their life-time, and conſequently that all the monuments in which this title is found, muſt have been raiſed to them after their deaths. 2. He ſhows in oppoſition to Nardini, that all the games of the goddeſs Flora were celebrated in her Circus; and that by miſtaking a paſſage of Ovid, that antiquary has made two feſtivals of Flora out of one, which was held the laſt day of April, or the firſt of May. Borrichius was a Dane, and profeſſor at Copenhagen. It appears from different paſſages of his book, that he travelled in Italy, France, and England towards the year 1665 ; and publiſhed this little treatiſe about twenty years after his return home. Without his telling us that he was a Dane, we ſhould eaſily perceive it, from his manner of ſpeaking concerning the triumph of Marius on Mount Eſquiline. At beholding this monument of the defeat of the Cimbri, his patriotiſm is inflamed, a noble indignation ſeizes his ſoul. He aſcribes

un noble courroux s'empare de ſon eſprit. Il attribue la victoire des Romains au ſoleil, au vent, à la fortune, à tout, plutôt qu'a la valeur de Marius.

Octobre 12.]—Un air de philoſophie, un fond d'ignorance, des penſées triviales ou fauſſes, un ſtyle affecté, des portraits communs ou outrés, voila *les Amuſemens de la Raiſon*; ouvrage nouveau, que M. de C . . . m'avoit preté, et où je n'ai trouvé ni raiſon ni amuſement. L'impertinente préface qu'il a miſe à la tête de ſa traduction du *Loiſir du Sage! De quoi nous ſert il de ſavoir le nom d'un auteur? Ce nom qu'a-t-il de commun avec l'ouvrage?* Beaucoup pour l'intelligence de ſon ouvrage, de ſon but, de ſes alluſions; rien pour le jugement que nous devons porter de ſes ſentimens philoſophiques.

13.]—J'ai commencé aujourd'hui une entrepriſe conſiderable; c'eſt la lecture de *l'Italia Antiqua de Cluvier, en deux volumes in folio: à Leyde, 1624, chez les Elzevirs.* L'auteur n'en vit pas la publication, mais il y avoit mis la dernière main avant ſa mort. Son éditeur nous apprend qu'il méditoit une Géographie Univerſelle ſur le même plan; et qu'après avoir parcouru la Germanie, l'Italie, et la Sicile, il alloit travailler ſur la Gaule et la Grece, et enſuite ſur tous les autres pays connus aux anciens. Strabon a embraſſé cet objet en dix ſept livres: les pays dont Cluvier a traité dans quatre volumes in folio, ne comprennent qu'environ trois de ces livres.

L'ouvrage

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the victory of the Romans to the ſun, the winds, and fortune; to every cauſe rather than the valour of Marius.

October 12.—An appearance of philoſophy, with real ignorance; thoughts trivial or falſe; affectation of ſtyle; exaggeration or vulgarity of deſcription; ſuch is the new work intituled Amuſements of Reaſon, which was lent to me by Mr. C . . .; and in which I find neither reaſon nor amuſement. The author's preface to his tranſlation of the "Wiſe "Man's Recreations," is impertinent in the extreme. Of what uſe is it to know an author's name? What has that name to do with his work? A great deal with his deſign, his alluſions, &c. but nothing with the ſentence that we ought to paſs on his philoſophical opinions.

13.]—I this day began a very conſiderable taſk; which was to read Cluverius' Italia Antiqua, in two volumes in folio: Leyden, 1624, Elzevirs. The author did not live to ſee its publication; but had completely finiſhed it before his death. His editor tells us that he had in contemplation to write an univerſal geography on the ſame plan; and that after deſcribing Germany, Italy, and Sicily, he meant to treat of Gaul, Greece, and all the other countries known to the ancients. Strabo comprehended the ſame ſubject in ſeventeen books; of which the countries deſcribed by Cluverius, in four volumes in folio, occupy

nearly

L'ouvrage entier de notre ſavant auroit pu aller à vingt trois volumes in folio. S'il avoit vêcu quelques années de plus, il auroit peut-être rempli cette tâche immenſe. Nous aurions eu un répertoire prodigieux ſur l'ancienne géographie, traité à la verité avec un détail trop minutieux, et dont il n'y a peut-être que la Grece et l'Italie qui ſoient dignes. Un littérateur aime à connoître juſqu'aux plus petits recoins de ces pays célebres, où le moindre village eſt fameux dans l'hiſtoire ou dans la poëſie. C'eſt pour me preparer tout à la fois à mon voyage de l'Italie, et à mes études futures, que je fais cette lecture, comme j'avois fait celle de Nardini. Ces auteurs bien liés et bien médités, me tiendront lieu d'un commentaire perpétuel, et ſur quelque endroit de Rome ou d'Italie que je puiſſe tomber, je n'y ſerai plus étranger. J'ai lu aujourd'hui *Cluvier Ital. Antiq. L. i. C. i, ii, iii, iv, v, vi. p.* 1—46. Ces ſix chapitres ſont comme les préliminaires de ſa deſcription particulière. Il y traite des noms différens que l'Italie a portés, de ſes limites, de ſon étendue, et de ſa figure, du Mont Apennin qui la diviſe, du ſol, et du climat, des différens peuples qui l'habitoient, et des langues qu'ils parloient. Partout il cite ſes garants, il les laiſſe parler, et il ne paroît lui-même que de tems en tems, pour les mettre d'accord, pour les éclaircir, et pour les corriger. Je dois remarquer, pour ſa juſtification, que M. d'Anville l'accuſe un peu trop facilement d'avoir confondu le mille Romain avec le mille Italien moderne.

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nearly three. The whole deſign of that learned man would have extended to twenty-three volumes in folio. Had he lived a few years longer, he would perhaps have executed this vaſt undertaking. We ſhould then have had an immenſe repertory on the ſubject of ancient geography, treated indeed with a degree of circumſtantial minuteneſs, which no other countries perhaps deſerve but Greece and Italy. A man of letters is deſirous to know every corner of thoſe celebrated countries, the ſmalleſt villages of which are diſtinguiſhed in hiſtory or poetry. I begin to read Cluverius with the ſame views that I read Nardini, both to prepare me for my journey into Italy, and to aſſiſt me in my future ſtudies. Theſe two authors, ſtudied with care and reflexion, will ſerve me as a perpetual commentary; ſo that I ſhall not be a ſtranger in any part of Rome or Italy, to which my enquiries may lead me. I this day read Cluverius Ital. Antiq. L. i. C. i, ii, iii, iv, v, vi. p. 1—46. Theſe ſix chapters are preparatory to his particular deſcription. He examines in them the different names of Italy, its limits, extent, figure, Mount Appennine, which divides the country; its ſoil, climate, inhabitants, and languages. He every where cites his authorities in their own words, and ſpeaks only occaſionally himſelf, to reconcile, explain, or correct them. Mr. D'Anville accuſes him too haſtily of confounding the Roman mile with that of the modern Italians:

moderne *. Cluvier ne les confondoit point ; il ſavoit même que le dernier eſt plus grand. Il s'eſt expliqué très clairement la deſſus †. Je conviens que cette connoiſſance lui étoit aſſez inutile, puiſqu'il ignoroit le rapport précis de ces deux meſures itinéraires.

Octobre 14.]—J'ai lu *Cluvier Ital. Antiq. L. i. C. vii, viii, ix, x, xi. p.* 46—90. Il parcourt toutes les côtes de la Ligurie depuis *le Varus*, qui la ſeparoit des Gaules, juſqu'au fleuve *Macra*, qui la bornoit du côté de la Toſcane ; côtes ſtériles et eſcarpées, qui en refuſant tout à ſes habitans ne leur donnoient que la force et le courage. Il eſt ſingulier que ce peuple entreprenant n'ait jamais franchi l'Apennin pour s'établir dans cette belle plaine qui s'étend depuis ces montagnes juſqu'au Po ; et qu'il n'ait enfin du cette acquiſition qu'à un arrangement politique des Romains. L'article de *Pollentia* m'a amuſé. Stilicon y combattit l'armée des Goths. Les hiſtoriens Chrétiens nous repréſentent cette affaire comme une trahiſon indigne, qui ne valut aux Romains que la honte de l'avoir tentée ſans ſuccès. Claudien, au contraire, poëte payen, l'égale à la victoire de Marius ſur les Cimbres, et ne voit dans Stilicon qu'un héros qui a vengé ſa patrie, et qui a délivré l'Italie entière de la tyrannie des barbares.

Octobre

Cluverius does not confound them ; he knew that of modern Italy to be the longeſt of the two, and has explained himſelf very clearly on that ſubject †. This knowledge indeed was not of much uſe to him, ſince he was ignorant of the exact proportion which the one mile bore to the other.

October 14.]—I read Cluverius, L. i. C. vii, viii, ix, x, xi. p. 46—90. He travels along the coaſt of Liguria from the Varus, which ſeparated that diſtrict from Gaul, to the Macra, by which it was bounded on the ſide of Tuſcany. This coaſt is rocky and barren; and, by denying all other advantages to its inhabitants, tended to increaſe their ſtrength and courage. It is extraordinary that this enterpriſing people ſhould never have thought of croſſing the Apennines, in order to ſettle in the beautiful plain which lies between thoſe mountains and the Po: and that they ſhould have finally been indebted for this acquiſition to a political arrangement of the Romans. I was amuſed by the article Pollentia. There Stilico fought the army of the Goths. The Chriſtian writers repreſent this tranſaction as a ſcandalous piece of unſucceſsful treachery, from which nothing but ſhame accrued to the Romans. Claudian, on the contrary, a Pagan poet, conſiders Stilico's battle as equal to Marius's victory over the Cimbri, and extols the conqueror as a hero who avenged the cauſe of his country, and delivered all Italy from the tyranny of barbarians.

* D'Anville Meſures Itinéraires, p. 7, 8.

† Cluvier Ital. Antiq. L. i. C. iii. p. 25.

Octobre 16.]—J'ai lu *Cluvier Ital. Antiq. L. i. C. xii, xiii, xiv. p.* 90—102. On y voit la politique d'Auguſte, qui dans toutes les affaires préféroit aux voyes de violence, les moyens doux et lents. Jules Céſar avoit ſubjugué les Gaules, mais ſa conquête étoit bien précaire, pendant que les Alpes étoient remplies des nations féroces, qui étoient maîtreſſes de tous les paſſages. Auguſte fut obligé d'en réduire une partie par les armes, mais il engagea Cottius, qui regnoit dans les montagnes du même nom, de civiliſer ſes ſujets, de reçevoir une garniſon Romaine, et d'ouvrir lui-même les communications. Le détail de cette négociation ſeroit curieux. Je penſe qu'Auguſte ſut éblouir Cottius en lui prodiguant de vains honneurs, au point de lui faire oublier qu'il perdoit ſon pouvoir et ſon indépendance. C'étoit au moins le ſtyle de la politique de ce prince.

17.]—J'ai lu *Cluvier Ital. Antiq. L. i. C. xv, xvi, xvii. p.* 102—133. L'article des *Rhæti* et des *Euganei*, eſt un peu embrouillé. Vérone étoit une colonie Rhetienne. La choſe eſt poſſible. Mais depuis long tems ſes habitans, devenus Gaulois, regardoient *Brixia* comme leur métropole. Vérone auroit été bien mieux placée parmi les *Cenomani*; et les *Rhæti* auroient du être relégués dans leurs montagnes, comme ils y étoient en effet. Encore en traitant de ces montagnes par rapport à l'Italie, j'aurois averti que je

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October 16.]—I read Cluverius Ital. Antiq. L. i. C. xii, xiii, xiv. p. 90—102. He ſets before us the policy of Auguſtus, who in all his tranſactions preferred ſlow and gentle meaſures. Julius Cæſar had ſubdued the Gauls, but his conqueſt was precarious while the Alps were peopled by fierce nations, who commanded all the paſſes. Auguſtus was under the neceſſity of reducing ſome of them by arms; but he perſuaded Cottius, who reigned over the mountains which bore his name, to civilize his ſubjects, to receive a Roman garriſon, and to open the roads through his country. It would be curious to know the circumſtances of the negociation. I imagine that Auguſtus ſo much flattered Cottius with empty honours, as to make him forget that he was ſurrendering his independence and power. This at leaſt would have been in the uſual ſtyle of his policy.

17.]—I read Cluverius Ital. Antiq. L. i. C. xv, xvi, xvii. p. 102—133. The article of the Rhæti and the Euganei is ſomewhat puzzling. Verona was a Rhætian colony. The thing is poſſible; but for a long time its inhabitants, aſſuming the character of Gauls, conſidered Brixia as their mother country. Verona would have been placed more naturally among the Cenomani; and the Rhæti ought to have been confined to their native mountains, as they were in fact. In treating of theſe mountains as connected with Italy, I would alſo have taken notice that my obſervations related to

je ne traitois que d'une partie de la nation. Cette petite remarque auroit répandu une grande clarté ſur toute cette deſcription.

Octobre 18.]—J'ai lu *Cluvier Ital. Antiq. L. i. C. xviii. p.* 133—169. L'auteur parcourt toute la province dite *Venetia.* Padoue et ſa fameuſe fontaine *Apona,* l'arrêtent aſſez long tems. A l'occaſion du *Portus Venetus,* auprès d'*Altinum,* à l'endroit où eſt Veniſe, il s'étend aſſez ſur l'époque de ſa fondation ; et c'eſt avec beaucoup de vraiſemblance, qu'il lui ôte une centaine d'années, puiſque du tems de Théodoric et de Caſſiodore, on ne voyoit encore dans ces iſles que quelques cabanes de pêcheurs. C'eſt plutôt la fureur des Lombards que celle des Huns, qui a forcé les peuples voiſins à s'y réfugier. La ſociété politique qu'ils y ont formée, a du pendant long tems être foible et dépendante, l'objet de la pitié, ou du mépris des princes voiſins, et ſurtout de conquérans. Sans avoir approfondi ce ſujet, la raiſon m'engage à croire, que la véritable liberté de Veniſe ne peut ſe dater que de la decadence de l'empire des François. Cet empire (pour le dire en paſſant) a contribué bien plus que les Croiſades, à faire confondre en Orient tous les peuples d'Occident ſous le nom générique de Francs ou de François. Je ne ſuis point ſurpris que les Mahométans n'ayent pas des idées plus exactes ſur notre

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to only one portion of the Rhætians. This remark would have contributed to the perſpicuity of the whole of the deſcription.

October 18.]—I read Cluverius Ital. Antiq. L. i. C. xviii. p. 133—169. The author conducts us through the province called Venetia. He dwells on Padua, and its famous fountain Apona. In ſpeaking of the Portus Venetus, near to Altinum, where Venice now ſtands, he treats at conſiderable length of the æra of its foundation, from which he cuts off a century with much probability ; ſince in the time of Theodoric and Caſſiodorus, the Venetian iſles contained nothing but huts of fiſhermen. The people on the neighbouring coaſt of Italy ſought refuge there, rather againſt the fury of the Lombards, than againſt that of the Huns. The community which theſe emigrants eſtabliſhed, muſt have long continued weak and dependant, an object of pity or contempt to neighbouring princes, eſpecially to conquerors. Without pretending to have deeply examined the ſubject, I am convinced that the liberty of Venice ought to be dated from the downfall of the empire of the Franks. This empire, we may obſerve, contributed far more than the Croiſades to make the Orientals extend the name of Franks or Frenchmen to all the nations of the Weſt. It is not ſurpriſing that the Mahommedans ſhould be ſo ignorant of the diſtinctions among the nations of

notre compte, quand je vois un empereur Grec *, qui donne le nom de France à cette province de *Venetia*, que Charlemagne avoit priſe avec le reſte de la Lombardie. L'erreur eſt même encore plus groſſière, puiſqu'en employant ce nom, il fait un anachroniſme de trois cens ans. Cluvier donne une autre interprétation aux paroles de Conſtantin, mais celle-ci me paroît la plus naturelle.

Octobre 19.]—J'ai lu *Cluvier Ital. Antiq. L. i. C. xix, xx. p.* 169—204. Il eſt queſtion des *Carni*. Auguſte les ajouta à la *Venetia*, et recula les bornes de l'Italie juſqu'à la rivière *d'Arſia:* il traite fort au long de la ville *d'Aquileia*, la première de la province, et la neuvième de l'empire entier. Très forte par ſa ſituation, et fortifiée à la manière des anciens, elle couvroit la frontière la plus expoſée de l'Italie contre les nations Illyriennes. Cette même ſituation entre les nations policées, et celles qui étoient encore barbares, devint dans la ſuite la ſource de ſa richeſſe par le commerce qu'elle faiſoit avec les unes et les autres. Si le commerce n'étoit que l'échange mutuel des productions de chaque pays, un peuple induſtrieux devoit ſouhaiter des voiſins auſſi induſtrieux que lui. Ce principe de mon ami M. de Mirabeau, eſt inconteſtable. Celui qui veut debiter une marchandiſe, cherche ceux qui ont des beſoins, et des moyens pour les ſatisfaire. L'un et l'autre ne

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Europe, when a Greek emperor * gives the name of France to the province of Venetia, which Charlemaigne conquered with the reſt of Lombardy. In uſing this name, the emperor's miſtake is ſtill more glaring; ſince he is guilty of an anachroniſm of three centuries. Cluverius indeed gives a different interpretation to Conſtantine's words; but the above meaning appears to me to be the moſt natural.

October 19.]—I read Cluverius Ital. Antiq. L. i. C. xix, xx. p. 169—204. He treats of the Carni. Auguſtus aſſigned this people to *Venetia*, and contracted the boundary of Italy within the river *Arſia*. He ſpeaks at length of Aquileia, the firſt city in the province, and the ninth in the whole empire. Its fortifications, built after the faſhion of the ancients, and its natural ſtrength, enabled it to cover the frontier of Italy moſt expoſed to invaſion from the Illyrians. Its intermediate ſituation between poliſhed and barbarous nations, became the ſource of opulence, acquired by its commerce with both. If traffic conſiſted merely in the mutual exchange of commodities, an induſtrious nation ought to wiſh for neighbours as induſtrious as itſelf. This principle of my friend Mr. Mirabeau appears to me incontrovertible. He who wiſhes to ſell his goods, ſeeks for thoſe who need, and can purchaſe them. Such purchaſers are

* Conſtantine Porphyrogenitus. V. Cluver. Italia Antiqua, L. i. C. xviii. p. 138.

ne peuvent ſe trouver que chez une nation riche et laborieuſe. Mais cet échange mutuel n'eſt qu'une partie d'un commerce actif et étendu. Celui qui rapporte le plus, conſiſte dans ces voyages, où des avanturiers hardis, mais entendus, vont chercher les productions d'un pays étranger, pour les porter aux peuples qui en ont beſoin. Mais dès qu'une nation eſt ſortie de cet état de barbarie abſolue, qui la rend inacceſſible aux étrangers, plus elle eſt groſſière, et mieux elle leur convient; puiſque àlors on ne peut acheter que les productions du pays dans ce premier état de nature, qui fait méconnoître leur valeur réelle, et qui laiſſe à ſes nouveaux propriétaires le ſoin et les avantages de les travailler. *Aquileia* jouiſſoit de pluſieurs circonſtances heureuſes par rapport à ſon commerce avec les barbares. 1. Il lui étoit aſſuré, non point par des conventions injuſtes et précaires, mais par les loix de la nature, et la ſituation des lieux. Il ſe faiſoit par terre à travers les Alpes Juliennes, et cette ville étoit la ſeule porte de ces montagnes. Padoue, ou Milan auroient eu des déſavantages infinis dans la concurrence. Il en eſt bien différemment du commerce de mer, qui eſt toujours ouvert à toutes les nations, qui ont l'hardieſſe et l'induſtrie de l'entreprendre. 2. Il étoit aiſé. Il ne faloit que charger les marchandiſes ſur des chariots, et les porter à *Nauportus*. Le chemin n'étoit que de cinquante milles, et le paſſage du Mont

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are only to be found in rich and induſtrious countries. But this mutual exchange is only one part of an extenſive and enterpriſing commerce. Another, ſtill more profitable, is carried on by bold and adventurous, but judicious mariners, who ſail in queſt of the productions of foreign countries, to carry them to the nations to whom they are objects of deſire: and when countries have emerged from that ſtate of barbariſm which renders them totally inacceſſible to ſtrangers, the more ignorant their inhabitants are, the profit of trading with them will be the greater; becauſe their articles of exportation will be ſold far below their real value, and in that rude ſtate of nature, which will leave the whole advantage of manufacturing them to their purchaſers. Aquileia was placed in moſt favourable circumſtances for carrying on traffic with barbarians. 1. This trade was ſecured not merely by unjuſt and precarious treaties, but by the laws of nature, and local ſituation. It was carried on by land acroſs the Julian Alps, the paſſage through which was naturally commanded by Aquileia. Padua and Milan would have had great diſadvantage in the competition. Maritime commerce is quite different, the ſea being always open to thoſe who have induſtry and boldneſs. 2. This trade was eaſy. The merchandize was conveyed on waggons to Nauportus, diſtant from Aquileia only fifty miles; and the paſſage by Mount Albius

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Mont *Albius* eſt le plus facile des Alpes. Des rivières navigables les voituroient de *Nauportus* juſques dans le Danube. 3. Ils devoient faire un grand profit ſur les eſclaves, qu'ils achetoient à très bon marché. Ils n'avoient couté que du ſang à leurs vainqueurs, et leur entretien auroit été inutile, diſpendieux, et dangereux. Mais pour les peuples policés, c'étoit une marchandiſe très précieuſe. L'Italie ſeule en demandoit des recrues conſtantes et nombreuſes pour le ſervice domeſtique, pour les jeux, et pour l'agriculture. Les eſclaves qui n'avoient que la vigueur du corps ſe debitoient bien ; mais lorſqu'ils montroient quelques diſpoſitions pour les arts ou les ſciences, on avoit ſoin de les cultiver ; et leur maître vendoit très cherement cette ame et ces talens qu'il n'avoit point achetés. Ce principe de perfectibilité, qui n'exiſte que dans l'homme, devenoit un effet très réel dans le négoce. On peut remarquer que ce commerce ne pouvoit ſe faire qu'avec une nation barbare. Les peuples civiliſés achetent des eſclaves, mais ils n'en font point. 4. Ceux d'*Aquileia* ne portoient aux barbares que des denrées de leur crû, l'huile et le vin ; l'entrée et la ſortie leur étoient ainſi également avantageuſes.

Octobre 20.]—J'ai lu *Cluver Ital. Antiq. L. i. C. xxi, xxii, xiii. p.* 204—237. Après avoir parti de l'Iſtrie où les fables Grecques cherchoient vainement une embouchure du Danube, Cluvier revient ſur ſes pas pour examiner

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was the eaſieſt in the Alps. It was then tranſported by navigable rivers from Nauportus to the Danube. 3. The merchants of Aquileia muſt have been great gainers by dealing in ſlaves, whom they purchaſed at a cheap rate. They had coſt nothing but blood to their barbarous maſters; to keep them in whoſe hands would have been not only uſeleſs, but expenſive and dangerous. But they were valuable articles of trade with poliſhed nations. Italy alone demanded a conſtant and large ſupply, for the purpoſes of domeſtic ſervice, the ſhows, and agriculture. Slaves who had only bodily ſtrength were ſure of ſelling well; but when they ſhewed any diſpoſition for the arts and ſciences, their new maſters were careful to cultivate it; and then ſold at a high price that mind and ingenuity which they had not purchaſed. That principle of improvement, which has place only in man, became a gainful object of commerce. The ſlave trade, it may be remarked, can be ſupported only by barbarians; for civiliſed nations purchaſe ſlaves, but do not produce them. 4. The merchants of Aquileia bought ſlaves with wine and oil, the produce of their country ; ſo that both the exports and imports were much in their favour.

October 20.]—I read Cluverius Ital. Antiq. L. i. C. xxi, xxii, xxiii. p. 204—337. After ſpeaking of Iſtria, where the Greek fables vainly placed the mouth of the Danube,

examiner la Gaule Cisalpine. Il commence par donner une idée générale du pays, et des colonies qui y passerent de la Gaule Celtique ; et ses premiers détails sont sur les *Lævi* et les *Libici*, qui habitoient les frontières du Piémont et du Milanois, et qui étoient dans la dépendance de la puissante nation des *Insubres*.

Je suis monté à la bibliothèque publique, dont mon ami Pavillard me confie la clêf, pour consulter quelques livres. 1. *Une Dissertation de M. Freret dans le vingt quatrième tome des Mémoires de l'Académie* ; où il étoit question du fameux passage de Pline sur l'enceinte de Rome. J'en ai lu l'explication, et je l'ai abregée. C'étoit par rapport à Nardini. 2. Ces Gaulois, dont je viens de parler, m'ont rendu curieux du sort de l'autre colonie qui s'est jettée en Allemagne dans le même tems. Pour cet effet j'ai consulté *Le Germania Antiqua de Cluvier*. 3. J'ai pareillement consulté *le Dictionnaire des Antiquités de Pitiscus*, par rapport à plusieurs passages de Juvénal. Les articles *Abella, Mandra, Bardaicus, Lectica, Carpentum, Rheda, Essedum*, et *Cisium*, m'ont utilement occupé. Celui de *Lectica* surtout me paroit très bien fait.

J'ai achevé *le vingt cinquième tome de la Bibliotheque Raisonnée*. Je ne l'avois pas negligé, mais on m'avoit fait attendre la suite. J'ai trouvé dans ce volume le *Quintilien de Gesner :* bonne édition d'un écrivain excellent. *Journal du Voyoge de M. le Légat Mezzabarba à la Chine,*

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nube, he returns backwards to examine Cisalpine Gaul. He begins by giving a general notion of the country, and the colonies which went from Celtic Gaul. The first particulars which he mentions relate to the Lævi and Libici, who inhabited the frontiers of Piedmont and the Milanese, and who depended on the powerful nation of the Insubres.

I went to the public library, of which my friend Pavillard had given me the key, to consult some books —1. A Dissertation, by Mr. Freret, treating of the famous passage in Pliny concerning the circuit of Rome. I read and abridged his explanation, with a view to Nardini. 2. The Gauls, whom I just mentioned, made me curious to know the fate of the other colony, which penetrated at the same time into Germany. For this purpose, I consulted Cluverius's Germania Antiqua. 3. I also consulted Pitiscus's Dictionary of Antiquities, for clearing up some difficulties in Juvenal. The articles Abella, Mandra, Bardaicus, Lectica, Carpentum, Rheda, Essedum, and Cisium, furnished me with agreeable occupation. That of Lectica is particularly well treated.

I finished the twenty-fifth volume of the *Bibliotheque Raisonnée*. I had not neglected that work, but was obliged to wait for the continuation. It contains *Quintilian, by Gesner:* a good edition of an excellent author.—*The Voyage of the Legate Mezzabarba*

Chine, par le Pere Viani. Il eſt queſtion de cette controverſe ridicule ſur les cérémoines Chinoiſes. Il paroît par cette relation que l'empereur s'eſt bien donné la comédie avec la ſimplicité du bon Légat, et les artifices des Jeſuites qu'il mépriſoit comme miſſionaires, quoiqu'il les eſtimât en qualité de gens de lettres. *Stricturæ Juris Romani, par Jenſius.* Cet auteur apporte des argumens très forts pour prouver que le code de Juſtinien a été compoſé en Grec, et que le texte Latin qui nous reſte n'en eſt qu'une verſion. *Anti Machiavel.* Rheinſberg et Potzdam inſpirent des idées très différentes; l'un a produit l'Anti Machiavel, l'autre *les Inſtructions Militaires.* Mais quand le roi de Pruſſe écrit un ouvrage ſur la juſtice et la clémence, il convenoit que Voltaire le publiât à ſes dépens. *L'Hiſtoire du Dannemarck, par Cragius; le premier Extrait.* Il ne contient que la vie de l'auteur, qui a veçu à la fin du ſeizième ſiècle. *Corpus Juris Germanici:* ouvrage publié ſous les yeux de M. Heineccius. Il forme un recueil des loix des anciens peuples de l'Allemagne auſſi intéreſſant pour la philoſophie, qu'il l'eſt pour la juriſprudence. M. Heineccius, dans une ſavante préface, prouve très bien que les Francs firent les fameuſes loix Saliques, dans le tems qu'ils étoient encore payens, et établis dans la Franconie, peu de tems avant l'élection de leur premier roi, en un mot vers l'an 400; qu'ils les rédigerent en Latin, comme elles

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to China, by Father Viani. It treats of the idle controverſy reſpecting the Chineſe ceremonies. It appears from the narrative that the emperor had diverted himſelf at the expence of the good legate, and with the intrigues of the Jeſuits, whom he deſpiſed as miſſionaries, though he eſteemed them as men of letters.—*Stricturæ Juris Romani, a Jenſio.* This writer alleges ſtrong arguments for proving that Juſtinian's Code was written in Greek, and that the Latin text, which has come down to us, is only a tranſlation.—*Anti Machiavel.* Reinſberg and Potzdam inſpire very different ideas; the one produced the Anti Machiavel, and the other, the Military Inſtructions. When the king of Pruſſia compoſed a work on juſtice and clemency, it was fit that Voltaire ſhould be at the expence of publiſhing it.—The Hiſtory of Denmark, by Cragius; firſt Extract. It contains only the author's life, who flouriſhed towards the end of the ſixteenth century.—*Corpus Juris Germanici:* a work publiſhed under the eyes of Heineccius, containing a collection of the laws of the ancient nations of Germany, equally intereſting to the philoſopher and the lawyer. Mr. Heineccius, in a learned preface, proves clearly, that the Franks made the famous Salic laws, when they were yet Pagans, and ſtill remained in Franconia, a little before the election of their firſt king; in one word, towards the year 400; and that they wrote them in

elles ſont à préſent, mais que les rois Chretiens y firent quelques changemens.

Octobre 21.]—J'ai lu *Cluvier Ital. Antiq. L. i. C. xxiv, xxv, xxvi, xxvii.* Les *Inſubres*, les *Orobii*, les *Cenomani*, et les *Ananes* ou *Anamani*. Une choſe qui prouve que la différence des noms n'implique pas toujours celle des nations, et que cette dernière différence eſt ſouvent plutôt politique que phyſique; c'eſt que des noms de neuf peuples Gaulois établis en Italie, on n'en retrouve que quatre dans leur ancienne patrie; et que les *Boii*, à peine connus dans les Gaules, formoient en Germanie et en Italie la plus nombreuſe et la plus formidable de toutes ces colonies. J'ai compté les *Inſubres* parmi les Gaulois ſur l'autorité de tous les anciens. J'ai vu avec ſurpriſe que M. Freret les range parmi les *Ombri*; Polybe les appelle toujours *Iſombri*, et ce mot en Celtique ſignifie les *Bas Ombri* *. Mais ce même Polybe convient qu'ils étoient Gaulois ‡; et quand il n'en conviendroit pas, ſon autorité très grande d'ailleurs, ne l'emporteroit pas ici ſur les voix réunies de l'antiquité. L'exactitude et la bonne foi brillent dans ſes ouvrages. Il étoit militaire, politique, et philoſophe; mais je doute qu'il fût bon grammairien ou antiquaire profond.

* V. Origine des Peuples d'Italie, dans le dix huitième tome de l'Hiſtoire de l'Academie des Belles Lettres.

Octobre

Latin, as they ſtill remain, except that the firſt Chriſtian kings made ſome alterations.

October 21.]— I read Cluverius Ital. Antiq. L. i. C. xxiv, xxv, xxvi, xxvii. He treats of the Inſubres, Orobii, Cenomani, Ananes or Anamani. The difference of names does not always infer that of nations; and this laſt difference is often grounded on political rather than phyſical reaſons; for of the nine Gallic nations eſtabliſhed in Italy, the names of four only are to be found in their native country; and the Boii, ſcarcely known in Gaul, formed both in Germany and in Italy the moſt numerous and formidable of all the Gallic colonies. I reckoned the Inſubres among the Gauls, on the authority of all the ancients; but was ſurpriſed to ſee Mr. Freret claſſing them with the Ombri. Polybius indeed calls them Iſombri, which in Celtic ſignifies the Lower Ombri †. But Polybius acknowledges them for Gauls ‡; and even did he maintain the contrary, his authority, great as it is, ought not to prevail over the united teſtimony of antiquity. Accuracy and probity ſhine in his writings. He was a ſoldier, a ſtateſman, and a philoſopher: but I doubt whether he was a good grammarian, or a profound antiquary.

† See The Origin of the Nations of Italy, in the eighteenth volume of the Hiſtory of the Academy of Belles Lettres.

‡ Polybe, L. ii. apud Cluver. Ital. Antiq. L. i. C. xxii. p. 228, 229.

Octobre 22.]—Avant que de renvoyer Nardini que la bibliotheque de Geneve me redemandoit, je l'ai repaſsé avec ſoin ce matin, tachant d'imprimer toutes les idées principales dans ma mémoire. L'infirmité humaine enlaiſſe toujours échapper une partie, mais je vois avec plaiſir qu'il m'en reſte, et qu'il m'en reſtera beaucoup.

J'ai lu *Cluvier Ital. Antiq. L. i. C. xxviii, xxix. p.* 271—316. C'étoit fort bien.. Comme j'ai paſsé le jour dehors, je n'ai eu que la ſoirée, et l'après ſouper pour ce travail. Ces deux chapitres comprennent le reſte de la Gaule Ciſpadane. Les *Boii*, les *Lingones*, et les *Senones* habitoient les Duchés de Parme, de Modene, de Ferrare, d'Urbin, le Bolognois, et la Romagne. Les Gaulois s'étendoient alors juſqu'à l'*Æſis*, qui les ſéparoit de l'Italie. Mais bientot les Romains exterminerent la nation des *Senones*, ajouterent ſon pays à l'Umbrie, et établirent le Rubicon pour la frontière de l'Italie. Convaincus que des nations Gauloiſes en deça du Po, leur ſéroient toujours redoutables, ils obligerent encore les *Boii* à quitter leur pays. Ils refondirent en un mot toute cette province, qu'ils remplirent de places fortes, et de colonies Romaines; politique néceſſaire, mais ruineuſe; ils dépeuplerent le pays pour le conſerver; quelques villes fondées par les vainqueurs, remplacoient bien mal ces tribus nombreuſes de barbares répandus dans

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October 22.—Before returning Nardini, which was wanted for the public library of Geneva, I this morning again went over it carefully, endeavouring to impreſs its principal contents on my memory. Human infirmity always loſes a part; but I ſee with pleaſure that much remains, and will continue to remain, with me.

I read Cluverius Ital. Antiq. L. i. C. xxviii, xxix. p. 271—316. This was a good deal, conſidering that I ſpent the day abroad, and had only the evening, before and after ſupper, for ſtudy. Theſe two chapters compriſe the reſt of Ciſpadane Gaul. The Boii, Lingones, and Senones, inhabited the dutchies of Parma and Modena, of Ferrara and Urbino; as well as the particular diſtricts of the Romagna and Bologneſe. The Gauls therefore extended to the river Æſis, which ſeparated them from Italy. But ſpeedily the Romans expelled the Senones, and added their country to Umbria, eſtabliſhing the Rubicon for the boundary of Italy. As they were perſuaded that the Gallic nations on their ſide of the Po could always be formidable neighbours, they compelled the Boii to quit their country. They new-modelled, in fine, the whole province, which they filled with Roman fortreſſes; a neceſſary but ruinous policy, which, in order to preſerve the dominion of countries, rendered them deſolate; for a few cities, built and peopled by the conquerors, ill compenſated for the loſs of the numerous tribes of barbarians formerly inhabiting the plains, foreſts, and mountains. This province was croſſed

dans les campagnes, dans les forêts, et dans les montagnes. Le chemin d'*Emilius* traverſoit la province de *Pollentia* à *Ariminum*; on y rencontroit un grand nombre de villes floriſſantes. Mais dèſqu'on quittoit cette ligne, on ne trouvoit que des déſerts. Tout étoit l'ouvrage de l'art et de l'oſtentation. Dans les derniers tems de la république, cette province fut le théâtre de pluſieurs évenements intéreſſans. 1. La campagne de Modene entre Marc Antoine et les Conſuls. 2. L'entrevue des Triumvirs dans la petite île du *Renus*, auprès de Bologne. 3. Le paſſage du Rubicon par Jules Céſar. Les lieux ſont très bien déſignés par Cluvier, et chaque circonſtance fixée à ſon endroit propre. Le paſſage du Rubicon fourniroit matière à un bon commentaire politique et militaire. Céſar avoit toujours fait de Lucques ſon quartier d'hyver, quand il ne vouloit que voir ſes amis plus commodement, et ſe rapprocher de Rome ſans ſortir de ſa province. Mais à la veille d'une guerre, il s'établit à Ravenne. Tachons de deviner ſes motifs. 1. Il vouloit s'emparer du *Picenum*, pays riche et bien peuplé, et arracher ainſi à ſon rival une province qui étoit entiérement devouée à la famille de Pompée, et d'où ce général auroit pu en effet faire ſortir les légions, en frappant du pied. 2. Il vouloit tourner la capitale. S'il avoit marché droit à Rome, Pompée ſe ſeroit emparé des paſſages difficiles; il auroit arreté ſa marche, et

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croſſed by the Emilian road from Pollentia to Ariminum, which on both ſides ſhewed many flouriſhing towns. But at a little diſtance from the road nothing was to be ſeen but deſerts: the reſt was the work of artifice and oſtentation. In the latter times of the republic, the tranſpadane region was the ſcene of many important tranſactions. 1. The war of Modena, between Mark Antony and the Conſuls. 2. The interview of the Triumvirs in the little iſland of Renus, near Bologna. 3. The paſſage of the Rubicon by Julius Cæſar. The events and places are well aſcertained by Cluverius. The paſſage of the Rubicon might be the ſubject of a good political and military commentary. Cæſar had always fixed his winter quarters at Lucca, when he wiſhed only to communicate more eaſily with his friends at Rome, without leaving his province. But at the approach of war, he eſtabliſhed his quarters at Ravenna. Let us endeavour to explain his motives for this alteration. 1. He wiſhed to get poſſeſſion of Picenum, a rich and populous country, and thus deprive Pompey of the reſources which he might have found in a province extremely devoted to his family, and from which that general might have made legions ſpring up merely by ſtriking the ground with his foot. 2. He wiſhed to turn the capital with his army. Had he attempted to march ſtraight to Rome, Pompey would have made himſelf maſter of the difficult

et l'Italie ſeroit devenue le théâtre de la guerre. Mais en ſe portant ſur *Ariminum*, *Aſculum*, *Corfinium*, et *Sulme*, il paroiſſoit couper la rétraite à ſes ennemis, et il leur inſpira une telle épouvante par cette conduite aſſurée, qu'ils ne ſe crurent en ſûreté qu'en ſe ſauvant avec précipitation à *Brunduſium*. 3. Il vouloit s'aſſurer d'*Ariminum*. Cette place importante étoit éloignée du *Rubicon* de dix huit milles ſur la voye Emilienne, et de onze milles ſeulement ſur le chemin de Ravenne. Céſar pouvoit pouſſer des corps de troupes juſqu'à cette rivière ſous vingt prétextes différens, mais dès l'inſtant qu'il la paſſoit, il levoit le maſque, et il n'étoit plus queſtion que de s'aſſurer d'*Ariminum* par une marche forcée, et par un coup de main. Dans une pareille entrepriſe, il n'eſt pas néceſſaire d'être Céſar pour ſentir de quelle importance étoit cette différence de ſept milles ou de deux heures de marche.

Octobre 23.]—J'ai lu *Cluvier Ital. Antiq. L. i. C. xxx, xxxi, xxxii: p.* 316—355; qui contiennent une deſcription géographique des Alpes en général, de leurs différentes parties, les Alpes maritimes, Cottiennes, Grecques, Pennines, Rhetiques, Tridentines, Noriques, Carniques, Juliennes, et Pannoniques, et de quelques montagnes en particulier, telles que *Veſulus*, *Matrona*, *Adula*, et *Ocra*.

J'ai

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paſſes, and ſtopped his progreſs; and Italy would have become the theatre of war. But by marching towards Ariminum, Aſculum, Corſinium, and Sulma, he made it ſeem to be his deſign to cut off the retreat of his enemies; and his boldneſs threw them into ſuch conſternation, that they haſtened to embark at Branduzium. 3. He wiſhed to make ſure of Ariminum. This important place was diſtant from the Rubicon eighteen miles by the Emilian road, and only eleven by that of Ravenna. Cæſar could ſend forward bodies of troops to the river under twenty different pretences, but the moment he paſſed it, his deſigns were unmaſked. Ariminum, therefore, was to be ſurprized by a forced march; and it is not neceſſary to be Cæſar, to perceive how much that enterpriſe might be facilitated by diminiſhing the diſtance by ſeven miles, or a march of two hours.

October 23.]—I read Cluverius Ital. Antiq. L. i. C. xxx, xxxi, xxxii. p. 316—355; which contains a general deſcription of the Alps, as well as of their particular branches, diſtinguiſhed by the epithets, Maritime, Cottian, Greek, Pennine, Rhetian, Tridentine, Noric, Carnic, Julian, Pannonian; and alſo a deſcription of ſome particular mountains, as Veſulus, Matrona, Adula, and Ocra.

J'ai achevé *le vingt ſixième tome de la Bibliotheque Raiſonnée.—Harangues de Lyſias, par le Docteur Taylor :* belle et bonne édition d'un orateur aſſez languiſſant. La harangue qu'on a inſerée en entier, donne une idée fort exacte de l'économie domeſtique d'un ménage Athénien.—*Hiſtoire de la Poëſie Françoiſe, par l'Abbé Maſſieu.* L'ouvrage eſt imparfait ; mais on y reconnoit le goût et l'aménité de ſon auteur. On parle des vers de l'empereur Adrien à ſon ame, et de ceux de la Princeſſe Marguerite avant ſon naufrage ; mais ceux que compoſa Villon, après ſon arrêt de mort, et d'une mort infame, ſont bien plus extraordinaires.—*Théologie de l'Eau, par M. Fabricius :* bonne compilation philoſophique.—*Dialogues de Corteſi ſur les Savans de l'Italie, après le Rétabliſſement des Lettres.* Corteſi avoit de l'eſprit, mais il étoit Ciceronien outré et ridicule *.—*Lettres ſur Rouſſeau et Saurin.* Ce ſont deux lettres indépendantes ; celle-ci eſt de l'Abbé d'Olivet ; celle-la d'un Lauſannois anonyme. La dernier veut ſeulement attaquer Saurin, mais l'Abbé d'Olivet prend la défenſe de Rouſſeau. Que ce procès interminable a fait de bruit !—*Hiſtoire du Dannemarck, par Cragius ; deuxième Extrait.* Murſius n'avoit pas mal profité du MS. de Cragius.

Octobre 24.]—J'ai fin le premier livre de *Cluvier, C. xxxiii, xxxiv. p.* 355—418. Il y traite des paſſages des Alpes et des premiers qui les ont frayés ;

I read the ſixteenth volume of the *Bibliotheque Raiſonnée.* It contains *the Orations of Lyſias, by Doctor Taylor :* a good and beautiful edition of a languid orator. The oration, which is inſerted entire, gives a very accurate idea of the œconomy of an Athenian family.—*The Hiſtory of French Poetry, by the Abbé Maſſieu.* The work is imperfect ; but it ſufficiently indicates the taſte and amenity of its author. He ſpeaks of the verſes of the Emperor Adrian to his ſoul, and of thoſe made by the Princeſs Margaret before her ſhipwreck ; but thoſe of Villon, after his condemnation to an infamous death, are ſtill more extraordinary.—*The Theology of Water, by Mr. Fabricius :* a good philoſophical compoſition.—*Corteſi's Dialogues on the learned Men of Italy, after the Revival of Letters.* Corteſi had talents ; but he is liable to all the ridicule of a hyperbolical Ciceronian.—*Letters on Rouſſeau and Saurin.* Theſe letters are unconnected : the firſt is by the Abbe d'Olivet ; the ſecond by an anonymous writer of Lauſanne. This writer only attacks Saurin ; but the Abbé undertakes to defend Rouſſeau. To how many pleadings has this endleſs proceſs given birth !—*Hiſtory of Denmark, by Cragius* ; ſecond Extract. Meurſius much availed himſelf of Cragius's manuſcript.

October 24.]—I finiſhed the firſt book of Cluverius, C. xxxiii, xxxiv. p. 355—418. He treats of the paſſages of the Alps, and of the firſt who croſſed them ; Hercules,

frayés ; d'Hercule, des Gaulois, d'Annibal, d'Aſdrubal, et de Pompée. La diſcuſſion de la marche d'Annibal, et de la route que prit ce général pour entrer en Italie, eſt ſavante et curieuſe. Après avoir lu et médité avec attention ce qu'on dit de plus intéreſſant la deſſus, voici les idées principales que je m'en ſuis formé. 1. Si l'on ne cherche qu'à compiler des paſſages, on peut entaſſer toutes les autorités de l'antiquité et du moyen age, et couvrir ainſi par une richeſſe apparente une pauvreté réelle. Mais ſi l'on veut éplucher toutes ces autorités par les regles d'une ſaine critique, on trouvera que de tous ces auteurs, il n'y en a que deux, que l'on puiſſe qualifier d'originaux, et que tous les autres n'ont fait que les copier. Ces deux auteurs ce ſont Tite Live et Polybe. S'ils étoient d'accord, nous n'aurions plus qu'à les étudier et à les ſuivre. Malheureuſement ce parti n'eſt pas poſſible; leurs ſentimens ſont différens : il faut opter. Le premier fait traverſer à Annibal les Alpes Cottiennes, c'eſt proprement le Mont Geneve auprès de Turin, pour le faire entrer par ces paſſages dans le pays des *Taurini*, ou la plaine du Piemont. Le dernier le mene par le *Summus Penninus*, ou le Grand St. Bernard, dans le pays des *Salaſſi*, ou le *Val d'Aouſte*. 2. Il faut donc opter. Pour le faire d'un manière judicieuſe, il faut peſer les caractères de ces deux écrivains, et la nature de leur témoignage. Perſonne n'admire

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cules, the Gauls, Hannibal, Haſdrubal, and Pompey. The diſcuſſion concerning Hannibal's march, and the road which he followed into Italy, is learned and curious. The following is the reſult of my reading and careful reflexion on the ſubject. 1. By heaping together paſſages, and collecting all the authorities furniſhed by antiquity and the middle ages, it is eaſy to conceal our real poverty under the oſtentation of riches; but when theſe authorities are weighed in the balance of ſound criticiſm, we ſhall find but two authors deſerving the name of originals, who have been ſervilely copied by all their followers. Theſe two are Livy and Polybius. Did their accounts correſpond, nothing would remain but to ſtudy and follow them; but unfortunately their ſentiments are ſo different, that this is impoſſible, and we muſt make an option. Livy carries Hannibal over the Cottian Alps, properly Mount Genevre, near Turin, and makes him deſcend by this paſſage into the country of the Taurini, now the plain of Piedmont. Polybius leads him by the *Summus Penninus*, or Great St. Bernard, in the country of the Salaſſi, now the valley of Aouſt. 2. To decide judiciouſly between theſe oppoſite authorities, we muſt weigh the character of the witneſſes, and conſider the nature of their teſtimony. Nobody admires more than I do, the hiſtorical merit of Livy, the majeſtic flow of his narrative; in which events follow each other

n'admire plus que moi les talens hiſtoriques de Tite Live ; la marche majeſtueuſe de ſa narration, qui fait ſuccéder les évenemens les uns aux autres rapidement, mais ſans confuſion, et ſans précipitation ; et l'énergie égale et ſoutenue de ſon ſtyle, qui arrache ſes lecteurs de leurs cabinets pour les placer ſur le théâtre. Mais il faut écarter ici l'orateur, pour ne voir que le témoin. Je n'apperçois plus qu'un homme de lettres, nourri dans la pouſſière de l'école, peu inſtruit de l'art militaire, negligent ſur la géographie, et qui a véçu deux cens ans après Annibal. Je ſens même dans tout ce récit que Tite Live a voulu plutôt plaire à l'imagination par une fable romaneſque, que ſatisfaire à l'eſprit par une hiſtoire vraie et judicieuſe. Le Dieu qui apparut au général Carthaginois *, ces montagnes inacceſſibles à tout autre qu'à lui, le vinaigre avec lequel il fendit les rochers †; tous ces faits ſont racontés ſans critique et ſans défiance. C'eſt Homere que nous liſons, et c'eſt Achille dont nous ſuivons les exploits. Dans Polybe, tout eſt raiſonné, tout eſt ſimple et ſans parure ; une juſteſſe d'eſprit peu commune dans ſon ſiecle et dans ſon pays, réunie avec une ſéchereſſe d'imagination qui y étoit encore plus rare, lui faiſoit facilement préférer le vrai qu'il connoiſſoit à fonds, aux agrémens qu'il mépriſoit peut être encore plus, parcequ'il en étoit incapable. Il avoit examiné lui même tout le pays entre l'Ebre et le Po, et il l'avoit examiné avec des yeux attentifs et éclairés. Il pouvoit y recueillir tous les veſtiges

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other with rapidity, yet without hurry or confuſion ; and the continual beauty and energy of his ſtyle, which tranſports his readers from their cloſets to the ſcene of action. But here we have to do, not with the orator, but with the witneſs. Conſidered in this view, Livy appears merely as a man of letters covered with the duſt of his library, little acquainted with the art of war, careleſs in point of geography, and who lived two centuries after Hannibal's expedition. In the whole of his recital, we may perceive rather a romantic picture, calculated to pleaſe the fancy, than a faithful and judicious hiſtory, capable of ſatisfying the underſtanding. The god who appeared to the Carthaginian general *, the mountains acceſſible to him alone, the vinegar with which he ſplit the rocks †, are fables which Livy relates without criticiſm as without ſuſpicion. We ſeem to read Homer deſcribing the exploits of Achilles. In Polybius, on the other hand, we meet with nothing but unadorned ſimplicity and plain reaſon. A juſtneſs of thinking rare in his age and country, united with a ſterility of fancy ſtill more rare, made him prefer the truth, which he thoroughly knew, to ornaments which he was perhaps the more inclined to deſpiſe, becauſe he felt himſelf incapable of attaining them. He had examined, attentively and ſkilfully, with his own eyes,

* Tit. Liv. xxi. 22. † Id. ibid. 37.

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veſtiges précieux d'une tradition que ſoixante ans n'avoient pas encore effacés ; il pouvoit s'entretenir avec des vieillards du pays qui s'étoient oppoſé dans leur jeuneſſe au paſſage d'Annibal ; ou qui avoient combattu ſous ſes drapeaux. Il avoit entrepris ce voyage difficile dans le deſſein même de s'inſtruire ſur les lieux, et d'oppoſer à toutes les fables qui inondoient déja le public, une hiſtoire vraie et ſimple de cette fameuſe expédition des Carthaginois *. L'ouvrage qu'il nous a laiſſé, eſt le fruit de ce deſſein. Pour achever ce paralléle, je n'ai plus qu'une obſervation à ajouter. Il eſt auſſi difficile de concilier Tite Live avec lui même qu'avec ſon antagoniſte. Les contradictions et les obſcurités qu'il a ſémées dans ſon recit, embarraſſent les plus habiles géographes †. Tout eſt clair, tout eſt lié dans le narré de Polybe. La vallée, qui eſt partagée par le cours du Rhône, determine le pays dont Annibal s'approcha pour entrer dans les Alpes ; le territoire des *Inſubres* ſe préſenta à ce général à ſa ſortie des montagnes ‡. L'une et l'autre circonſtance conviennent parfaitement au paſſage du Grand St. Bernard. 3. Tite Live ſous l'empire d'Auguſte n'a pu parler des évenemens de la ſeconde guerre Punique, que ſur des autorités plus anciennes que lui. Un paſſage de cet hiſtorien nous découvre les garans qu'il a eu pour les détails de

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the country between the Po and the Ebro: where he might collect the precious remains of tradition which the period of ſixty years had not been able to efface; and where he might converſe with ſome of the old men of the country, who had in their youth either reſiſted Hannibal's invaſion, or followed his ſtandard. His journey to thoſe parts was undertaken with the expreſs purpoſe of gaining information in the country itſelf, and of ſubſtituting, inſtead of the fables which already overflowed the public, a plain and authentic hiſtory of this famous expedition of the Carthaginians *. The work which has come down to us, is the fruit of this deſign. To finiſh the parallel, I muſt add that Livy's narrative cannot be reconciled with itſelf any more than with that of Polybius. His obſcurities and contradictions baffle the ableſt geographers †; whereas the account of Polybius is clear and well connected. The valley, being divided by the Rhone, aſcertains the country through which Hannibal made his approach to the Alps; from which he emerged into the territory of the Inſubres ‡. Both theſe circumſtances clearly indicate the paſſage of the great St. Bernard. 3. Livy, in the Auguſtan age, could not deſcribe the events of the ſecond Punic war but from ancient authorities. A paſſage in this hiſtorian informs us who was his voucher for the par-

* Polyb. Hiſt. L. iii. Cluver Ital. Antiq. L. i. C. xxxiii. p. 363.
† Cluver. L. i. C. xxxiii. p. 370—375.
‡ Polyb. Hiſt. L. iii. Cluver, L. i. p. 365.

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de la marche d'Annibal. C'eſt Annibal lui-même. Cette autorité ne l'emporte-t-elle pas ſur celle de Polybe ? ou plutôt, que peut on oppoſer au témoignage d'un général qui rend compte des pays qu'il a parcourus ? Je vais développer ce fait intéreſſant. Ce détail curieux en lui-même, répandra un grand jour ſur toute cette queſtion. L. Cintius Alimintus, un des plus anciens annaliſtes de la république, avoit été fait priſonnier dans la ſeconde guerre Punique. Sa priſon le mit à portée d'entendre une converſation d'Annibal, où ce général avoua, que depuis ſon paſſage du Rhône, juſqu'à ſa deſcente en Italie, dans la pays des *Taurini*, il avoit perdu trente ſix mille hommes, et un grand nombre de chevaux *. Cette converſation, que Cintius avoit conſervée dans ſon hiſtoire, a fait pencher la balance, et a déterminé Tite Live à rejetter le ſyſtême reçu, qui conduiſoit Annibal en Italie par le pays de *Salaſſi*, et non par celui des *Taurini*. Voici les paroles de l'original : *Ex ipſo autem audiſſe Hannibale, poſtquam Rhodanum tranſierit, triginta ſex millia hominum, ingentemque numerum equorum, et aliorum jumentorum amiſiſſe in Taurinis, quæ Gallis proxima gens eſt, in Italiam digreſſo.* Avant que de voir ſi cette converſation eſt auſſi déciſive qu'elle le paroît au premier coup d'œil, je pourrois demander ſi elle eſt bien conſtatée.

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ticulars of Hannibal's march. It was Hannibal himſelf. Is not this authority better than that of Polybius ? or rather, what can be ſaid in oppoſition to the teſtimony of a general giving an account of the country through which he paſſed ? This intereſting circumſtance deſerves to be explained, and the explanation, curious in itſelf, will throw much light on the whole queſtion. L. Cintius Alimintus, one of the moſt ancient annaliſts of the republic, was taken priſoner in the ſecond Punic war. His captivity gave him an opportunity of one night hearing the converſation of Hannibal, in which that general confeſſed, that from the time when he paſſed the Rhone, to that of his entering the country of the Taurini in Italy, he had loſt 36,000 men, and a great number of horſes *. This converſation, which was preſerved by Cintius in his hiſtory, was ſufficient to turn the balance, and to make Livy reject the received account, which brought Hannibal into Italy by the country of the Salaſſi, and not that of the Taurini. The following are the words of the original : *Ex ipſo autem audiſſe Hannibale, poſtquam Rhodanum tranſierit, triginta ſex millia hominum, ingentemque numerum equorum, et aliorum jumentorum amiſiſſe in Taurinis, quæ Gallis proxima gens eſt, in Italiam digreſſo.* Before examining whether this converſation be as deciſive as it at firſt ſight appears, it may be aſked whether it actually took place. Vanity is ſo

* Tit. Liv. xxi. 38.

ſtatée. La vanité eſt un ſi grand principe, et l'idée d'avoir puiſé ſon information de la bouche d'un héros, et d'un héros ennemi, eſt ſi ſéduiſante, que cet Annibal a pu n'être qu'un ſoldat aſſez mal inſtruit du camp des Carthaginois. Je conviens cependant de bonne foi, que la ſimple poſſibilité ne ſuffit point, pour autoriſer ce ſoupçon, ſans y pouvoir ajouter des connoiſſances, dont nous ſommes privés, celles du caractère perſonel de Cintius, du jugement que ſes contemporains ont porté de ſon hiſtoire, et s'il la publia du vivant d'Annibal, ou après ſa mort. Je renonce donc entierement à ce ſoupçon; je ſuppoſe la verité de cette converſation, et je me bornerai à quelques obſervations la deſſus. 1. Y auroit il de la témérité à récuſer l'autorité d'Annibal, et à lui préférer celle de Polybe ? Un géographe étudie un pays dans les ſignes et les noms arbitraires que les hommes lui ont impoſé. Un général l'étudie en lui-même. Il ſe place ſur une hauteur pour embraſſer une grande étendue; il monte à cheval pour en parcourir le détail; il s'informe des gens du pays, des circonſtances qu'il ne peut pas connoître par lui-même. Dès qu'il a acquis cette ſcience réelle des lieux, celle des noms n'eſt preſqu'un objet de curioſité. C'eſt ſurtout dans un pays barbare, que le petit nombre de ces noms, qui s'eſt placé par haſard dans ſa mémoire, s'efface bientot de ſon eſprit. Ses occupations ſe ſuccedent avec rapidité, et ſes anciennes idées s'affoibliſſent inſenſiblement, pour faire place à celles qui ſont plus importantes,

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ſtrong a principle, and the notion of deriving our intelligence from the mouth of a hero, and an enemy, is ſo flattering to the mind, that this Hannibal perhaps was no other than ſome very ill-informed ſoldier belonging to the Carthaginian camp. I acknowledge, however, that bare poſſibility is not ſufficient to juſtify this ſuſpicion, unleſs we could ſupport it by proofs which are now wanting, namely, the perſonal character of Cintius, the opinion formed by contemporaries of his hiſtory, and the time of its publication before or after Hannibal's death. I give up therefore this conjecture; and, taking the converſation for authentic, ſhall make ſome remarks on its purport. 1. Is it poſſible without temerity to reject the authority of Hannibal for that of Polybius ? A geographer ſtudies countries in the names or arbitrary ſigns by which they are known. A general ſtudies the countries themſelves. He aſcends an eminence to learn the general outline, and mounts on horſeback to examine the detail; converſing with the inhabitants to diſcover circumſtances which would otherwiſe eſcape his obſervation. Having acquired this real knowledge of the places themſelves, he is careleſs of the names by which they are called. Theſe names are eaſily effaced from his memory, eſpecially in barbarous countries, where their number is ſmall. His multiplied occupations rapidly ſucceed to each other; and his old ideas

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tantes, parcequ'elles ſont plus nouvelles. Dans quel tourbillon Annibal n'a-t-il pas veçu depuis ſon paſſage des Alpes juſqu'à la bataille de Cannes? car je décide hardiment que Cintius n'a pu être fait priſonnier avant cette affaire mémorable. Jamais auparavant le vainqueur ne s'étoit humaniſé avec ſes captifs Romains, au point de leur parler avec quelque douceur *. Ne peut on pas ſoupçonner qu'au bout de deux ans, ſa mémoire ne l'aura pas fidelement ſervi à l'égard de ces noms barbares? Dans la fameuſe retraite des dix mille, nous poſſedons le général et l'écrivain dans la même perſonne. Sa relation n'eſt pas cependant exempte de quelques erreurs, et de quelques difficultés géographiques. Si l'on conçoit la negligence de Zenophon dans une compoſition travaillée, celle d'Annibal dans la ſimple converſation, ne doit pas nous ſurprendre. 2. Ces doutes me paroiſſent légitimes; je ſens néanmoins qu'ils ont un air un peu trop recherché, et que le grand nom d'Annibal en impoſera toujours. Eh bien! ne doutons plus de ſon exactitude; mais n'eſt il pas permis de douter de ſa ſincérité? Selon les maximes barbares de l'antiquité, un priſonnier de guerre étoit traité en criminel. Il ſe voyoit chargé de fers, jetté dans un cachot, livré quelque fois à la cruauté des bourreaux, ſans que la naiſſance, le rang, ou le mérite l'exemptaſſent de ce

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are gradually obliterated to make room for others which are more important, becauſe more connected with the actual ſtate of his affairs. In what a perpetual ſtorm did Hannibal live after paſſing the Alps till he won the battle of Cannæ? Cintius, I am perſuaded, was not taken priſoner before that memorable engagement; previouſly to which Hannibal was too much exaſperated againſt the Romans to talk familiarly with his captives *. May it not therefore be ſuſpected that at the end of two years he had loſt an accurate recollection of thoſe barbarous names? In the famous retreat of the 10,000, the general has recorded his own exploits. His narrative, however, is not exempt from errors and geographical difficulties. The negligence of Xenophon in an elaborate compoſition, will remove our ſurpriſe at that of Hannibal in a ſimple converſation. 2. Theſe doubts appear to me well founded; yet I perceive that they have the appearance of too much refinement, and that the great name of Hannibal will be ſufficient to make them vaniſh. Let us give full credit, then, to his accuracy, and only inquire whether the fame be due to his ſincerity. According to the barbarous maxims of antiquity, a priſoner of war was treated as a criminal. He was loaded with irons, caſt into a dungeon, delivered over ſometimes to the cruelty of an executioner, without the ſmalleſt regard to his rank, birth, or merit. In this pretended

* Tit. Liv. xxii. 58.

ce ſort affreux. Annibal déroge ici à ſes maximes ordinaires; il s'entretient avec un priſonnier Romain, non ſeulement avec douceur, mais avec confiance. Cintius n'a pu avoir cette converſation, ſans que le Carthaginois en fit naitre l'occaſion, et dans quel deſſein l'auroit il fait naitre, ſinon dans celui de tromper? Peut être que ce général, à qui la ruſe étoit auſſi naturelle que la valeur, cherchoit à cacher aux Romains la route qu'il avoit priſe, et à couvrir la marche des ſécours qu'il attendoit. Les Romains n'avoient jamais fait la guerre dans les Alpes, et la férocité de leurs habitans répandoit ſur elles une nuit épaiſſe, qui permettoit à Annibal de faire croire tout ce qu'il vouloit à l'égard des lieux qu'il avoit parcourus. 3. Mais il me reſte un moyen encore plus doux et plus naturel; c'eſt d'expliquer ce propos d'Annibal au lieu de le conteſter. Il vouloit donner une idée des pertes qu'il avoit eſſuyées en paſſant les montagnes, par les combats, par le froid, et par la fatigue. Il commence par ſon paſſage du Rhône, et il finit par ſon arrivée dans le territoire des *Taurini*. C'eſt en effet dans leur pays, et par la priſe de leur capitale, qu'il commença la guerre en Italie *. Il falloit s'y arrêter, pour ne pas confondre deux choſes très différentes, ce qu'il avoit perdu dans les Alpes, et ce qu'il perdit en Italie. Il n'étoit pas néceſſaire que

converſation, Hannibal lays aſide ordinary maxims, and talks with a Roman priſoner with not only mildneſs, but confidence. Cintius could not have had this interview with Hannibal, unleſs the Carthaginian had taken the trouble to bring it about; and with what view could that be, except to deceive him? Perhaps this general, who excelled as much in artifice as in valour, wiſhed to conceal from the Romans the road by which he had entered into Italy, and to cover the march of the reinforcements which he yet expected. The Romans had never fought among the Alps, the ferocity of whoſe inhabitants had involved them in ſuch obſcurity, that Hannibal might make the priſoner believe what fables he pleaſed concerning the countries which he had traverſed. 3. A way of arguing ſtill more natural and milder remains, which is to explain Hannibal's converſation, inſtead of calling in queſtion either its reality or ſincerity. He wiſhed to give an idea of the loſſes which he had ſuſtained in paſſing the mountains, in conſequence of battles, cold, and fatigue. He begins therefore from his croſſing the Rhone, and ends at his arrival in the territory of the Taurini; ſince it was really in their country, and by taking their capital, that he began his operations in Italy *. Their territory, therefore, formed the limit between two things totally diſtinct; his loſſes in Italy and thoſe in the Alps. It was not neceſſary that the coun-

* Tit. Liv. xxi. 39. Polyb. Hiſt. L. iii.

que le pays des *Taurini* fût le premier pays d'Italie qu'il trouvât à ſa deſcente des Alpes, mais ſeulement que ce fut le premier où il livrât un combat. Tite Live adopte la première des explications ; mais la dernière me paroît très ſoutenable. Elle ote à l'hiſtorien Latin la preuve qui lui paroît deciſive. Elle ſe tourne contre lui, puiſqu'elle ne ſert plus qu'à découvrir la ſource de ſa mépriſe. Non ſeulement l'autorité de Tite Live eſt réfutée, mais elle eſt détruite, et celle de Polybe ſubſiſte ſeule, et ſans rivale. J'avoue bien qu'on devine ce fameux paſſage, plutôt qu'on ne l'explique, tant la conſtruction en eſt embarraſſée, défectueuſe, et même vicieuſe. Les critiques ont voulu le corriger. N'eſt il pas plus naturel de dire que Tite Live avoit copié Cintius, et que celui-ci avoit conſervé avec plaiſir les propres paroles du général Carthaginois, dont la langue étoit celle d'un étranger. 4. Dans la recherche de la vérité hiſtorique, nous devons conſiderer l'autorité et la vraiſemblance, le caractère de l'écrivain lui-même, et celui des faits qu'il rapporte. Si le premier eſt entierement à l'avantage de Polybe, le dernier nous offre quelques circonſtances qui s'expliqnent difficilement dans ſon hypothéſe, et qui paroîſſent même oppoſées à la vraiſemblance. 1. Dès qu'on jette les yeux ſur le carte, on eſt étonné et revolté du détour qu'Annibal a du faire pour traverſer le St. Bernard, et l'on penſe avec Tite Live qu'un général auſſi habile, n'auroit jamais préféré une route longue, difficile, et

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try of the Taurini ſhould be the firſt place of Italy into which he deſeended from the Alps ; it ſufficed that it was the firſt where he fought a battle. The former explication is adopted by Livy, but the latter appears to me very capable of being defended. It deprives the Latin hiſtorian of what appears to him a deciſive proof. It even turns this alleged proof againſt himſelf, by laying open the ſource of his miſtake. The argument on which Livy builds, is not only refuted, but deſtroyed; and the authority of Polybius ſubſiſts alone and unrivalled. I confeſs indeed that the ſenſe of this famous paſſage is rather gueſſed at, than explained; ſo perplexed, defective, and faulty is its conſtruction. Critics have endeavoured to correct it ; but it ſhould ſeem more natural to ſay that Livy copied Cintius, and that the latter had preſerved the very words of the Carthaginian general, who ſpoke Latin like a foreigner. 4. In our ſearch after hiſtoric truth, we muſt pay a regard to authority and probability ; to the character of the author, and to the nature of the facts which he records. Although the firſt is entirely on the ſide of Polybius, yet the ſecond offers ſome circumſtances which it is difficult to explain on his hypotheſis, and which appear even contrary to probability. 1. When we caſt our eyes on the map, we muſt be ſurprized that a general of Hannibal's abilities ſhould have followed ſo circuitous a road as that of St. Bernard, which was

et heriſſée de peuples barbares, qui étoient plus Germains que Gaulois. On a beau dire que le Carthaginois vouloit éviter la mer, et l'armée de Scipion. La raiſon eſt fondée ; mais pour ſentir juſqu'où elle peut s'étendre, et ſi elle peut s'appliquer ici, il faut connoître la ſituation et les vues d'Annibal. Ce général, après avoir paſſé le Rhône, eſſuya un petit échec dans un combat de ſes Numides avec la cavalerie de Scipion. Les Romains ne cherchoient qu'à engager une affaire générale ; mais Annibal, convaincu qu'on ne pouvoit les vaincre qu'en Italie, vouloit éviter une bataille. Il decampa ſans bruit, gagna trois jours de marche ſur l'ennemi, et arriva le quatrième, ſans être pourſuivi, à la junction du Rhône et de l'Iſare *. Les Romains ne pouvoient plus l'atteindre : trois jours de marche ne ſe regagnent pas ſur un général actif, vigilant, et qui, par la ſupériorité de ſa cavalerie légère, eſt en état de couvrir toutes ſes manœuvres, et d'éclairer celle des ennemis. Annibal ne craignoit plus d'être pourſuivi ; et il a du apprendre bientôt qu'il ne le ſeroit point, que l'armée de Scipion continuoit ſa route en Eſpagne, et que ce Conſul retournoit en Italie pour ſe mettre à la tête de celle qui étoit ſur les bords du Po. Libre de cette inquiétude, il s'arrêta dans le pays des Allobroges,

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was long, difficult, and furrounded by barbarians, who were rather Germans than Gauls. It is of no weight to ſay, that he wiſhed to keep clear of the ſea, and of the army of Scipio. The obſervation is juſt ; but to ſee whether it applies to the preſent queſtion, we muſt make ourſelves acquainted with Hannibal's ſituation and views. After he had paſſed the Rhone, his Numidians met with a little check from Scipio's cavalry. The Romans wiſhed to come to a general engagement, which Hannibal deſired to avoid, being convinced that they were only to be ſubdued in Italy itſelf. He therefore ſilently raiſed his camp, gained a march of three days on the enemy, and on the fourth day arrived, without being purſued, at the conflux of the Rhone and the Iſere *. The Romans could not overtake him. The loſs of three days is not to be recovered in contending with a general, active and vigilant; and who, by the ſuperiority of his light-armed cavalry, was able to conceal his own movements, and to make himſelf acquainted with thoſe of the enemy. Hannibal was not therefore afraid of being purſued; he ſoon learned that ſuch fear would have been groundleſs; that Scipio's army continued its march into Spain ; and that the conſul himſelf returned into Italy, to take the command of the army on the banks of the Po. Hannibal being delivered from all uneaſineſs on this ſubject, made a halt in the country of the Allobroges, decided a conteſt between the heirs of the crown, and prepared his troops for the

* Strabon. Geog. L. iv. p. 141. Berger Hiſtoire des grands Chemins, L. iii. C. 31. p. 471.

Allobroges, decida une controverſe entre les héritiers du royaume, et fortifia ſes troupes pour les fatigues qu'elles alloient eſſuyer. Le ſeul motif qui pouvoit encore le determiner ſur le choix de ſa route, étoit l'envie de prendre la plus courte et la plus commode. Or celle du grand St. Bernard n'étoit certainement pas la plus courte. 2. Elle n'étoit pas non plus la plus commode. Du tems d'*Auguſte*, lorſque la politique Romaine avoit applani les Alpes, ce prince conſtruiſit deux voyes militaires, qui partoient d'*Auguſta Prætoria*, et qui ſe réuniſſoient à Lyon. Une des ces routes, qui traverſoit les Alpes Pennines, étoit encore ſi difficile, qu'on ne pouvoit point y paſſer en voiture *. Qu'on juge maintenant ce qu'elles devoient être du tems d'Annibal, et qu'on croye que ce général qui trainoit après lui beaucoup de chevaux et d'éléphans, ait voulu, ou même qu'il ait pu, ſe frayer une route. 3. Annibal employa quinze jours à ſon paſſage, ſur leſquels il en faut déduire quatre ; deux pendant leſquels il repoſa ſur le ſommet, et deux autres qu'il employa à ſe faire un chemin dans la neige. La traverſée des Alpes eſt de 1200 ſtades ſelon Polybe (150 milles Romains ‡). Ce calcul s'accorde avec l'état des lieux, mais s'accorde-t-il auſſi avec la vraiſemblance ? Une

* Le paſſage du Mont Pennin étoit cependant le plus court. Dans cet endroit les montagnes étoient fort réſſerrées.

armée

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fatigues which they were going to undertake. In chooſing his route into Italy, he could be determined by no other conſideration but that of preferring the ſhorteſt and the moſt convenient. But the paſſage by St. Bernard is certainly not the ſhorteſt. 2. Neither is it the moſt convenient. In the reign of Auguſtus, when Roman policy had levelled the Alps, that prince made two military ways, which, diverging from Auguſta Prætoria, again united at Lyons. One of thoſe roads, which croſſed the Pennine Alps, was ſtill ſo difficult that it could not be paſſed by carriages †. When we conſider how much more difficult it muſt have been in the time of Hannibal, it is not credible that that general ſhould have been either willing, or able, to croſs it with his great numbers of horſes and elephants. 3. Hannibal conſumed fifteen days in paſſing the Alps, from which four days muſt be deducted, two of which were ſpent on the top of the mountains, and two employed in clearing the road from the ſnow. The breadth of the Alps, according to Polybius, is 1200 ſtadia (150 Roman miles ‡). This calculation agrees with the geography of the country; but is the march conſiſtent with pro-

† The paſſage by the Pennine Alps was, however, the ſhorteſt; here the mountains are much narrowed.

‡ Polyb. L. iii. Cluveri. C. 33. p. 382.

bability ?

armée nombreuſe, peut elle faire quatorze milles par jour dans les Alpes, toujours occupée à lutter contre la difficulté des lieux, et ſouvent à repouſſer les attaques des montagnards? Je défére beaucoup à l'autorité de Polybe, mais j'en doute. Voila quelques difficultés qui ſe préſentent dans le ſyſtême de Polybe, et qui ne paroîſſent point à mépriſer. 5. Rentrés, à force de recherches, dans notre première incertitude, quel parti faut il prendre? Le récit de Polybe a toute l'évidence extérieure qu'on puiſſe demander; celui de ſon rival paroît s'accorder mieux avec d'autres circonſtances connues. Une ſeule réflexion peut nous déterminer. Il eſt plus vraiſemblable que nous nous trompons, qu'il ne l'eſt que ces circonſtances ayent échappé à Polybe. Elles ſont d'ailleurs fortes, mais elles ne ſont pas déciſives. La première et la plus importante depend de pluſieurs ſuppoſitions: que les textes de Polybe et de Tite Live ſont corrompus; qu'au lieu du *Scaras*, qui eſt inconnu, et de l'*Arar*, qui n'eſt pas à ſa place, il faut lire *Iſara* dans l'un et dans l'autre. Je conviens que cette correction eſt des plus vraiſemblables; mais des vraiſemblances qui découlent d'autres vraiſemblances, s'affoibliſſent en s'éloignant de leur ſource. Si je ſuppoſe de mon coté, 1. que les Allobroges occupoient alors une partie du territoire des *Ambarri*; 2. que le mot *triduo* dans Tite Live eſt corrompu; ou, 3. qu'Annibal paſſa le Rhône plus haut

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bability? Is it poſſible for a numerous army to proceed fourteen miles a-day, acroſs mountains where the ſoldiers were obliged continually to ſtruggle againſt the difficulties of the road, and often to repel the attacks of the mountaineers? I have great reſpect for Polybius' authority, but cannot help doubting the fact. Theſe are ſome of the difficulties which occur in his narrative, and which are not to be deſpiſed. 5. Our reſearches having brought us back to our firſt uncertainty, how are we to form an opinion? Polybius' narrative has all the external evidence that can be deſired; but that of his rival ſeems more conſiſtent with other circumſtances that are well aſcertained. One reflexion may ſuffice to regulate our deciſion. It is more probable that *we* ſhould be deceived, than that the above circumſtances ſhould have eſcaped the notice of Polybius. Theſe circumſtances are indeed important; but they are not deciſive. The firſt and moſt conſiderable depends on many ſuppoſitions; that the text both of Livy and Polybius is corrupt; that inſtead of the unknown word *Scaras*, and of *Arar*, which is miſplaced, we ſhould read on both occaſions *Iſara*. I acknowledge that this correction is extremely probable, but probabilities which reſult from other probabilities, continually grow weaker as they recede from their ſource. If I ſuppoſe on my ſide; 1. that the Allobroges then occupied a part of the territory of the Ambarri; 2. that the word *triduo* in Livy is corrupt; 3. that Hannibal paſſed the Rhone higher

haut qu'on ne penſe, la première objection s'évanouit d'elle même. Annibal placé à la jonction du Rhône et de la Saône, prenoit la route la plus courte en paſſant le Grand St. Bernard. Concluons donc, mais avec un reſte de ſcepticiſme, que ſi le récit de l'hiſtorien Latin eſt plus vraiſemblable, celui de l'écrivain Grec paroît plus vrai *. Une ſeule choſe m'arrête. Dans la carte de l'expédition d'Annibal, par M. d'Anville, ce géographe exact, dont les poſitions ſont toujours raiſonnées, trace ſa marche à travers les Alpes Cottiennes. L'autorité de ce ſavant, autorité encore plus grande, parcequ'il a caché les raiſons qu'il a eues, m'en impoſe et m'arrête.

Octobre 25.]—J'ai lu *Cluvier Ital. Antiq. L. ii. C. i. p.* 418—433. L'auteur y traite du nom et de l'origine des *Etruſques*. Il rejette, avec Denys d'Halicarnaſſe, leur origine prétendue Lydienne, et comme cet hiſtorien, il les croit indigenes. Mais Cluvier étoit bon Chrétien ; quelle idée pouvoit il attacher à ce mot ? Il y en a cependant une, mais je doute que Cluvier l'ait appercue. C'eſt celle d'une nation qui ſe forme par la réunion d'un grand nombre de familles, qui s'étoient établies dans ce pays en diffé-

* Je n'ai preſque rien tiré de Cluvier, que ſa concluſion générale tournée très différemment. J'ai peu cité. La véritable citation, celle qui peut tenir lieu de toutes les autres, c'eſt le vingt-unième livre de Tite Live, le troiſième livre de Polybe, et le trente troiſième chapitre du premier livre de Cluvier.

rens

higher than is ſuppoſed, the firſt objection totally diſappears. Hannibal, at the confluence of the Rhone and Soane, followed the ſhorteſt rout into Italy, when he croſſed the Great St. Bernard. Let us conclude then, though with ſome remainder of ſcepticiſm, that though Livy's narrative has more of probability, yet that of Polybius has more of truth †. There is one perplexing conſideration behind. In Mr. D'Anville's map of Hannibal's expedition, that accurate geographer, whoſe poſitions are always choſen on reflexion, makes the Carthaginians paſs by the Cottian Alps. I am ſtopped and ſilenced by the authority of this learned man, which in this caſe is the greater, becauſe he conceals the reaſons on which his opinion is founded.

October 25.]—I read *Cluverius Ital. Antiq. L. ii. C. i. p.* 418—433. The author treats of the name and origin of the Tuſcans. He rejects, with Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus, their pretended Lydian deſcent, and believes with that hiſtorian that they were indigenes. But as Cluverius was a good Chriſtian, what idea could he affix to that word ? There is, however, one, which I doubt whether he was ſenſible of : it is that of a nation

† I have copied nothing from Cluverius, except his general concluſion, very differently modified. I have cited but few authorities. The only important citations, which ſuperſede all others, are the twenty-firſt book of Livy, the third book of Polybius, and the thirty-third chapter of the firſt book of Cluverius.

rens tems, et indépendamment les unes des autres. La nation, le corps politique, eſt indigene, quoique les individus ne le ſoient pas.

J'ai achevé *la Bibliotheque Raiſonnée, le tome vingt ſeptième.* J'y trouve, *Jubilé de l'Imprimérie, par M. Seiz.* On y ſoutient les prétenſions de Harlem, et l'on tache de faire voir que Laurent Coſtar, bourgois de cette ville, découvrit vers l'an 1440 ce bel art, que l'infidélité de Fauſte, ſon domeſtique, tranſporta bientôt à Mayence. Cette hiſtoire me paroît claire, liée, et dégagée de difficultés; mais ſi l'on avoit inventé l'imprimérie à Harlem, il paroît ſingulier que tous les pays de l'Europe l'ayent tenue, ou du moins qu'ils l'ayent cru tenir, de Mayence. Tant de filles ſe ſeroient elles réunies pour méconnoître leur mere. Je n'ignore point le voyage de Corſelis en Angleterre; mais après la réfutation du Docteur Middleton, il n'eſt plus permis de citer cette fable.—*Recueil de quelques Opuſcules ſur la Prononciation de la Langue Grecque, par M. Havercamp.* Dans cette fameuſe diſpute, Eraſme, avec ſa prudence ordinaire, ſe ſervoit lui même de la prononciation ancienne, quoiqu'il parut approuver la nouvelle. Quand on voit les orages que cette diſpute ridicule a ſuſcité dans le commencement du ſeizième ſiecle, (et ſurtout à Cambridge,) on ne ſauroit blamer ſa réſerve.—*Lettres d'Aretin.* C'eſt le commencement d'un grand recueil qu'on publie en Italie, des Lettres des

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formed by the re-union of different families, ſettled in the country at different times, and independently of each other. The nation and body politic is indigenous, but not the individuals.

I finiſhed the *Bibliotheque Raiſonnée*, volume the twenty-ſeventh. It contains the *Jubilée of Printing, by Mr. Seiz.* He ſupports the pretenſions of Harlem, and endeavours to prove that Laurence Coſtar, a citizen of that place, diſcovered in 1440 that beautiful art, which the diſhoneſty of his ſervant Fauſtus carried with him to Mentz. The narrative appears clear, well connected, and free from difficulties; yet if printing was invented at Harlem, it appears extraordinary that all the countries of Europe ſhould have received it, or believe they received it, from Mentz. Could ſo many daughters agree in miſtaking their mother? I am not ignorant of Corſelis's voyage to England; but after Dr. Middleton's refutation, it is no longer allowable to cite that fable.—*A Collection of ſome ſmall Works on the Pronunciation of Greek, by Mr. Havercamp.* In this famous diſpute, Eraſmus, with his ordinary prudence, uſed the ancient pronunciation, though he ſeemed to approve the new. When we conſider the ſtorms excited by this ridiculous queſtion in the beginning of the ſixteenth century, particularly at Cambridge, his caution will not appear blamable.—*Arretin's Letters.* The beginning of a great collection of letters between the learned men of the fifteenth century, which

des Savans du quinzième ſiecle. Il peut ſervir à l'hiſtoire littéraire.—*Hiſtoire de Dannemarck, par Cragius.* Elle me paroît aſſez bien faite. On y voit les commencemens de la réformation de ce pays, et la mauvaiſe foi d'Henri VIII. roi d'Angleterre.—*Le Czar Pierre I. en France.* C'eſt un Roman philoſophique, le fruit d'une imagination vive et féconde, mais ſans goût et ſans régle. De pareils ouvrages éblouiſſent un inſtant, mais ils ne ſe ſoutiennent jamais.

Octobre 26.]—J'ai lu *Cluvier Ital. Antiq. L. ii. C. i. p.* 434—455. On eſt étonné de voir les arts, le luxe, et les richeſſes des Etruſques. J'ai de la peine à croire avec Cluvier, que la Gaule Ciſalpine étoit l'ancienne patrie de cette nation. Il me paroît au contraire par tous les anciens, qu'elle habitoit, depuis les tems les plus reculés, l'Etrurie proprement dite ; et que dans la ſuite elle envoya deux grandes colonies, chacune compoſée, comme la métropole, de douze cités ; dont l'une chaſſa les *Ombri* de tout le pays entre les Alpes et l'Apennin, et l'autre s'établit dans la Campanie. Dans ce tems là, on pouvoit dire, preſque ſans hyperbole, que les Etruſques étoient maîtres de l'Italie entière. Les Gaulois, qui ſubjuguerent la première de ces deux colonies, vers l'an 800 avant l'ere Chrétienne, la trouverent riche, puiſſante, et amollie par les délices. Sa métropole l'étoit encore davantage. Elle penchoit

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which is publiſhing in Italy. It may be uſeful in literary hiſtory.—*The Hiſtory of Denmark, by Cragius.* It appears to me well executed. We ſee in it the beginning of the reformation in that country, and the diſhoneſty of Henry VIII. of England.—*The Czar Peter I. in France :* a philoſophical romance, the work of a lively and fruitful imagination, but deſtitute of taſte or method. Such works dazzle for a moment, and are forgotten.

October 26.]—I read *Cluverius Ital. Antiq. L. ii. C. i. p.* 434—455. The arts, the luxury, and the riches of the Tuſcans, are matter of aſtoniſhment. I can ſcarcely believe with Cluverius, that Ciſalpine Gaul was the original ſeat of that nation. It appears to me on the contrary from ancient writers, that the Tuſcans, from the remoteſt times, inhabited Etruria, properly ſo called, and ſent forth two great colonies, each of which was like the mother-country, divided into twelve communities : one of which colonies expelled the *Ombri* from the whole of that tract which lies between the Alps and the Apennines; while the other formed ſettlements in Campania. It might have been ſaid in that age, almoſt without exaggeration, that the Tuſcans were maſters of Italy. The firſt of thoſe colonies was ſubdued by the Gauls, eight centuries before the Chriſtian æra, when it was already rich and powerful, but ſoftened by luxury. The mother-country exhibited the ſame character in ſtill ſtronger colours. It verged towards

penchoit déja vers ſa ruine. Combien de ſiecles ne leur a-t-il pas fallu pour cette progreſſion lente, mais ſure, qui conduit une nation de la barbarie à l'induſtrie, aux arts, au luxe, et à la molleſſe? N'en doutons point, les Etruſques étoient un des plus anciens peuples que nous connoiſſions.

Octobre 27.]—J'ai lu *Cluvier Ital. Antiq. L. ii. C. ii, iii. p.* 455—518. L'auteur y parcourt les côtes de l'Etrurie avec beaucoup d'exactitude, depuis *Luna* juſqu'à l'embouchure du Tybre, et les iſles qui ſont vis-a-vis. Toujours des fables Grecques! Pour la plus part des écrivains Grecs avant Polybe, on pourroit partager les lieux, comme Varron a fait les tems, en hiſtoriques, mythologiques, et inconnus. La Grece, la Scicile, l'Afrique, l'Egypte, et l'Aſie Mineure, occuperoient ſeules la première claſſe. Dans la ſeconde, je placerais l'Italie, avec tous les pays entre la Grece et le Danube, entre l'Euphrate et la mer Caſpienne. Tout ce qui eſt au dela de ces limites, ſeroit relégué dans le pays inconnu. Homere devroit ſatisfaire un génie qui aime la fable. Cependant ſes fables ne ſont que la partie la plus petite, et la plus vraiſemblable de la mythologie Grecque.

28.]—J'ai lu *Cluvier Ital. Antiq. L. ii. C. iii. p.* 518—537. L'auteur y parle de *Tarquinii* et de *Veii*, les deux cités d'Etrurie les plus proches de Rome. *Tarquinii* étoit fameux par la ſcience augurale, qui y avoit prit naiſſance. On peut ſe diſpenſer de chercher dans d'autres pays l'origine de cet

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towards its ruin. How many ages muſt have been required for this ſlow, but ſure progreſſion, by which nations proceed from barbariſm to induſtry, arts, luxury, and effeminacy? We cannot doubt the fact; the Tuſcans are certainly one of the moſt ancient nations with which we are acquainted.

October 27.]—I read Cluverius, L. ii. C. ii, iii. p. 455—518. He deſcribes with much accuracy the coaſt of Tuſcany, with the oppoſite iſlands, from Luna to the mouth of the Tiber. We meet every where with Greek fables. With reſpect to the greateſt part of Greek writers before Polybius, ſpace may be divided, as Varro divided time, into the hiſtorical, fabulous, and unknown. The hiſtorical ground was confined to Greece, Sicily, Africa, Egypt, and Lower Aſia. In the fabulous, I would place Italy, with the countries between Greece and the Danube, and thoſe between the Caſpian ſea and the Euphrates. The countries beyond thoſe limits were altogether unknown. Homer might have ſatisfied the lovers of the marvellous; yet his fables form but the ſmalleſt and moſt probable part of the Greek mythology.

28.]—I read Cluverius Ital. Antiq. L. iii. C. iii. p. 518—537. The author treats of Tarquinii and Veii, the two cities of Tuſcany that were neareſt to Rome. Tarquinii was celebrated for the ſcience of augury, to which it had given birth. The origin

cet art impoſteur. Il naquit chez les Etruſques. Je conclus par la fable ridicule de ce Tagès, qu'il étoit homme du pais; pour concevoir un ſyſtême auſſi extraordinaire, et pour le faire adopter de ſes compatriotes, il devoit être homme de génie. Tagès ſortit d'un ſillon: il n'étoit pas étranger. Le poiſſon Oannès des Chaldéens s'éleva du ſein de la mer. Ce langage ſymbolique s'explique avec la même facilité.

Il eſt difficile de fixer la ſituation de l'ancien *Veii*. Les anciens avoient de la peine à la déterminer. Déja détruite du tems de Lucain, on découvroit à peine les ruines de cette ville célebre, dont la grandeur égaloit celle de Rome. On ne peut connoître ſon emplacement que par ſon éloignement de la capitale; éloignement ſur lequel les auteurs ne ſont point d'accord. On peut les réduire à deux ſentimens. 1. Tite Live, parlant du ſiège de *Veii*, dit qu'il ſe faiſoit *intra Viceſimum lapidem* *. Eutrope nous apprend que *Veii* étoit à dix huit milles de Rome. 2. Les Itinéraires le placent à douze milles de Rome †: et Denys d'Halicarnaſſe à cent ſtades, ou à douze milles et demi ‡. J'apperçois auſſi deux moyens de conciliation. 1. *Falerii*, auſſi bien que *Veii*, étoit ſur une hauteur. Détruit par les Romains, on le rebâtit enſuite dans les environs, mais dans la plaine. Si la même choſe arriva à *Veii*,

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origin of this deceitful art need not be ſought elſewhere: it began in Tuſcany. The ridiculous fable concerning Tages, teaches us that he was a native of the country: his ſucceſs in contriving ſuch an extraordinary ſyſtem, and in making it be adopted by his countrymen, proves him to have been a man of genius. Tages ſprung from a furrow; he was not a foreigner. The Chaldean fiſh Oannes ſprung from the ſea; this ſymbolic language explains itſelf.

The ancients themſelves found it difficult to aſcertain the ſituation of Veii. In the time of Lucan, this famous city had already been deſtroyed; and the ruins of a place which had been as large as Rome could ſcarcely be diſcovered. Its ſite could only be known by its diſtance from the capital; but with reſpect to this diſtance, authors are not agreed. Their opinions may be reduced to the two following. 1. Livy, ſpeaking of the ſiege of Veii, ſays, that it was carried on within the twentieth mile-ſtone *. Eutropius tells us that Veii was eighteen miles diſtant from Rome. 2. The Roman itineraries make the diſtance twelve miles†; and Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus, an hundred ſtadia, or twelve miles and a half ‡. There are two ways of reconciling thoſe opinions. 1. Faleria, as well as Veii, was ſituate on an eminence. The former was deſtroyed by the Romans, and a town of the ſame name rebuilt on the plain. If a

* Tit. Liv. L. iv. † V. Tabul. Peutinger. ‡ Dionyſ. Harlicarn. L. ii.

ſimilar

Veii, Denys d'Halicarnaſſe ne ſe ſera trompé, que par une méprise légère qui lui aura fait croire que *Veii* avoit toujours eu ſa ſituation actuelle. J'aime aſſez cette explication. L'intervalle de dix huit milles convient beaucoup mieux que celui de douze, pour y placer toutes les guerres que les deux républiques rivales ſe livrerent. 2. On peut tout concilier en ne ſacrifiant qu'Eutrope, écrivain mépriſable, s'il en fut jamais. Les Romains avoient entouré *Veii* par de bonnes lignes et des rétranchemens. Peu contens de s'être fortifiés du côté de la ville, ils avoient élevé beaucoup de forts, pour arrêter les ſécours qui pouvoient venir aux aſſiégés, des autres cités Etruſques *. *Veii* étoit donc à douze milles et demi de Rome, le diamètre d'une ville, qui égaloit celle d'Athenes et de Rome, devoit être de deux milles et demi. Si les forts les plus avancés, du côté de l'Etrurie, étoient à quatre milles au dela de la ville, nous avons dix neuf milles qui ſuffiſent à la rigueur, pour juſtifier l'expreſſion d'Appius Claudius.

Octobre 29.]—J'ai lu *Cluvier Ital. Antiq. L. ii. C. iii. p.* 537—550. J'y vois une bonne deſcription de *Falerio*, la capitale des *Faliſci*; ville qui conſerva, juſqu'au ſiecle d'Auguſte, des veſtiges très marqués de ſon origine Grecque.

J'ai

ſimilar change took place with reſpect to Veii, Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus would only be guilty of the ſmall miſtake of ſuppoſing Veii to have always had the ſame ſite. I am well pleaſed with this explanation. The interval of eighteen miles anſwers better than that of twelve, conſidering the many wars carried on within thoſe narrow limits, between the two rival republics. 2. All differences may be reconciled by giving up the authority of Eutropius, one of the moſt contemptible authors that ever wrote. The Romans had ſurrounded Veii with walls and entrenchments. Not ſatisfied with fortifying themſelves on the ſide of the city, they had alſo raiſed bulwarks to intercept the ſuccours that might be ſent to the beſieged, from the other cities of Tuſcany *. Veii was therefore twelve miles and a half from Rome, ſince the diameter of a city as extenſive as Athens muſt have been two miles and a half. If the moſt advanced forts on the ſide of Etruria were four miles beyond the city, we have the diſtance of nineteen miles, which ſufficiently juſtifies the expreſſion of Appius Claudius.

October 29.]—I read Cluverius, L. ii. C. iii. p. 537—550. That chapter contains a good deſcription of Faleria, the capital of the Faliſci; a city which preſerved to the age of Auguſtus clear marks of its Grecian origin.

* Tit. Liv. L. v.

I went

J'ai monté à la bibliotheque. Dans le grand recueil des Hiſtoriens d'Italie, par Grævius, tom. viii. partie iii, j'ai trouvé un ouvrage du ſavant Mazocchi, qui pretend que *Civita Caſtellana*, à trente milles de Rome, étoit l'ancien *Veii*; et ſa réfutation par mon ami Nardini. Il falloit que Mazocchi fut bien aveuglé par un faux amour de ſa patrie. Il n'a pas juſqu'à l'ombre d'une preuve.

J'ai achevé le *premier tome de la Bibliotheque Raiſonnée.* J'y trouve *Schedius, de Diis Germanis :* une compilation immenſe, ſans goût, ſans critique, et ſans diſcernment.—*Henry Ditton, Démonſtration de la Religion Chrétienne.* Qu'on a abuſé de ces deux mots !—*Lettre d'un Ex-Jeſuite, ſur les Paradoxes du P. Hardouin.* On y fait parler ce ſavant. Son zèle pour la tradition, et ſa haine des Janſéniſtes et des philoſophes, l'avoient jetté dans tous ſes égaremens. Comme il trouvoit dans les peres, et ſurtout dans St. Auguſtin, beaucoup de choſes favorables aux ennemis, il aimoit mieux renoncer aux faits qu'au dogme ; il concluoit hardiment que des ouvrages auſſi impies étoient ſuppoſés. La chute du livre de St. Auguſtin, *de Libero Arbitrio*, faiſoit tomber tous les autres peres qui l'avoient cité. Ceux-ci entrainoient avec eux les auteurs profanes : et l'édifice entier s'écrouloit. C'eſt ce que ce Jeſuite appelloit *défiler le chapelet de l'antiquité.* Il auroit pu tirer beaucoup

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I went to the public library. In the great collection of Italian Hiſtorians, by Grævius, vol. viii. p. iii. I found a performance of the learned Mazzocchi, pretending to prove that Civita Caſtellana, thirty miles from Rome, was the ancient Veii; and a refutation of that work by my friend Nardini. Mazzocchi muſt have been ſtrangely blinded by his prepoſſeſſion in favour of his native city. He has not the ſhadow of a proof.

I finiſhed the firſt volume of the *Bibliotheque Raiſonnée.* It contains *Schedius, de Diis Germanis :* an immenſe compilation, without taſte, criticiſm, or diſcernment.—*Henry Ditton's Demonſtration of the Chriſtian Religion.* How grofsly have thoſe two words been abuſed !—*Letters of an Ex-Jeſuit, on the Paradoxes of Father Hardouin.* This learned man is here allowed to ſpeak for himſelf. His zeal for tradition, and his hatred towards the Janſeniſts and the philoſophers, involved him in all his abſurdities. Finding in the fathers, and particularly in St. Auguſtin, many things favourable to the cauſe of his enemies, he was willing to oppoſe facts to opinions, and boldly declared Auguſtine's impious works to be ſpurious. The fall of Auguſtine's work, *de Libero Arbitrio*, brought down with it the other fathers by whom it was quoted. The ruin of the fathers involved that of prophane writers : the whole edifice fell in pieces. This was what he called unſtringing the beads from the roſary of antiquity. He might

coup d'idées de M. de Barbeyrac, qui a fait un excellent *traité ſur la Morale des Peres*. Que ces docteurs de l'égliſe entendoient mal la première de toutes les ſciences! Ils interdiſoient les plaiſirs les plus innocens, et les occupations les plus légitimes. Tout cela ſentoit le mondain, ou pouvoit avoir quelque rapport avec l'idolatrie. Ils auroient voulu détruire le genre humain pour le ſanctifier. D'un autre côté, poſant pour principe que tout action rapportée dans l'ancien teſtament, ſans y être condamnée, eſt approuvée par ce ſilence, ils juſtifioient, ils louoient l'adultere, le menſonge, l'inceſte, et la cruauté.

Octobre 30.]—J'ai lu *Cluvier Ital. Antiq. L. ii. C. iii, iv, v, vi. p.* 550—624. L'auteur parcourt les autres cités Etruſques, ſituées dans l'intérieur des terres, *Volſinii, Cluſium, Aretium, Peruſia*, et *Cortona*. Les paſſages qu'il a raſſemblé au ſujet du lac de Traſymène, repréſentent au naturel ce terrein fameux, bordé d'un côté par le lac même, et environné de l'autre par des montagnes très hautes, et qui ne s'ouvroient que par deux défiles fort étroits. Ce fut là qu'Annibal ſut attirer habilement l'armée de Flaminius, pour la prendre d'un coup de filet. Cluvier paſſe enſuite dans l'*Ombrie*; il parle de l'origine de ces peuples (qui paroît Celtique, quoiqu'il en diſe). Il décrit le territoire, qui étoit coupé en un ſens par l'Apennin, et dans l'autre par la

Voye

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have drawn many good thoughts from M. Barbeyrac, who wrote an excellent treatiſe on the morality of the fathers. How ill did thoſe doctors of the church underſtand the moſt valuable of all ſciences. They prohibited the moſt innocent pleaſures, and the moſt lawful occupations, as ſavouring of the world, and nearly connected with idolatry. They would have deſtroyed human kind in order to ſanctify it. But on the other hand, regarding it as a principle that every action related in the old teſtament, and not therein condemned, was by this ſilence approved, they juſtified and praiſed adultery, falſehood, inceſt, and cruelty.

October 30.]—I read Cluverius Ital. Antiq. L. ii. C. iii, iv, v, vi. p. 550—624. The author deſcribes the other cities of Tuſcany, ſituate inland; Volſinii, Cluſium, Aretium, Perugia, and Cortona. The paſſages which he has collected, reſpecting the lake Thraſymenus, afford a very natural picture of this famous ſpot, which was bounded on one ſide by the lake itſelf, and on the other by a range of high mountains, which opened only by two narrow defiles. Thither Hannibal had the addreſs to decoy the army of Flaminius, that it might be taken, as it were, in a net. Cluverius afterwards paſſes into Umbria, and treats of the origin of its inhabitants, who, notwithſtanding his opinion to the contrary, appear to have been Celts. He deſcribes their territory, which was divided in one direction by the Apennines, and in another

Voye Flaminienne. Cette portion qui ſe trouvoit entre la mer, l'Etrurie, et l'Apennin, l'occupe dans les chapitres V. et VI.

Octobre 31.]—Je ſuis reſté tout le jour à la maiſon. Cluvier a profité de ma retraite ; j'en ai lu *Ital. Antiq. L. ii. C. vii, viii, ix, x. p.* 624—722. Près de cent pages tous les jours m'avanceroient bien ; mais un pareil effort ne revient pas ſouvent. Dans ces quatre chapitres mon auteur finit l'Ombrie, en décrivant la portion de ce pays entre l'Appenin et le pays des Sabins. Celui-ci devient enſuite l'objet de ſes recherches. Il traite finalement du Tybre, et des rivières qui s'y jettent. Ce chapitre, avec celui du Pô, comprend preſque toutes les eaux de l'Italie. Le fleuve lui même ſe nommoit *Tiberis*, et par une licence poëtique *Tybris*. Le dieu du fleuve s'appelloit *Tiberinus*. Preſque tous les bons auteurs ont obſervé cette diſtinction, qui nous eſt indiquée par Servius.

Novembre 1.]—J'ai lu *Cluvier, L. ii. C. xi, xii, xiii, xiv, xv. p.* 722—762. L'auteur y décrit le *Picenum*, un des pays les plus fertiles et les mieux peuplés de l'Italie. Il paſſe delà à pluſieurs nations peu nombreuſes, mais diſtinguées par leur valeur. Les *Marucini*, les *Marſi*, les *Veſtini*, et les *Peligni*. *Corfinium* étoit une des villes principales de cette dernière tribu. Elle s'eſt vue une fois à la veille de faire une grande fortune. Si la guerre ſociale

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by the Flaminian Way. That portion of it which lies between the ſea, Etruria, and the Apennines, is the ſubject of his fifth and ſixth chapters.

October 31.]—I remained all day at home, by which Cluverius was a gainer. I read Ital. Antiq. L. ii. C. vi, vii, viii, ix, x. p. 624—722. Nearly an hundred pages daily would greatly quicken my progreſs; but ſuch efforts are ſeldom made. In thoſe four chapters, the author concludes his account of Umbria by deſcribing that portion of it which extends between the Apennines and the territory of the Sabines. That territory itſelf forms the next object of his reſearch. He treats finally of the Tiber, and of the rivers which fall into it. This chapter, with that on the Pô, includes almoſt all the rivers in Italy. The river Tiberis was, by a poetical licence, ſpelt Tybris. The god of the river was called Tiberinus. All good writers have attended to this diſtinction, which is pointed out by Servius.

November 1.]—I read Cluverius, L. ii. C. xi, xii, xiii, xiv, xv. p. 722—762. The author deſcribes Picenum, one of the moſt fertile and beſt peopled diſtricts in Italy. He then proceeds to ſeveral communities, inconſiderable in point of their numbers, but highly diſtinguiſhed by their valour ; the Marrucini, Marſi, Veſtini, and Peligni. Corfinium was one of the principal cities belonging to the laſt. This place was once in hopes of being highly diſtinguiſhed. Had the ſocial war been proſ-

ſociale avoit réuſſi, Rome faiſoit place à *Corſinium*, qui devenoit ſous le nom d'*Italica*, la capitale de la nouvelle confédération. Je vais hazarder quelques idées ſur cette guerre ſingulière, dont l'Abbé de Vertot a un peu défiguré les circonſtances eſſentielles. Ses ouvrages, qui ſe font lire comme des romans, ne leur reſſemblent que trop. 1. L'Abbé de Vertot fait paroître les Latins ſur la Scene aſſez mal-à-propos. " C'étoient ces Latins, ces peuples " du *Latium*, ceux qui jouiſſoient du droit Latin, à qui Druſus avoit fait " eſperer la bourgeoiſie de Rome, et qui ſe ſouleverent, lorſque ſon aſſaſſinat " leur avoit ôté ce protecteur *." Cependant il eſt conſtant que les peuples du *Latium* ne furent point mêlés dans cette guerre. Il ne ſe montrerent même qu'une ſeule fois; c'étoit pour envoyer des troupes auxiliaires à l'armée de la république †. Ils ne ſongerent point à rappeller un ancien procès, que le ſort des armes avoit décidé contre eux plus de deux ſiecles et demi auparavant. Avant que d'y ſuccomber, ils firent trembler la république plus d'une fois. C'eſt à cette époque qu'il rapporter tout ce que dit l'Abbé de Vertot, après Tite Live, de cette reſſemblance de langue, de mœurs, et de diſcipline militaire, qui lui donnoit l'air d'une guerre civile ‡. Du tems de la guerre ſociale, Rome s'étoit élevée trop haut, pour être encore un objet de

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perous, Rome muſt have yielded to Corſinium; which, under the name of Italica, was to have been the head of the new confederacy. I ſhall venture to make ſome reflexions on this extraordinary war, the principal circumſtances of which have been ſomewhat miſrepreſented by the Abbé Vertot: an author whoſe works are read with the ſame pleaſure as romances, to which in other reſpects they bear too much reſemblance. 1. The Abbé Vertot introduces the Latines very unſeaſonably. " The " Latines, thoſe inhabitants of Latium who enjoyed the Latin law, and to whom Dru- " ſus gave hopes of acquiring the citizenſhip of Rome, roſe in arms, when aſſaſſination " had robbed them of their protector *." Yet it is certain that the people of Latium had no ſhare in this rebellion. They are mentioned but once in the war; and, on that occaſion, as ſending auxiliaries to the army of the republic †. They did not think of renewing an ancient quarrel, which the fortune of war had, more than two hundred and fifty years before, decided againſt them. Previouſly to their ſubjugation, they had more than once made Rome to tremble. All that Vertot copies from Livy reſpecting that ſimilarity of language, manners, and military diſcipline, which gave to the ſocial, the appearance of a civil war, muſt be referred to the former æra ‡. In the time of the ſocial war, Rome was too great to be an object of jealouſy to the little cities of La-

* Vertot Revolut. Romaines, tom. iii. p. 26—30.

† T. Liv. Epitom. L. lxxii. ‡ T. Liv. viii. 6.

tium,

de jalouſie aux petites cités du *Latium*, qui devenoient tous les jours des villages et des maiſons de campagne des environs de la capitale. La communication perpetuelle, et les alliances nombreuſes, avoient cimenté les liens de leur origine commune. Pluſieurs de ces cités avoient acquis la bourgeoiſie. Dans d'autres de ces villes, le droit Latin la donnoit tous les ans à deux familles. Elles jouiſſoient toutes de pluſieurs avantages qui devoient leur inſpirer de l'attachment pour la république, et de la haine pour les alliés plus récens. 2. L'auteur des revolutions Romaines exagere la conſédération Italique au point de répandre ſur ſon récit un romaneſque, qui n'eſt pas moins réel, pour avoir échappé à la plus part des lecteurs. Non content d'y avoir fait entrer les Latins, il la fait ſigner à tous les peuples de l'Italie, qui envoyerent une ambaſſade commune au ſénat pour demander la bourgeoiſie. On ne peut que s'étonner qu'une ſeule ville ait pu ſe défendre contre la réunion de tant d'alliés, qu'elle avoit ſubjugués ſi difficilement les uns après les autres. Heureuſement ce fait extraordinaire ne s'accorde pas mieux avec la vérité qu'avec la vraiſemblance. L'abbreviateur de Tite Live nous a conſervé les noms de tous les peuples qui formerent cette alliance. Elle fut compoſée des *Samnites*, des *Lucani*, des *Picentes*, des *Marſi*, des *Peligni*, des *Veſtini*, et des *Marrucini* *. Sur un pareil fait, il n'y a point d'autorité qui

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tium, which were continually converted into villages and pleaſure-houſes in the vicinity of the capital. Perpetual communication, and numerous alliances, had cemented the bands of their common origin. Many places had acquired the rights of citizenſhip; in others, the Latin law gave that right to two families annually. All the cities of Latium enjoyed many advantages, which muſt have naturally inſpired them with affection for Rome, and hatred towards her more recent allies. 2. The author of the Hiſtory of the Revolutions of Rome, ſo much exaggerates the ſtrength of the Italian confederacy, that an air of romance is thereby thrown on his whole narrative, though it may not be perceptible to the greater part of his readers. According to his account, not only the Latines, but all the nations of Italy, ſigned this alliance, and ſent a common embaſſy to Rome, demanding the rights of the city. It is a matter of aſtoniſhment that one city ſhould have been able to make a defence againſt the united force of ſo many allies, whom it had found ſo much difficulty in ſubduing ſucceſſively. Happily this wonderful circumſtance contains as little truth as probability. The abridger of Livy has preſerved the names of all the communities which compoſed this confederacy. They were, the Samnites, Lucani, Picentes, Marſi, Peligni, Veſtini, and Marrucini *.

* Tit. Live, Epitom. L. lxxii.

qui égale celle de Tite Live ; et dans une énumeration de cette eſpèce, où abréger n'eſt que copier, je dois croire que ſon abbréviateur a fidellement rendu ſon ſentiment. Les Samnites étoient donc les chefs de cette ligue, dans laquelle ils avoient fait entrer ſix autres peuples leurs voiſins, leurs alliés, ou leurs colonies. Pluſieurs autres nations y entrerent dans la ſuite, mais ce ne fut que lorſque les Romains, revenus de leur première conſternation, avoient eu le tems de rappeller leurs armées, de fortifier leurs paſſages, et de remporter même quelques avantages ſur les alliés. Tite Live convient de ces nouvelles défections * ; mais c'eſt dans Appien † et Strabon ‡, qu'il en faut chercher le détail. J'y trouve les trois nations des *Frentani*, des *Hirpini*, et des *Peucetii*, avec quelques cités de l'Apulie et de l'Ombrie. Parmi celles là, Appien nomme *Canuſium* et *Venuſia* ; mais il ne parle des cités des *Umbrii* qu'en général. Je vois avec ſurpriſe qu'à ces alliés, cet hiſtorien ajoute les *Pompeiani* §. Ce nom ne peut s'appliquer qu'aux habitans de *Pompeii*, ville maritime de la Campanie, aux environs de Naples ‖. Mais cette ville exiſtoit elle du tems de la guerre ſociale ? Elle n'étoit pas plus ancienne que la famille dont elle a reçu le nom, et cette famille étoit ignorée avant

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With regard to this fact, Livy's authority is better than any other; and in ſuch an enumeration, an abridger having nothing to do but to copy, it is to be ſuppoſed that he does it correctly. The Samnites then were at the head of this league, into which they had prevailed on ſix other communities to enter, who were their neighbours, allies, or colonies. They were afterwards joined by ſeveral other cities, but not until the Romans, recovering from their conſternation, had recalled their armies from abroad, fortified the paſſes into their territory, and even gained ſeveral victories over the allies. Livy informs us in general of thoſe ſubſequent revolts *, but the particulars are to be found in Appian † and Strabo ‡. They number among the rebels, the Frentani, Hirpini, Peucetii, with ſome cities of Apulia and Umbria. Of the former, Appian names Canuſium and Venuſia ; ſpeaking only in general of the *Umbrii*. I was ſurpriſed to find this hiſtorian alſo name the *Pompeiani* §. Theſe could only be the inhabitants of Pompeii, a maritime city of Campania, near to Naples ‖. Did Pompeii exiſt in the time of the ſocial war ? It cannot be of an earlier date than the family from which it derived its name; and this family was unknown until the time of the great Pompey's father, that Cneius Pompeius Strabo, who was conſul in the 665th

* Tit. Liv. Epitom. L. lxxiii.
‡ Strab. Geograph. L. v. p. 166, 167.
‖ Cluv. Ital. Antiq. L. iv. C. iii. p. 1154.
† Appian de Bell. Civil. L. i. p. 374. 376. 379.
§ Appian de Bell. Civil. L, i. p. 374.

avant le pere du grand Pompée, ce Cn. Pompeius Strabon, qui ne parvint au conſulat que l'an de Rome 665, la ſeconde année de la guerre ſociale. Mais à ſuppoſer l'antiquité de *Pompeii*, peut on croire qu'une ſeule petite ville, au milieu de tant de cités bien affectionées à la république, ait oſé ſe declarer contre elle? Je ſais qu'on a porté le théâtre de la guerre dans la Campanie, et je veux bien croire qu'un corps d'alliés s'étant emparé de *Pompeii*, y aura ſoutenu un ſiege *; mais cette explication excuſe l'erreur d'Appien plutôt qu'elle ne la juſtifie. J'ai mieux aimé chercher les peuples ligués contre Rome, dans les détails que Tite Live, et les autres hiſtoriens, nous ont laiſſés, de cette guerre, que dans la deſcription générale qu'Appien nous en donne, quand il dit que tous les peuples entre le *Liris*, ou le *Liturnus*, et la mer Ionienne, ſe ſouleverent contre les Romains ‡. Un des membres de cette deſcription eſt faux, et l'autre eſt peu exact. La mer Ionienne, priſe dans pluſieurs ſens différens, ſignifie tout ce qu'on veut §. Le *Liris* et le *Liturnus*, très différens en eux-mêmes, n'avoient de commun que le nom de *Clanis*, ou *Clanius*, qu'ils portoient tous les deux. Tels

* J'ai vu depuis que l'étymologie de *Pompeii* eſt incertaine, et que le ſiege que j'avois deviné a eu lieu. *V. Vell. Patercul. L. ii. C.* 16.

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year of Rome, and the ſecond year of the ſocial war. But ſuppoſing the antiquity of Pompeii, can it be imagined that a ſingle city, and that a ſmall one, ſhould have ventured to revolt againſt the republic, though ſituate in the midſt of ſo many more important places, which faithfully maintained their allegiance? I know that the ſcene of the war was changed to Campania, and am willing to believe that a party of the allies, having taken poſſeſſion of Pompeii, there ſtood a ſiege †: but this explication tends rather to extenuate, than to juſtify Appian's miſtake. I am inclined to ſeek the names of the ſtates which entered into confederacy againſt Rome, in the narrative which Livy and other hiſtorians give of the war, rather than to content myſelf with Appian's general deſcription, when he ſays that the confederacy comprehended all the nations between the Liris, or Liturnus, and the Ionian ſea ‡. Of this deſcription, one of the clauſes is falſe, and the other inaccurate. The Ionian ſea is taken in ſo many different meanings, that it denotes any thing you will §. The Liris and Liturnus were quite different rivers, and had only one circumſtance in common, that both were ſometimes called Clanis, or Clanius. Such then were the allies. They ſurely were formidable;

† I have ſince diſcovered that the etymology of *Pompeii* is uncertain, and that I was right in my conjecture of its having been beſieged. *V. Vell. Patercul. L. ii. C.*

‡ Appian de Bell. Civil. L. i. p. 374.

§ Vide Cluv. Ital. Antiq. L. iii. C. x. p. 1075; et L. iv. C. xvii. p. 1334.

but

étoient les alliés. Ils étoient redoutables; mais il reſtoit encore beaucoup de nations Italiennes que l'amour, ou la crainte, attachoit aux drapeaux de la république: le *Latium* entier, la *Campanie*, le *Brutium*, la *Calabre*, le *pays des Sabins*, toute l'*Etrurie*, une *partie de l'Ombrie*, et *de l'Apulie*, et toutes les colonies de la grande Grece. Les cités Etruſques alloient ſe declarer pour les alliés; mais le ſénat ſait parer ce danger, en accordant de lui même la bourgeoiſie Romaine à cette province importante *. Un grand nombre de colonies répandues dans toutes les provinces de l'Italie, et dont l'intérêt, auſſi bien que la reconnoiſſance, aſſuroit la fidélité, préſentoient aux armées Romaines des magazins et des places fortes. Dans les cités qui s'étoient déclarées contre la république, les conſeils n'étoient certainement pas unanimes. Rome conſervoit, ou ſe faiſoit, des créatures dans chacune de ces communautés, dont l'oppoſition declarée, ou les intrigues ſourdes, embaraſſoient les meſures du parti dominant †. Chacun ſe rangeoit ſous les étendarts du ſénat, ou de la ligue, qui devenoient les mots de ralliement pour toutes les factions de l'Italie, ſemblables au nom de Guelfs et de Gibelins, qui diviſerent et deſolerent les mêmes pays treize ſiecles plus tard. L'Abbé de Vertot, en

† Vell. Patercul. L. ii. C. 16. Le *Minatius Magius* dont il y eſt parlé, étoit de la ville même qui commença la guerre, par le meurtre d'un préteur et d'un légat.

expoſant

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but fear or affection ſtill collected many Italian nations around the ſtandard of the republic; the whole of Latium, Campania, Brutium, Calabria, the Sabines, all Etruria, a part of Umbria and Apulia, and the whole of the colonies of Magna Græcia. The cities of Tuſcany prepared for joining the allies; but the ſenate warded off this danger, by granting, of its own accord, the rights of the city to that important province *. A great number of colonies ſpread over all the diſtricts of Italy, whoſe fidelity being ſecured by intereſt as well as gratitude, ſupplied the Romans with magazines, and with the protection of their fortreſſes. In thoſe republics which declared againſt Rome, the citizens were not unanimous. The Romans had their creatures in each of thoſe communities, whoſe avowed oppoſition, or ſecret intrigues, diſturbed the meaſures of the prevailing party ‡. Each individual ſided with the ſenate or the league, which became the watch-words of faction, like the names Guelphs and Ghibelines, which divided and deſolated the ſame country thirteen centuries afterwards. The Abbé Vertot, when he explained the difficulties with which the Romans had to contend, ſhould alſo have mentioned the reſources by which they were enabled

* Appian de Bell. Civil. L. i. p. 374.

‡ Vell. Paterculus, L. ii. C. 16. The Minatius Magius there ſpoken of, belonged to the very city which began the war, by the murder of a pretor and a legate.

expoſant les obſtacles que les Romains avoient à combattre, n'auroit pas du oublier leurs reſſources. 3. La nation des Marſes, redoutable par ſa valeur, étoit inférieure en force aux *Samnites* et aux *Picentes*. Elle eut cependant l'honneur de donner ſon nom à cette guerre, qu'on appelloit auſſi ſouvent la *Guerre Marſique* que la *Guerre Sociale*. Mais les Marſes furent la ſeule nation en deça de l'Apennin, qui osât ſe declarer contre les Romains. Leur pays devint le premier théâtre de la guerre, et lorſque le ſénat donna aux conſuls le commandement des armées, ce fut en leur accordant les *Marſi* pour leur province. Ce n'eſt pas la première fois que la partie la moins conſidérable d'un ligue de peuples, a fait donner ſon nom au corps entier, parcequ'elle s'eſt preſentée la première aux yeux des étrangers. Nous deſignons tous les anciens Scythes par le nom générique de Tartares, parceque la petite tribu des Tartares, formoit toujours l'avant garde des armées Mogoles dans les conquêtes étendues de Gengiſcan et de ſes ſucceſſeurs *. 4. Les alliés, quoique vaincus dans cette guerre, obtinrent à la fin cette bourgeoiſie qu'ils avoient recherchée avec tant d'ardeur. Mais ils ne devinrent citoyens de Rome, que pour participer avec elle, dans des malheurs dont ils étoient une des cauſes principales, pour la perdre, et pour ſe perdre avec elle. Des

* Voyez Réflexions ſur les Anciens Peuples, par M. Freret, dans le dix huitième tome de l'Hiſtoire de l'Acadamie des Belles Lettres.

généraux

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to ſurmount them. 3. The nation of the Marſi, though formidable by its valour, was inferior in ſtrength to the Samnites and the Picentes. Yet it had the honour of giving its name to the war, which is as well known by the appellation of the Marſic, as the Social. The Marſi were the only people on the Roman ſide of the Apennines, who ventured to declare againſt the republic. Their country became the firſt theatre of the war, and when the ſenate aſſigned armies to the conſuls, it was by granting them the Marſi for their province. This is not the firſt example of the leaſt conſiderable portion of a league giving its name to the whole. We know the ancient Scythians by the general denomination of Tartars, becauſe the ſmall tribe ſo called always formed the van of the Mogul armies during the extenſive conqueſts of Zingis Khan and his ſucceſſors †. 4. The allies, though finally defeated in the war, obtained the rights of Roman citizens, which they had ſo eagerly deſired. But they obtained this honour only to participate with Rome in all the calamities of which their own revolt had been the principal cauſe; and to ruin that republic and themſelves. Generals

† See Reflexions on Ancient Nations, by Mr. Freret, in the eighteenth volume of the Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres.

commanding

généraux armés au milieu de l'Italie, l'Italie elle même devenue une ſeule ville, dont les citoyens ne l'étoient que par une eſpece de fiction, tout lui annoncoit et lui préparoit des fers. Que les alliés ont du regretter ce bonheur obſcur et tranquille, dont ils jouiſſoient, ſans en connoître le prix ! Les cent vingt ans écoulés entre la ſeconde guerre Punique et la guerre ſociale, ont vu fleurir les peuples d'Italie ſous le plus doux de tous les gouvernemens. Ils avoient perdu ce malheureux droit de la guerre et de la paix, qui ne leur étoit plus néceſſaire. Tranquilles ſous la protection des Romains, ils n'avoient rien à craindre des étrangers; s'il ſurvenoit quelque diſpute parmi eux, la déciſion d'un ſénat, qui les voyoit tous du même œil, les diſpenſoit de la triſte néceſſité de recourir aux armes. Pour tant de bienfaits, l'Italie entière ajoutoit aux légions, un corps d'infantérie égal à celui qu'on tiroit de la ſeule ville de Rome, et le double de cavalerie *. Tribut leger, et qui d'ailleurs en aguerriſſant la jeuneſſe des alliés, les rendoit reſpectables aux Romains eux mêmes. Tous les autres droits qui peuvent ſervir au bonheur des peuples, la juſtice, la police, l'économie politique, ils les poſſedoient en

* T. Live, L. xxii. C. 36. Il paroît par beaucoup de paſſages de cet auteur, que c'étoit la proportion la plus ordinaire. Vellius Paterculus doit exaggerer un peu, quand il parle du double des troupes. L. ii. C. 15.

toute

commanding armies in the heart of Italy, and Italy converted into one city, whoſe inhabitants were citizens only by a kind of fiction, were circumſtances which too plainly prepared the way for ſlavery. How much muſt the allies have regretted that tranquillity and happy obſcurity, which they had long enjoyed without knowing its value ! During the period of an hundred and twenty years that elapſed from the ſecond Punic, to the Social war, the nations of Italy flouriſhed under the mildeſt of all governments. They had loſt that unhappy right of making war on each other, which was no longer neceſſary for their defence. Secure under the protection of the Romans, they had nothing to fear from invaders. Their domeſtic diſputes were ſettled by the ſenate, who beheld them all with the ſame paternal eye, and whoſe interpoſition liberated them from the miſerable neceſſity of having recourſe to arms. In return for theſe benefits, the whole of Italy ſupplied a body of infantry equal to that drawn from the ſingle city of Rome, and double the number of cavalry †; a light contribution in itſelf, and which, by giving a military turn to their youth, tended to render them reſpectable to the Romans. Their authority was ſovereign, as to all other

† T. Livius, L. xxii. C. 36. It appears from ſeveral paſſages of this author, that this was the ordinary proportion. Vellius Paterculus exaggerates a little, when he ſpeaks of double the number of troops. L. ii. C. 15.

matters

toute ſouveraineté. Ils ne voyoient point de ces gouverneurs, dont l'inſolence égaloit l'avarice, toutes leurs affaires évoquées à la capitale, et un mur d'airain qui ſéparât à jamais le citoyen et le ſujet. On refuſoit la bourgeoiſie Romaine aux cités ; mais dèſqu'un particulier faiſoit paroître une ambition juſtifiée par les talens, la république connoiſſoit trop bien ſes intérêts pour ne pas la lui accorder *. J'écris dans le Pays de Vaud. Ses habitans doivent être contents de leur état. Qu'on le compare cependant à celui de ces peuples d'Italie. Je ſens qu'ils étoient exclus de quelques avantages dans la vie privée, dans les marriages, les teſtamens, &c. que l'orgueil ſeul des citoyens les empêcha de leur communiquer. Je vois même qu'ils avoient à ſe plaindre de quelques actes de violence, ſurtout dans les derniers tems ; et je ſais que de pareils traits frappent plus vivement, que tous les avantages généraux qu'on doit aux loix dont on s'apperçoit à peine. 5. Les Italiens oublierent la prudence dans cette priſe d'armes ; oublierent ils auſſi la juſtice ? Pouvoient ils juſtifier leur refus d'obſerver les anciens traités, et le ſoulevement qu'occaſiona ce refus ? Je ne vais point approfondir une queſtion auſſi étendue qu'elle eſt difficile. J'eſſayerai cependant de poſer quelques principes. 1. Les traités qu'un corps de nation, fait avec un corps étranger doivent

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matters which contribute to the happineſs of nations, namely, the affairs of juſtice, police, and political œconomy. They had not to endure the tyranny of governors, as inſolent as rapacious; their law-ſuits were not carried by appeal to the capital; and a wall of braſs did not form an unſurmountable barrier between the citizen and the ſubject. They were debarred indeed collectively from the rights of Roman citizens; but whenever an individual proved that his ambition was juſtified by his merit, Rome was too attentive to her intereſts not to acknowledge him for her own *. I write in the Païs de Vaud. Its inhabitants ought to be contented with their condition; yet it will not gain by a compariſon with that of the people of Italy. I know that ſome advantages were withholden from that people by the pride of the Romans, as to the concerns of private life, marriages, teſtaments, &c. I perceive alſo that they had reaſon to complain of ſome acts of violence, eſpecially in latter times; and I am ſenſible that ſuch things are more ſtriking to the fancy, than all the general advantages derived from the operation of good laws, which paſs almoſt unobſerved. 5. In undertaking this war, the allies were guilty of imprudence; were they alſo unjuſt ? Could they juſtify their refuſal to obſerve their former treaties, and the inſurrection which their refuſal produced? I do not mean completely to diſcuſs a queſtion as extenſive as it is difficult. I

* Tacit. Annal. xi. 24.

doivent lier leurs héritiers, et leurs ſucceſſeurs, puiſqu'il faut toujours ſuppoſer qu'ils n'ont pris des engagemens onéreux, qu'à proportion des avantages qu'on leur a aſſociés; et que ceux qui ont recueilli les bénéfices des uns, doivent ſupporter le fardeau des autres. Il n'en eſt pas de même dans ces contrats qu'un peuple eſt cenſé faire avec ſes chefs. Ceux-ci meritent à peine ce nom. Ils ſont deſtitués d'une condition eſſentielle à tout traité: l'indépendance mutuelle des parties, et le pouvoir de ſtipuler les avantages reſpectifs. C'eſt plutôt une reſolution commune, qui ne tire ſa force que de la volonté du corps qui l'a faite. 2. La validité d'un traité eſt fondée ſur la volonté des contractans. Cette volonté a du être libre. On convient ſans peine que toute violence qui agit ſur le corps, ne peut produire que des actes nuls et ſans valeur. Mais cette violence ne gêne pas la volonté, elle l'anéantit. Il y a une violence plus douce, que nous éprouvons tous les jours, qui n'agit ſur la volonté, qu'en lui préſentant le choix preſque néceſſaire du bonheur ou du malheur. Jamais particulier, jamais nation, n'a pris des engagemens que par ce motif univerſel. Ou le droit naturel doit reconnoître qu'il peut ſubſiſter avec la liberté, ou la fidélité à ſes promeſſes, n'eſt plus qu'une vertu vaine et idéale. Si la crainte d'un autre côté, ne détruit pas les engagemens.

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will endeavour, however, to eſtabliſh the following principles. 1. The treaties entered into by the general aſſemblies of two nations ought to bind their heirs and ſucceſſors; becauſe it is not preſumable that either party has agreed to ſubmit to any inconvenience without obtaining ſome advantage in return; and he who reaps the benefit of one part of a contract, ought to bear the burden contained in the other. The ſame principle does not apply to treaties entered into between nations and their leaders. Theſe treaties hardly deſerve the name, being deſtitute of a condition eſſential to the validity of every contract; namely, the mutual independence of the parties, and their power to provide for their reſpective advantages. They deſerve the name rather of general reſolutions than of treaties, and derive their force merely from the will of thoſe by whom they were embraced. 2. The validity of a treaty is founded on the will of the contracting parties. That will ought to be free. It will be granted that every kind of violence, affecting the body, renders a contract null; for ſuch violence does not merely conſtrain, but annihilates the will. But there is a milder violence which we daily experience, that acts on the will by preſenting it with the almoſt neceſſary alternative of happineſs or miſery. It rarely happens that individuals or nations undertake engagements, unleſs when they are impelled by this univerſal motive. The law of nature muſt either allow that this violence is conſiſtent with liberty, or fidelity to our engagements will be reduced to an empty name. On the other,

engagemens qu'elle fait prendre, l'honnête homme ſera la victime de ſa vertu, et les ſcélérats auront bientôt acquis un droit légitime ſur tous les biens de la terre. Au moyen d'une diſtinction ſimple et facile, on peut éviter tous ces écueils. On n'eſt obligé de tenir ſa promeſſe, qu'à l'égard de ceux qui auroient eu le droit de nous faire éprouver ces maux dont ils nous menaçoient. Ces maux changent alors de nature. Le mal que nous évitons devient un bien réel qu'il nous accordent, un avantage qui ſert de baſe aux traités, et de contrepoid aux engagemens que nous prenons. 3. Puiſque la ſociété n'eſt que la réunion de tous les droits, et de toutes les volontés particulieres, il s'enſuit que la ſociété en corps, jouit de toutes les prérogatives que les individus poſſédoient dans l'état de nature. Le droit de conſervation eſt le premier de tous. Il renferme néceſſairement celui de ſe defendre contre toute violence étrangère, d'employer la force pour repouſſer la force, et de rejetter ſur l'agreſſeur injuſte tous les maux, et juſqu'à la mort même, dont il nous menacoit. Dans les ſociétés politiques les mémes droits ne peuvent que ſubſiſter; le magiſtrat eſt armé de la force publique pour faire la guerre, non point aux individus, mais aux membres de la ſociété ennemie, dont ils ne ſont que les inſtruments. C'eſt la ſociété qu'il attaque. Si ſa cauſe eſt juſte, ſi la haine et la violence de ſon antagoniſte, ne lui laiſſe de ſureté que dans ſa mort, il agit en homme naturel; il lui ote la vie; c'eſt à dire la vie civile,

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other hand, if fear does not nullify a promiſe, honeſty muſt be its own victim, and robbers will acquire a right to all the goods of the earth. Theſe difficulties may be removed by the following eaſy and ſimple diſtinction. Promiſes are binding only with reſpect to thoſe who were entitled to inflict the evils with which they threatened us. Theſe evils not being inflicted, change their nature, and become real goods beſtowed on us, which ſerve as a ſufficient baſis to treaties; being a proper compenſation for the burdens to which we engage to ſubmit. 3. Society reuniting in the body politic the rights and wills of individuals, the community at large enjoy all the rights which were enjoyed by individuals in a ſtate of nature. The right of ſelf-preſervation holds the firſt place. It neceſſarily includes the right of ſelf-defence, of repelling force by force, and of ſubjecting the unjuſt aggreſſor to all the evils with which he threatens us, even to death itſelf. This right therefore ſtill ſubſiſts in communities; the magiſtrate is entruſted with the national force to make war, not againſt individuals, but againſt the members of a foreign community, of which individuals are merely the inſtruments. He attacks the community only. If his cauſe is juſt, and the hatred and violence of his antagoniſt renders *his* death neceſſary to his own ſafety, he then exerciſes the rights of nature, and takes away his life; that is, his civil life, by ſub-

civile, la conſtitution politique ; il le ſubjugue. Voila le droit de conquête. Si le vainqueur ſe ſert de ce droit dur et rigoureux, et que le peuple ſoumis le reconnoiſſe pour ſon maître, je crois qu'il eſt obligé de tenir ſes engagemens, par leſquels il s'eſt acquis la paix publique. Mais de ce point, le lien peut être le plus foible de la foi des hommes, je vois deux genres de traités, qui s'éloignent inſenſiblement de leur ſource, et qui ſe fortifient en s'en éloignant. Dans le premier, à meſure que la conquête eſt moins complette, l'obligation diminue ; mais l'égalité augmente, juſqu'à ce qu'on remonte à cet état d'indépendance, où les deux ſociétés ont agi, avec la liberté la plus entière, dans leurs conventions reciproques. De l'autre côté, ſi le vainqueur, maître de détruire la ſociété ennemie, la laiſſe ſubſiſter, la convention acquiert de la force, à proportion des avantages qu'il pouvoit leur ôter, et qu'il leur a conſervés. Ce que j'ai déja dit des peuples de l'Italie, peut faire comprendre quelle validité ces ſages vainqueurs, ces Romains, avoient ſu donner à leur traités. 4. Mais leur avoient ils donné (me dira-t-on) la premiere de toutes les conditions ? Le droit de conquête n'eſt fondé que ſur la juſtice, qualité aſſez étrangère à ces brigands de l'univers. J'évite les diſcuſſions, il me faut ici des principes, et non pas des faits. Dans notre état d'erreur, de vice, et de foibleſſe, on eſt ſouvent obligé de renoncer à la vérité

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duing and deſtroying the conſtitution of his country. On this principle the right of conqueſt is founded. If the conqueror exerciſe his right in all its rigour, and the conquered acknowledge him for their maſter, I think they are bound to maintain inviolate an engagement by which they have acquired the benefit of public tranquillity. But from this point, which is perhaps the feebleſt bond of human probity, two kinds of treaties gradually diverge, and gradually gain ſtrength as they remove from their ſource. The firſt is that, where, in proportion as the conqueſt is leſs complete, the neceſſity of contracting the obligation is indeed diminiſhed, but the equality between the parties is increaſed to that perfect independence, which leaves them at the full liberty of their own wills in their reſpective engagements. If the conqueror, on the other hand, having it in his power to deſtroy his enemies, has thought proper to ſave them, the contract acquires a degree of force proportional to the advantages which he might have taken away, but which he has been pleaſed to leave. The obſervations formerly made concerning the happy ſtate of the people of Italy, ſufficiently ſhow how much validity the wiſdom of the Roman conquerors had given to their treaties with the vanquiſhed. 4. But, it will be aſked, had theſe treaties the moſt eſſential of all conditions ? The right of conqueſt ought to be founded on juſtice; a virtue to which thoſe robbers of the earth were ſtrangers. I wiſh not to enter into hiſtorical diſcuſſions, becauſe I am in queſt, not of facts, but of principles. In our preſent ſtate of error,

vérité réelle, pour s'attacher à une vérité de convention, qui eſt ſeule à notre portée. C'eſt ainſi que parmi les individus, ou parmi les ſociétés indépendantes, la raiſon nous permet l'examen ſur les fondemens de leur autorité, et la defend ſur l'exercice qu'ils en font. Il en eſt du droit de faire la guerre, comme de celui de profiter de ſes conquêtes ; l'un et l'autre n'appartiennent qu'au parti de la juſtice. Mais comme notre raiſon n'a ſouvent pas aſſez de lumières pour le diſtinguer, et qu'elle ne peut jamais avoir l'autorité néceſſaire pour faire accepter ſa ſentence, elle eſt obligée de ſuppoſer cette juſtice à l'un et à l'autre, et de leur accorder tous les droits qui y ſont attachés.

Je me ſuis ſerré autant que j'ai pu. J'ai évité les réflexions acceſſoires, les conſéquences, et ſurtout les applications. Mais je ne puis que donner mes concluſions contre les alliés.

En tout cas, on ne pourroit que condamner Velleius Paterculus. Après avoir reconnu la juſtice des prétenſions des alliés *, il oſe louer la conduite de Minatius Magius, un de ſes ancêtres, qui demeura fidele aux Romains, qui leva une légion lui même, et qui ſe diſtingua dans les ſieges d'*Herculaneum*, de *Pompeii*, et de *Caſa* †. Mais ce Minatius, l'appui de ſes tyrans ſelon Velleius, ne pouvoit être fidele à Rome ſans être traitre à *Aſculum*. On voit

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error, vice, or weakneſs, we are often obliged to give up abſolute truths, for thoſe that are merely conventional, becauſe the only truths within our reach. It is thus that, with regard both to individuals and ſocieties, reaſon allows us to examine the foundation of their authority, but not to find fault with the manner in which they are pleaſed to exerciſe it. Both the right, and the exerciſe of that right, ought to be founded on juſtice; but as our reaſon is not always able to diſtinguiſh wherein that juſtice conſiſts, we are obliged to ſuppoſe it on the ſide of thoſe whoſe power we are unable to reſiſt.

I have endeavoured to be as conciſe as poſſible, avoiding reflections merely acceſſory; conſequences; and, above all, applications. On the whole, I am forced to give ſentence againſt the allies.

But on every ſuppoſition, Velleius Paterculus is blameable. After acknowledging the juſt pretenſions of the allies *, he has the impudence to praiſe the conduct of Minatius Magius, one of his own anceſtors, who, maintaining his fidelity to the Romans, raiſed a legion for their ſervice, and diſtinguiſhed his valour in the ſieges of Herculaneum, Pompeii, and Caſa †. But this Minatius, who, according to Velleius, was the defender of tyrants, could not approve his fidelity to Rome, without being a traitor to

* Vell. Paterc. L. ii. C. 15. † Ibid. C. 16.

Aſculum.

voit bien que l'adulateur de Sejan, étoit peu propre à juger des grands principes du droit naturel.

Novembre 22.]—J'ai lu la ſuite d'un extrait dans le deuxième tome de la *Bibliotheque Raiſonnée*, dont le commencement eſt *l'Hiſtoire de Servet rédigée, par M. Alevoerde, ſous les yeux du fameux Moſheim.* Le journaliſte, (qui pourroit être M. de la Chapelle,) ajoute beaucoup de recherches et d'obſervations ſur cet évenement ſingulier, qui ſont d'un prix fort au deſſus du livre lui même. Les deux auteurs avoient fort maltraité Calvin. Le journaliſte les relance vigoureuſement, et n'attribue cet acharnement qu'à un zele Luthérien, qui en vouloit au patriarche des Calviniſtes. Le ſupplice de Servet ne peut ſe juſtifier; mais Calvin n'a point agi dans cette affaire par des motifs humains, mais par un zele mal entendu, par un attachement à des maximes meurtrières à la vérité, mais qui étoient les maximes de toutes les égliſes Chrétiennes. Cependant il y a encore bien des choſes à dire. 1. Toutes les exemples qu'on a ramaſſés, tant d'égliſes, tant de théologiens, qui ſe ſont declarés pour la punition des hérétiques, ſont un hors d'œuvre ici. Jamais les principes et les actions des hommes, ne ſont plus différents, que lorſque les principes ſont oppoſés aux ſentimens naturels de l'humanité. Le cœur corrige les erreurs de l'eſprit. Un caractère humain, ſous les influences d'un faux zele, condamnera l'hérétique au ſupplice dans ſon

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Aſculum. It is plain, that the flatterer of Sejanus was not a fit judge of the great principles concerning the law of nations.

November 2.]—I read the continuation of an extract in the eleventh volume of the *Bibliotheque Raiſonnée*, containing the hiſtory of Servetus, written by Mr. Alevoerde, under the eyes of the famous Moſheim. The journaliſt (perhaps Mr. de la Chapelle) has many obſervations and reſearches concerning this extraordinary tranſaction, which are far more valuable than the book itſelf. The two authors had treated Calvin with great ſeverity. The reviewer repels their attacks, which he aſcribes to the rancour of Lutheran zeal againſt the patriarch of the Calviniſts. The puniſhment of Servetus cannot indeed be juſtified; but, in this buſineſs, Calvin was not actuated by worldly motives, but by a miſtaken religious zeal, and a reſpect for maxims which, though cruel and ſanguinary, were acknowledged and avowed by all Chriſtian churches. But many obſervations ſtill remain to be made. 1. The examples of churches and theologians who declare in favour of the puniſhment of hereties, are nothing to the preſent queſtion. Men's actions are never leſs guided by their principles, than when thoſe principles run counter to the natural ſentiments of humanity. The heart here corrects the errors of the underſtanding. A man of a humane character, under the influ-

ſon cabinet, mais le conduira-t-il lui même au bucher? Pour ne pas être effrayé au moment de repandre le ſang innocent, il faut un cœur dur et ſans pitié. 2. Je conviens que le zele d'une conſcience erronée eſt bien puiſſant. Il fera taire la voix de la pitié, mais étouffera-t-il ſes murmures? Ne verra-t-on pas dans le malheureux théologien un combat entre la religion et l'humanité? Ne s'appercevera t-on pas par ſa douleur et ſa triſteſſe, avec combien de regret il fait répandre le ſang de ſon frere. Brutus vit que la liberté, ou ſes fils alloient périr. Il prononca l'arrêt de ſes fils; mais s'il les avoit envoyés au ſupplice ſans effort, et ſans douleur, on diroit avec raiſon que ſa férocité naturelle, l'empechoit de ſentir la grandeur du ſacrifice, ou qu'il le faiſoit plutôt à ſa haine et à ſa vengeance, qu'au bien de la patrie. Je ne vois dans la conduite de Calvin qu'une dureté affreuſe à l'égard de Servet; il l'accable d'invectives, il tremble que ſa victime ne lui échappe, et c'eſt avec un eſpece de triomphe qu'il annonce ſa condamnation. Mais Servet épargna aſſez peu le théologien de Geneve. Je le ſais. Mais l'un accable d'injures un malheureux qu'il a mis dans les fers, pendant que l'autre laiſſe exhaler trop amèrement le ſentiment de ſes maux. Malheur au cœur qui ne ſent pas cette différence! 3. Quelques années auparavant, Servet avoit

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ence of a falſe zeal, will in his cloſet condemn a heretic to death; but will he drag him to the ſtake? Not to ſhudder at the ſhedding of innocent blood, requires a heart totally inſenſible to pity. 2. I acknowledge the power of falſe zeal and an erroneous conſcience. It is ſufficient to ſilence the voice of pity; but can it ſtifle its murmurs? Will not the unhappy theologian feel a combat in his own breaſt between religion and humanity? Will not the outward expreſſions of ſorrow indicate how deeply he is afflicted to ſhed his brother's blood? Brutus ſaw that the death of his ſons was neceſſary to ſave the liberty of Rome. He pronounced the fatal ſentence; but had he ſent them to puniſhment without any emotions of grief, it might have been juſtly ſaid that his natural ferocity hindered him from perceiving the magnitude of the ſacrifice that he made, and even that he had ſacrificed them rather to his own hatred and vengeance than to the ſafety of his country. In Calvin's behaviour, I can ſee nothing but the moſt abominable cruelty. He loads Servetus with invectives; he fears leſt his victim ſhould eſcape from his hands; and, in a tone of triumph, paſſes on him his ſentence of condemnation. But Servetus did not ſpare the Geneva divine. I know it. But the one loaded with reproaches a wretch whom he had confined in irons; the other only breathed out too loudly his agonies of ſuffering. Hard muſt be the heart which does not feel the difference! 3. A few years before, Servetus had communicated to Calvin all his religious opinions. Their epiſtolary correſpondence was

avoit communiqué à Calvin toutes ſes opinions. Cette controverſe épiſtolaire dura pendant quelques tems. Lorſque Servet fut arrêté à Vienne, Calvin envoya aux magiſtrats toutes ſes lettres. Je lui reproche ici d'avoir manqué à la probité d'un honnête homme, d'avoir violé la promeſſe tacite du ſecret qui eſt toujours ſuppoſé dans un pareil commerce, et d'avoir profité de la franchiſe de cet Eſpagnol pour le perdre. 4. Il faut ſe rappeller la ſituation de Calvin à Geneve. Legiſlateur d'une république nouvelle, il ſubiſſoit le ſort des innovateurs. Une faction nombreuſe, ayant en tête le premier Syndic, le pouſſoit avec acharnement, et ce parti, voyant que leur miniſtre pourſuivoit Servet, avoit épouſé ſon parti. Le procès de l'hérétique étoit le procès de Calvin; le journaliſte avoue ingénuement, que Calvin étoit perdu, ſi Servet ne périſſoit. Les amis du premier reconnoiſſent qu'il étoit opiniâtre, fier, et jaloux de ſon autorité. Qu'ils en tirent eux mêmes la conſéquence. Il falloit que le trône du réformateur, fût cimenté du ſang de Servet. 5. Dans une lettre écrite à un ami intime, Calvin ne diſſimule point ſon eſpérance, que Servet ſeroit condamné à mort; il ſouhaite, cependant, qu'on adouciſſe la rigueur de ſa peine, qu'on lui épargne apparemment le ſupplice du feu. Il l'éprouva cependant ce ſupplice, et Calvin étoit tout puiſſant à Geneve. Ou ce réformateur a trahi la vérité par une noire

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was of conſiderable duration. But when Servetus was ſeized at Vienna, Calvin ſent all his letters to the magiſtrates. In this inſtance, he may juſtly be reproached with having violated the tacit promiſe which is always ſuppoſed in ſuch a correſpondence, and which an honeſt man would have held ſacred, inſtead of availing himſelf of the frankneſs of this Spaniard, for the purpoſe of deſtroying him. 4. We muſt recollect Calvin's ſituation in Geneva. He was the legiſlator of a new republic, and experienced the difficulties incident to innovators. A numerous faction, headed by the firſt ſyndic, preſſed on him with rancour, and eſpouſed the cauſe of Servetus becauſe Calvin was his enemy. The latter was ſenſible that the proceſs of Servetus was his own: and the reviewer ingenuouſly confeſſes, that unleſs Servetus periſhed, Calvin was ruined. Calvin's friends acknowledge that he was opinionative, haughty, and jealous of his authority. Let themſelves draw the conſequence. It was neceſſary that the throne of the reformer ſhould be cemented with the blood of Servetus. 5. In a letter written to an intimate friend, Calvin does not diſſemble his hopes that Servetus would be ſoon condemned to death. He wiſhes, however, that he may eſcape the utmoſt rigour of that puniſhment; probably, that he might not be burnt alive. Yet this very rigour was afterwards approved by himſelf; and that at a time when he was all-powerful at Geneva. Either this reformer concealed his real ſentiments under dark hypocriſy and

noire hypocriſie, et par une douceur d'inquiſiteur, ou quelque motif très différent de la religion, l'a empêché de ſolliciter une grace que ſa conſcience l'obligeoit de demander au magiſtrat, et qu'il auroit ſurément obtenue. 6. En raſſemblant ces circonſtances, et en les combinant avec le caractère connu de Calvin, ne conclura-t-on pas qu'un cœur dur et farouche, une ame ambitieuſe, la haine pour un homme qui frondoit ſes opinions, et qui mépriſoit ſes inſtructions, s'étoient joints au zele religieux, pour engager Calvin à pourſuivre le malheureux Servet? M. de Voltaire avoit donc raiſon, quand il a dit que Calvin avoit l'ame atroce et l'eſprit éclairé.

Novembre 3.]—J'ai lu *Cluvier Ital. Antiq. L. ii. C. xv, xvi. p.* 762—786; fin du premier tome. Il acheve la nation des *Marſi*, et parcourt enſuite le pays rude et montagneux des *Equi*, qui donnerent tant de peine aux Romains dans le commencement de leur état. *Alba Fucentia* étoit une colonie Romaine dans le territoire des *Marſi*, ſur les bords du Lac *Fucinus*. Comme le pays étoit agréable, et que ſa ſituation au milieu des terres le rendoit fort aſſuré, le ſénat y envoyoit ſouvent des priſonniers d'état, des rois vaincus et detronés, à qui on vouloit accorder une priſon douce et aiſée. Perſée, roi de Macedoine, y mourut; on lui fit un enterrement public: traitement bien différent de celui qu'éprouva le malheureux Jugurtha, qu'on précipita

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inquiſitorial mildneſs, or motives very different from thoſe of religion hindered him from ſoliciting from the magiſtrates a favour, which his conſcience obliged him to demand, and which he was ſure would not have been refuſed. 6. When we collect and combine all theſe circumſtances with the acknowledged character of the reformer, can we doubt that a hard and cruel heart, an ambitious ſoul, and hatred towards the man who deſpiſed his inſtructions, and impeached his opinions, united with religious zeal in impelling Calvin to perſecute the unfortunate Servetus? Voltaire therefore is right, when he ſays, that Calvin had an enlightened mind, but an atrocious ſoul.

November 3.]—I read Cluverius Ital. Antiq. L. ii. C. xv, xvi. p. 762—786; where the firſt volume ends. He concludes his account of the *Marſi*, and then deſcribes the rude and mountainous country of the *Equi*, whom it coſt the Romans, in the infancy of their ſtate, ſo much trouble to conquer. *Alba Fucentia* was a Roman colony in the territory of the *Marſi*, on the banks of the lake *Fucinus*. The pleaſantneſs of the country, and the ſecurity of its inland ſituation, made the Romans often ſend thither priſoners of ſtate, conquered and dethroned kings, to whom they wiſhed to give, inſtead of a priſon, a ſoft and comfortable retreat. Perſeus, king of Macedon, died there, and was honoured with a public funeral; a treatment very different from that of the unfortunate Jugurtha, who was thrown into the *Carcer Tullia-*

cipita dans le *Carcer Tullianus*, pour le laiſſer expirer de faim et de froid. La raiſon de cette différence ſera expliquée ailleurs*.

Novembre 4.]—J'ai lu *Cluvier, L. iii. C. i. p.* 787—820. Il eſt enfin arrivé à la partie la plus intéreſſante de l'Italie; le Latium et les environs de la capitale; mais, avant que d'entrer dans ce détail, il faut eſſuyer des préliminaires aſſez ennuyeux; les *Œnotri*, les *Siculi*, les *Pelaſgi*, et les *Aborigines*, recherches obſcures, où le fil nous échappe à chaque inſtant des mains. Cluvier n'avoit point aſſez de netteté dans l'eſprit, ni aſſez de critique pour débrouiller cette antiquité reculée, dont Fréret n'a pu réſoudre les difficultés, qu'en les diſſimulant.

J'ai achevé *le vingt huitième tome de la Bibliotheque Raiſonnée*. J'y trouve *Hiſtoire de la Société de Jeſus:* mauvaiſe rapſodie de contes aſſez connus, qui ſuppoſe partout, peut être avec raiſon, que la crédulité du public, et la méchanceté des Jeſuites, ſont ſans bornes. Elle eſt au reſte mal écrite, ſans méthode, et remplie de hors-d'œuvres.—*Défenſe de la Traduction de l'Hiſtoire du Concile de Trente, par le pere le Courayer*. Le journaliſte s'emporte contre cet écrivain aimable, pur avoir accepté le titre de Docteur de l'univerſité

* Voyez Pieces Détachées, No. 7.

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nus, to die of cold and hunger. The reaſon for this difference will be explained elſewhere †.

November 4.]—I read Cluverius, L. iii. C. i. p. 787—820. He comes at length to the moſt intereſting part of Italy; Latium, and the neighbourhood of the capital; not however without leading us through the tireſome round of the *Oenotri*, *Siculi*, *Pelaſgi*, and *Aborigines*; in which obſcure reſearches the thread of connection is always ſlipping through our hands. Cluverius had not that clearneſs and criticiſm neceſſary for unravelling the perplexities of thoſe remote antiquities; the difficulties of which Freret has eluded, becauſe he was not able to reſolve them.

I finiſhed the eighteenth volume of the *Bibliotheque Raiſonnée*. It contains the *Hiſtory of the Jeſuits*: an idle rhapſody of well-known ſtories, the belief of which ſuppoſes, perhaps with good reaſon, unbounded wickedneſs in the Jeſuits, and unbounded credulity in the public. This work, beſides, is ill-written; without method, and deformed by digreſſions.—*Defence of the Tranſlation of the Hiſtory of the Council of Trent, by Father Courayer*. The reviewer is angry at this amiable writer for accepting of the degree of Doctor from the univerſity of Oxford, although he was not a proteſtant. Yet, without coming to a perfect identity of opinions, the two religions nearly meet; the

† See Detached Pieces, No. 7.

univerſity

ſité d'Oxford, ſans être proteſtant. Cependant à moins que de vouloir une identité de ſentiments, l'univerſité, à force d'outrer les doctrines Anglicanes, et le pere le Courayer, en adouciſſant celles de Rome, s'étoient approchés d'aſſez près.—*Geſta Danorum extra Daniam, par Pontoppidan:* recueils curieux de vérités et de fables, pour ſervir à la gloire d'une nation qui n'avoit beſoin que des premières.—*Commentaire du P. Hardouin, ſur le Nouveau Teſtament.* Il veut que la Vulgate ſoit l'original, dont on a fait cette verſion, que nous appellons le texte Grec.—*Machiavel Républicain.* Dans cette defence l'on employe l'argument banal, que Machiavel n'a fait ſon *prince*, que pour inſpirer aux Médicis des maximes qui les rendiſſent odieux à tout le monde; mais on l'affoiblit encore, en prouvant qu'il a écrit ce traité avant leur uſurpation.—*Antiquités de la Nation Françoiſe, par M. le Gendre.* Savantes, mais ſans critique. J'aime le bon Le Gendre, qui reconnoit les Scythes libres d'Hérodote, pour les ancêtres des François, à leurs égards pour les Amazones.—*Diſcours politiques de M. Gordon; et Parallele des François et des Romains, par l'Abbé Mably.* Voila deux écrivains qui ſe ſont acquit une grande reputation; l'un par la fierté de ſa marche, et par ſon enthouſiaſme; l'autre par un air d'honnête homme, et par ſon ton ſec et raiſonneur. Je ne leur ai jamais trouvé cependant, que des idées fort communes.

J'ai

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univerſity carrying to the utmoſt length the opinions of the Anglican church, and the Father Courayer ſoftening as much as poſſible thoſe of the church of Rome.—*Pontoppidan's Geſta Danorum extra Daniam:* a curious collection of truths and fable to raiſe the glory of a nation, which required only the former.—*Hardouin's Commentary on the New Teſtament.* He pretends that the Vulgate is the true original, of which the Greek text is only the tranſlation.—*Machiavel a Republican.* The author makes uſe of the vulgar argument, viz. that Machiavel wrote his Prince to inſpire the Medicis with maxims that muſt render them univerſally odious; but this argument is deſtroyed by proving that treatiſe to have been written before their uſurpation.—*Antiquities of the French Nation, by Mr. Le Gendre:* learned, but without criticiſm. The ſimplicity of the good Le Gendre diſcovers the Scythians to be the anceſtors of the French, from their polite behaviour to the Amazons.—*Political Diſcourſes, by Mr. Gordon; and a Parallel of the French with the Romans, by the Abbé Mably.* Theſe two writers have gained a great reputation; the one by boldneſs and enthuſiaſm, the other by his appearance of honeſty and calm reaſoning. Yet I have never been able to diſcover in their works any thing but common place. I have been in company with the latter,

J'ai vu le dernier; je puis repondre que ſon goût pour la monarchie, s'eſt bien ralenti depuis une vingtaine d'années.

Novembre 5.]—J'ai lu *Cluvier Ital. Antiq. L. iii. C. ii. p.* 820—870. Il y joue plutôt le role d'antiquaire et de critique, que celui de géographe, qui lui convenoit bien mieux. Par une incrédulité inconnue aux Pouilly et aux Beaufort, il relegue toute l'hiſtoire des premières ſiecles de Rome, dans la claſſe de fictions. Il fait main baſſe ſur les rois de Rome, auſſi bien que ſur ceux d'Albe. Il ne croit pas plus à Romulus qu'à Enée; les contradictions des écrivains ſur les origines de Rome, la groſſièreté des premiers Romains, l'hiſtoire peu vraiſemblable de la naiſſance et de l'éducation de leur fondateur; voila ſes armes qu'il a raſſemblées avec ſavoir, mais dont il ſe ſert aſſez mal adroitement. Après avoir renverſé le ſyſtême reçu, il expoſe le ſien. Quand les Aborigines ſortirent du pays des Sabins, pour attaquer les *Siculi*, ils avoient pour alliés, une colonie Pelaſgique ſortie de l'Arcadie. La conquête achevée, le chef de ces Pelaſges s'empara de *Valentia*, ville des *Siculi*, ſur les bords du Tybre, et lui donna le nom de Rome. Ils ſe répandirent dans la ſuite, ſe mêlerent aux Aborigines, et formerent la nation commune des Latins. Cet évenement arriva plus de quinze ſiecles avant l'ère Chrétienne. C'eſt à ce chêf Pelaſgique, le véritable fondateur de Rome,

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and can anſwer for it, that his admiration of monarchy has much cooled in the ſpace of twenty years.

November 5.]—I read Cluverius Ital. Antiq. L. iii. C. ii. p. 820—870. He is here rather the critic and antiquary than the geographer, which laſt character becomes him far the beſt. With an incredulity beyond that of Pouilly and Beaufort, he regards the whole hiſtory of the firſt ages of Rome as fabulous. He dethrones the Roman, as well as the Alban kings; and has no more belief in Romulus than in Eneas; uſing learned arguments, weakly urged, drawn from the contradictory accounts of writers concerning the origin of Rome, the groſs ignorance of the firſt Romans, and the improbable circumſtances told of the birth and education of their founder. Having overturned the received ſyſtem, he proceeds to explain his own. When the Aborigines left the country of the Sabines to invade the Seculi, they were in alliance with a Pelaſgic colony from Arcadia. The Seculi were conquered; and the leader of the Pelaſgi took poſſeſſion of Valencia, one of their towns on the banks of the Tiber, and gave it the name of Rome. The Pelaſgi afterwards ſeparated; and mixing with the Aborigines, formed with them the nation called Latins. This event happened fifteen centuries before the Chriſtian æra; and to this Pelaſgic chief, the true

Rome, qu'il faut rapporter le peu de vérités, ſur leſquelles on a bâti toutes les fables d'un Saturne, d'un Janus, d'un Evandre, d'un Enée, et d'un Romulus. Ce ſyſtême eſt neuf; il a des côtés ſpécieux, mais qu'il eſt foible! Deux réflexions ſuffiront pour le detruire. 1. Peut on comprendre que les Romains ayent perdu toute mémoire des huit premiers ſiecles de leur hiſtoire, et que ne pouvant remonter plus haut que le huitième ſiecle avant Jeſus Chriſt, ils ayent été obligés de cacher leur ignorance, ſous la fable aſſez groſſière qu'ils y ont placée, d'un prétendu fondateur? Beaucoup de villes ont inventé des fictions, pour reculer l'époque de leur fondation, pour ſe donner une origine plus ancienne et plus noble. Celle-ci en auroit-elle fabriqué une pour abréger ſa durée de ſept cens ſoixante ans, pour ſubſtituer à la vérité, qui lui donnoit pour fondateurs les anciens Pelaſges, une fable honteuſe, qui la peuple de bergers et de voleurs? Les Romains ſavoient, ils croyoient du moins, qu'Evandre s'étoit établi ſur le Mont Palatin; s'ils ignoroient l'hiſtoire des ſiecles intermédiaires, n'auroient-ils point ſu lier ces vérités éloignées par un chaine de noms, de générations, et de fables, comme ils ont ſu placer une ſucceſſion de rois Albains, pour remplir le vuide entre Enée et Romulus. On ne peut accorder à Cluvier toutes ces ſuppoſitions, qui lui ſont néceſſaires, ſans porter l'ignorance et la groſſièreté des premiers Romains, à un point inconcevable dans un peuple qui habitoit les villes, et qui

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true founder of Rome, ought to be referred the few facts on the baſis of which ſo many fables have been built concerning the ſuppoſed perſonages—Saturn, Janus, Evander, Eneas, and Romulus. This ſyſtem is new, and in ſome parts ſpecious; but it is ſo weak, that two reflexions are ſufficient to overturn it. 1. Can it be imagined that the Romans, having loſt all memory of eight hundred years of their hiſtory, and not being able to go higher than the eighth century before Chriſt, ſhould have been obliged to conceal their ignorance under the abſurd fable which they gave out concerning their pretended founder? Many cities have invented fictions for the purpoſe of magnifying their antiquity and nobility. But the fable fabricated by the Romans, abridges their hiſtory by the period of 760 years, and ſubſtitutes for their ancient Pelaſgic origin, a pretended deſcent from ſhepherds and robbers. The Romans knew, at leaſt they believed, the ſettlement of Evander on Mount Palatine; and if they were ignorant of the tranſactions of the intermediate centuries, would not this ſpace have been filled up by names, genealogies, and fables, ſuch as were interpoſed to form the chain between Eneas and Romulus? Theſe ſuppoſitions are neceſſary for Cluverius' ſyſtem, but cannot be made without ſuppoſing in the firſt Romans a degree of groſs ignorance, inconceivable in a nation inhabiting cities, and enjoying the uſe of

qui avoit l'uſage des lettres. 2. Mais en les accordant à Cluvier, elles ne prouveroient que contre lui. Cette ignorance, qui nous a défiguré l'hiſtoire des Romains, n'auroit-elle pas anéanti celle des Pelaſges, leurs ayeux ſi reculés? Quel privilege ſingulier que celui de ce peuple, dont on choiſit des migrations, comme des faits dont il n'eſt pas permis de douter, et qui doivent ſervir à diſſiper tous les nuages, toutes les fables dont on a obſcurci l'hiſtoire plus recente de leur deſcendans?

Le ſort de l'hypothèſe du ſavant géographe ne me paroît pas douteux; mais elle peut être chimérique, ſans que l'hiſtoire Romaine ſoit vraie. J'abandonne de bonne grace au Pyrrhoniſme hiſtorique, ou plutôt au mépris et à l'oubli, les hauts faits d'Enée, la colonie Troyenne, les rois d'Albe, et la louve de Romulus. Mais quel degré de foi peut on ajouter à la première decade de Tite Live? Pour diſcuter une ſemblable queſtion, il faudroit du loiſir et des connoiſſances. Je n'ai ni l'un ni l'autre. Pour ouvrir cependant une route nouvelle dans un ſujet preſque épuiſé, je dirai ſeulement; 1. Il faut ſe fixer, plus qu'on n'a fait, à des idées préciſes. Cluvier lui même avoueroit qu'on peut y decouvrir quelques vérités enſevelies ſous un amas de fables. L'Abbé Sallier ne diſconviendroit pas que l'hiſtoire Romaine n'ait ſubi le ſort commun de toutes les hiſtoires, dont la pureté eſt ſouillée par quelques

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letters. 2. But theſe ſuppoſitions, if granted, would militate againſt the ſyſtem which they are meant to eſtabliſh. The ſame ignorance which obliterated the hiſtory of the Romans, muſt alſo have deſtroyed that of the Pelaſgi, their remote anceſtors. How extraordinary is the privilege granted to the latter nation, whoſe ancient migrations are ſuppoſed to be undoubted facts that admit not of diſpute, and that ought to be employed for diſſipating all the clouds that obſcure the hiſtory of their more recent poſterity?

The hypotheſis of the learned geographer muſt fall to the ground; but the falſeneſs of that hypotheſis does not prove the Roman hiſtory to be true. I readily give up to hiſtorical ſcepticiſm, or rather to contempt and oblivion, the high exploits of Eneas, the Trojan colony, the kings of Alba, and the wolf of Romulus. But what degree of credit ought to be given to the firſt decade of Livy? To diſcuſs fully ſuch a queſtion would require knowledge and leiſure. I have neither of the two. Yet merely to break new ground on a queſtion almoſt exhauſted, I would obſerve; 1. that it requires greater preciſion of ideas, than has hitherto been aimed at. Cluverius would allow that ſome truths may be diſcovered amidſt the heap of fables; and the Abbé Sallier would acknowledge that the Roman has ſhared the fate of all hiſtories, whoſe purity has been corrupted by ſome fictions. Before entering upon the controverſy, I ſhall

quelques fictions. Avant que d'entamer la controverſe, je donnerai mon ſymbole, et pour ne pas embraſſer trop de terrein, je me bornerai aux faits énoncés dans les abrégés des dix premières livres de Tite Live. Je me chargerois hardiment de leur défenſe, ſans abandonner cependant celle de quelques détails, qui me paroîtroient les plus vraiſemblables. 2. Toutes les preuves externes ſont épuiſées. Sur les grandes annales, les mémoires domeſtiques, &c. il eſt difficile d'ajouter quelque choſe aux argumens de M. M. Sallier et Freret, et aux objections de M. M. de Pouilly et de Beaufort. Je changerais de batterie, et je me ſervirais plutôt des preuves que les théologiens ont appellé internes. J'établirais que les premiers hiſtoriens Romains étant du tems de la guerre d'Annibal, les fables qu'ils nous rapportent ſelon mes adverſaires, ont du être établies dans la foi publique, une cinquantaine d'années auparavant. Je combinerais la nature de ces fables avec l'état du peuple Romain, et j'examinerais s'il eſt vraiſemblable qu'on eut inventé, et qu'on eut pu faire adopter des fables de cette eſpece ſous des circonſtances pareilles.

Novembre 6.]—J'ai lu *Cluvier Ital. Antiq. L. iii. C. iii. p.* 870—900. Il y parle des lieux maritimes du *Latium.* Ils étoient en petit nombre ; mais on y voit les noms célebres du fleuve *Numicus* et *Oſtie,* de *Laurentum* et de *Lavinium* (qu'on a ſouvent confondu avec *Lanuvium*). Je ſuis ſurpris qu'il n'ait

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give my own articles of faith ; and not to expatiate in too wide a field, ſhall confine myſelf to the tranſactions related in the abridgment of the firſt books of Livy. I would venture to maintain that theſe tranſactions happened, without giving up ſome of the more probable circumſtances with which they are ſaid to have been accompanied. 2. The ſubject of the external proofs is exhauſted. Concerning the great annals, the domeſtic memoirs, &c. nothing can be added to the arguments of Meſſrs. Sallier and Freret on one ſide, and the objections of Meſſrs. Pouilly and Beaufort on the other. I would change the mode of attack, and make uſe of the proofs which divines call internal. My argument would be, that the firſt Roman hiſtorians having lived in the days of Hannibal, the fables which, according to my adverſaries, they refuted, muſt have gained poſſeſſion of the public fifty years before that period. I would combine the nature of thoſe fables with the condition of the Romans, and examine whether it is likely that, under ſuch circumſtances, ſimilar fables ſhould either have been invented or believed.

November 6.]—I read Cluverius Ital. Antiq. L. iii. C. iii. p. 870—900. He treats of the maritime places of Latium. They were few in number; we meet however with the celebrated names of the river Numicus, Oſtia, Laurentum, and Lavinium, often confounded with

n'ait rien dit de la *Villa Laurentina* de Pline le jeune, que ſon poſſeſſeur a ſi bien décrite. Il auroit facilement pu en déterminer la ſituation, et placer fort à propos ces paſſages de Pline, qui nous repréſentent ſi vivement la face du pays. Je vois que ſelon Virgile, les Troyens remonterent le Tybre, et qu'Enée appuya ſon premier camp ſur la rivière; pendant que la foule des écrivains, fortifiée par la fable de la truye, et par quelques expreſſions aſſez vagues à la verité du poëte lui même, place le débarquement d'Enée a l'embouchure du *Numicus*, auprès de cet endroit, où il batit peu de tems après la ville de *Lavinium*.

Novembre 7.]—J'ai lu *Cluvier Ital. Antiq. L. iii. C. iv. p.* 900—950. L'auteur continue à décrire le *Latium*; la partie mediterranée renfermoit *Lanuvium*, *Aricia*, *Alba*, *Tuſculum*, *Gabii*, &c. lieux célèbres dans les commencemens de Rome par la reſiſtance que ces cités libres lui oppoſerent, et dans la ſuite par tant ce belles *villæ* dont les grands de la république, et les empereurs, remplirent tous les environs de la capitale. Toujours des fables Grecques: il n'y a preſque point de ces villes aux quelles on n'ait donné un fondateur de cette nation. De toutes ces fictions aſſez mal imaginées, que les Grecs ont fabriqué ſur les régions occidentales, et ſurtout l'Italie, il y en a quelques unes iſolées, mais la plus part tiennent à l'un de ces trois évenemens célebres;

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with Lanuvium. I am ſurpriſed he ſhould omit to ſpeak of Pliny the younger's Laurentina villa, which is ſo well deſcribed by its maſter. He might eaſily have aſcertained its ſituation, and have very properly inſerted thoſe paſſages of Pliny, which exhibit ſo lively a picture of the circumjacent country. I perceive that Virgil makes the Trojans ſail up the Tyber, and places Eneas' firſt camp on the banks of the river; whereas the greater part of writers, relying on the ſtory of the ſow, and ſome very vague expreſſions indeed of the poet himſelf, ſuppoſe that hero to have landed at the mouth of the Numicus, near to the place where he built ſhortly afterwards the city of Lavinium.

November 7.]—I read Cluverius Ital. Antiq. L. iii. C. iv. p. 900—950. The author continues to deſcribe Latium; the inland country contained Lanuvium, Aricia, Alba, Tuſculum, and Gabii; places famous during the firſt ages of Rome on account of their reſiſtance to its arms; and afterwards, on account of the beautiful villas with which the great men of the republic, and the emperors, crowded the neighbourhood of the capital. Continually Greek fables; there is ſcarcely one of thoſe cities which has not a ſuppoſed founder belonging to that nation. Of all thoſe fables, often very ill-contrived by the Greeks, concerning weſtern nations, eſpecially Italy, there are ſome few that ſtand apart, but the greater number are connected with one or other of thoſe three

célebres; le retour d'Hercule de ſon expédition Iberienne, les voyages des Argonautes, et ceux d'Ulyſſe.

J'ai achevé *le vingt neuvième tome de la Bibliotheque Raiſonnée.* J'y trouve *De Traditione Principiorum Legis Naturalis, par Auſaldus.* La révélation primitive conſervée par la tradition, ou par des principes que chaque individu ne peut que decouvrir par lui même; ces deux ſyſtêmes (dis je) produiſent le même effet, mais ce dernier eſt plus ſimple, et convient mieux aux attributs du créateur.—*Hiſtoire Univerſelle, par une Société de Gens de Lettres; premier et ſecond Extrait.* On ſait que le commencement de ce grand ouvrage eſt excellent. Le journaliſte fait voir aſſez bien que la grêle, qui acheva la defaite de Cananéens, n'étoit qu'une grêle ordinaire, et que des hiſtoriens, qui y ont vu des pierres énormes formées et ſoutenues dans l'air juſqu'au moment de leur chute, ſont des phyſiciens un peu trop crédules.—*Catalogue méthodique des Plantes Suiſſes, par Albert Haller.* Un ouvrage de botanique m'intéreſſe peu, mais M. de Haller m'intéreſſe beaucoup. Ce génie univerſel a ſcu réunir le feu du poëte avec la ſagacité et la défiance du phyſicien: ſes connoiſſances égalent ſes talens. Une application ſoutenue lui fait tout dévorer; une conception facile le fait marcher d'un pas rapide; une mémoire heureuſe juſqu'à tenir du prodige, ne laiſſe rien échapper de ce qu'on lui a confié. Il y a quelques années qu'il ſoupa chez M. de G. dont la mémoire

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three celebrated events; the return of Hercules from his Iberian expedition, the voyages of the Argonauts, and thoſe of Ulyſſes.

I finiſhed the twenty-ninth volume of the *Biblietheque Raiſonnée.* It contains *De Traditione Principiorum Legis Naturalis, by Auſaldus.* The primitive revelation, whether preſerved by tradition, or by principles which each individual may diſcover by the exerciſe of his own reaſon, will be attended with the ſame conſequences; but the latter hypotheſis is more ſimple, and more conſonant to the attributes of the Creator.—*The Univerſal Hiſtory, by a Society of Men of Letters: firſt and ſecond Extract.* The excellence of the firſt part of this great work is well known. The reviewer ſhows clearly that the hail-ſtones which completed the defeat of the inhabitants of Canaan, was only a ſtorm of ordinary hail, and refutes the credulity of thoſe hiſtorians who think that it conſiſted of large ſtones, formed and ſupported in the air till the moment of their fall.—*A methodical Catalogue of the Plants found in Switzerland, by Albert Haller.* I am little intereſted in a work on botany, but very much in Mr. Haller. This univerſal genius unites the fire of poetry with the ſagacity and diſcernment of the philoſopher: his natural abilities are equal to his acquired knowledge. His memory is retentive to a degree almoſt miraculous. A few years ago he ſupped with Mr. de G.

mêmoire n'eſt pas moins ſurprenante : on y parloit des affaires de Suede, des antiquités de Rome ; et le littérateur redreſſoit toujours le voyageur. Parmi beaucoup d'admirateurs, il a cependant peu d'amis. A Gottingen, à Berne, au pays de Vaud, ſon caractère fier, violent, et ambitieux, a toujours révolté tout le monde.—*Hiſtoire de Guillaume le Conquérante, par l'Abbé Prevôt.* J'y ai trouvé quelques morceaux d'un vieux chroniqueur, dont la naïveté m'a fait grand plaiſir.—*Hiſtoire du Mont Veſuve, par l'Académie de Naples :* très curieuſe. La chaleur des Lavanges, quand leur première fureur s'eſt amortie, eſt encore très ſupérieure au fer ardent.

Novembre 8.]—Me trouvant un peu incommodé, je n'ai rien fait que de lire un petit ouvrage que M. Pavilliard m'avoit prêté. Il s'appelle *Lettres écrites de la Campagne.* Il roule ſur les troubles de Geneve, que je ne connois que comme tout le monde. Ces lettres ſont d'un homme d'eſprit, qui affecte un peu trop la manière de Monteſquieu. Il ſe declare pour le magiſtrat, et regarde comme un frein ſalutaire, cette approbation préalable du petit conſeil, ſans laquelle nulle affaire ne peut être portée devant l'aſſemblée générale. Il la compare à la voix négative du roi dans la conſtitution d'Angleterre. Mais quelle différence immenſe entre la voix négative qui précede la déliberation, et celle qui la ſuit !

Novembre

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whoſe memory is alſo ſurpriſing. The converſation turned on the affairs of Sweden, and the antiquities of Rome; and the ſcholar always corrected the traveller. With all his admirers, Haller has but few friends. Wherever he has happened to reſide, at Gottingen, Berne, or the Pays de Vaud, his harſh, haughty, and ambitious character has offended all his acquaintances.—*The Hiſtory of William the Conqueror, by the Abbé Prevôt.* I found in it ſome quotations from an old chronicle, the natural ſimplicity of which gave me great pleaſure.—*Hiſtory of Mount Veſuvius, by the Academy of Naples :* very curious. The heat of the lava, even after its firſt violence has abated, is far greater than that of red-hot iron.

November 8.]—Being unwell, I did nothing but read a ſmall work which Mr. Pavilliard had lent to me. It is intitled, *Letters written from the Country*, and relates to the troubles of Geneva; concerning which I know nothing more than the public at large. Theſe letters are written by a man of abilities, who affects too much however the ſtyle of Monteſquieu. He is an advocate for the magiſtrates, and conſiders as a ſalutary check the previous approbation of the little council, before any bill can be propoſed to the general aſſembly. This regulation he compares with the King's negative in the conſtitution of England. But there is a wide difference between a negative before, and after deliberation.

Novembre 11.]—J'ai achevé le *trentième tome de la Bibliotheque Raiſonnée*. J'y trouve *Lettres de Cuper*; ſavantes, et qui donnent une auſſi bonne idée du cœur, que de l'eſprit de ce ſavant Hollandois.—*Hiſtoire Civile du Royaume de Naples, par M. Giannone.*—La candeur, la pénétration, et la liberté de cet excellent juriſconſulte, feront toujours eſtimer ſon ouvrage par tous les ſages. Les eccleſiaſtiques ne ſont pas de ce nombre.—*Poëſies du Roi de Navarre:* le rang de l'auteur, l'antiquité de ces poëſies, et plus encore leurs beautés réelles, leur donnent un très grand prix.—*Diſſertation de M. Taylor, ſur la Loi des Decemvirs contre les Debiteurs inſolvables.* L'idée n'eſt pas nouvelle. Il falloit vendre un tel debiteur, et partager le prix de l'eſclave, et non pas l'eſclave lui même. Comme ce journal commence à s'humaniſer un peu trop, on n'a point oſé inſérer le Latin, dont on peut à peine ſe paſſer dans cette diſcuſſion.—*Hiſtoire Univerſelle*; *Extrait troiſième:* le journaliſte ramaſſe beaucoup d'exemples curieux ſur la force de la muſique.—*Hiſtoire Naturelle des Poiſſons, par Klein:* curieuſe.—*Lettres du Comte d'Eſtrades.* On y vois tous les reſſorts de la politique Françoiſe, et toute l'ambition de Louis XIV.—*Traité ſur le Nombre des Habitans de la Hollande et de la Weſt Friſe, par M. Kerſeboom.* Comme cet ouvrage curieux eſt en Hollandois, je m'étendrai un peu ſur cet extrait. Voici le précis de ſes obſervations.

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November 11.]—I finiſhed the thirtieth volume of the *Bibliotheque Raiſonnée*. It contains *Cuper's Letters*; which give as favourable an impreſſion of the heart as of the underſtanding of this learned Dutchman.—*The Civil Hiſtory of the Kingdom of Naples, by Mr. Giannone.* The candour, penetration, and freedom, of this excellent lawyer, will ever enſure to this work the eſteem of all wiſe men. Churchmen are not always of the number.—*Poems, by the King of Navarre:* highly valuable, on account of the rank of the author, their antiquity, and their own real beauties.—*Taylor's Diſſertation on the Law of the Decemvirs againſt Inſolvent Debtors.* His concluſion is not new. He thinks the debtor was ſold as a ſlave, and the price received for him divided amongſt his creditors, and not the ſlave himſelf. As this journal begins to grow too faſhionable, the reviewer does not venture to inſert the Latin, which cannot however eaſily be diſpenſed with in this diſcuſſion.—*Univerſal Hiſtory; third Extract.* The reviewer collects a great number of curious examples on the power of muſic.—*Natural Hiſtory of Fiſhes, by Klein:* curious.—*The Count d'Eſtrade's Letters* lay open the ſprings of the French policy, and all the ambition of Louis XIV.—*A Treatiſe on the Number of Inhabitants in Holland and Weſt Frieſland, by Mr. Kerſeboom.* As this curious work is in Dutch, I ſhall ſpeak of it at ſome length. The reſult of his obſervations is;

1. Le nombre des enfans nés tous les ans eſt 28,000. 2. Le total des habitans eſt de 980,000; c'eſt à dire dans la proportion de 35 à un, aux naiſſances. 3. Il y a dans cette province 169,000 couples de gens mariés. Après avoir défalqué un nombre convenable de batards, ſur les 28,000 enfans, il reſultera une proportion exacte, que ſur treize marriages de tout age, il y en a deux de procréans tous les ans. 4. M. Kerſeboom a trouvé par ſes combinaiſons, que de deux perſonnes mariées entre les ages de 20 et de 50 ans, il y a 13 chances contre 7, qu'au bout de 20 ans l'une ou l'autre des deux ſera morte. 5. Sur 1430 enfans nouvellement nés, voici les vraiſemblances pour le nombre d'entre eux qui reſtera en vie à chaque age.

Age.	Reſteront en vie.	Age.	Reſteront en vie.
1	1125	60	382
10	895	70	245
20	817	80	100
30	711	90	10
40	605	95	1
50	507		

Novembre 12.]—J'ai lu un petit ouvrage nouveau, *un poëme en proſe*, nommé *Olivier*. Le ſtyle en eſt aiſé, facile, et coulant; mais rarement aſſez élevé

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1. The number of children born yearly amount to 28,000. 2. The total of the inhabitants to 980,000; that is, in the proportion of 35 to 1, of the births. 3. The number of married couples is 169,000. After ſubtracting the baſtards, it turns out that of thirteen married couples of all ages, two produce children yearly. 4. Mr. Kerſeboom finds by his calculations, that of two perſons that enter into wedlock between the ages of 20 and 50, it is 13 to 7 that one will die before the lapſe of twenty years. 5. Of 1400 new born children, the probable number of thoſe who will remain alive at each of the aſſigned ages, is as follows:

Age.	Alive.	Age.	Alive.
1	1125	60	382
10	895	70	245
20	817	80	100
30	711	90	10
40	605	95	1
50	507		

November 12.]—I read a ſmall new work, a poem in proſe, intitled, *Olivier*. The ſtyle is eaſy and flowing, but rarely elevated to a pitch deſerving the name of

élevé, pour mériter à l'ouvrage le nom de poëme. Les détails ſon intéreſſans; les avantures de cet Olivier, qui ſubjugue la haine du Comte à force de bien faits, nous attachent. Celles d'Enguerrand et de ſon écuyer, nous amuſent. Son avanture dans le village du Limouſin, fait le pendant de Gil Blas, et de l'archévêque de Grenade. Elle eſt du vrai comique. Les voyages de Fleur d'Epine ſont partout trop extravagans. L'iſle des muſiciens n'eſt pas mauvaiſe; cependant toute la plaiſantérie n'eſt fondée que ſur un jeu de mots, et ſur l'équivoque du mot *air*. Mais l'ordonnance du poëme eſt déteſtable. Ces recits, coupés par chants, et repris quand on les a preſque oubliés, m'ont excedé. C'eſt la méthode de l'Arioſte. Eh bien! la méthode d'Arioſte ne vaut rien; mais pourquoi confondre les écarts naturels d'un génie qui ne connoit point de regles, et le deſordre étudié d'un eſprit qui extravague avec méthode, et qui ſe gêne pour violer les loix qu'il connoit?

Novembre 14.]—J'ai lu *Cluvier Ital. Antiq. L. iii. C. iv, v. p.* 950—979. L'auteur y parcourt les autres villes Mediterranées du Latium; *Tibur, Præneſte, Gabii*, &c. Il paſſe delà aux *Rutuli*, qui occupoient un petit territoire entre les Latins, les Volſques, et la mer. Il paroît que cette petite tribu s'étoit détachée du corps politique des Latins, puiſqu'elle ne participoit point aux ſacrifices du Mont Albain, qui le réuniſſoit tous les ans. Mais

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poetry. The ſtory is intereſting; we are pleaſed with the adventures of this Olivier, who ſubdues the Count's hatred by good offices. The characters of Enguerrand and his ſquire are amuſing. His adventure in the village of the Limouſin is a counterpart to that of Gil Blas with the archbiſhop of Grenada. The travels of Fleur d'Epine are throughout too extravagant. The iſle of muſicians is not a bad fancy; but the whole pleaſantry is founded on a pun, the double meaning of the word *air*. The arrangement of the poem is deteſtable. I am provoked to find the narrative continually broken into cantos; and thoſe parts of it reſumed which had been almoſt forgotten. The author has imitated Arioſto. That is true; but Arioſto's arrangement is good for nothing. Beſides, we ought not to confound the natural wanderings of a great genius unacquainted with rules, and the ſtudied diſorder of a writer who is extravagant by deſign, and who gives himſelf much trouble to violate thoſe laws of compoſition with which he is acquainted.

November 14.]—I read Cluverius, L. iii. C. iv, v. p. 950—979. The author treats of the other inland cities of Latium; Tibur, Præneſte, Gabii, &c. He thence proceeds to the Rutuli, who inhabited a ſmall diſtrict between the ſea, the Latins, and the Volſci. This little community muſt have ſeparated itſelf from the political confederacy of the Latins, ſince it did not participate in the ſacrifices on Mount Alba, which

Mais les poëtes ont ſouvent confondu ces deux peuples, qui ſembloient l'être déja par la ſituation de leur pays et par leur origine commune. La ville d'*Ardea* étoit la capitale des *Rutuli*, priſe et incendiée par Enée ; les poëtes la font ſortir de ſes cendres, pour le changer en oiſeau. Quelle fable ! elle ne choque pas moins l'imagination que la raiſon. Mais de dogme général de la métempſycoſe, étoit très métaphyſique ; d'une métaphyſique dont les conſéquences s'épuroient, à méſure que les fictions devenoient plus abſurdes. Notre religion nous aſſure de l'immortalité de l'ame. On y trouve ſon immatérialité ; mais le dogme de la réſurrection du corps, nous fait regarder ce corps comme une partie eſſentielle de l'homme, et nous inſinue que ſans le ſecours de pareils organes, l'ame ſeroit incapable d'agir. Mais la doctrine de la métempſycoſe detache l'ame du corps qu'elle occupoit, ſans lui ôter la moindre de ſes facultés. Elle ne les doit qu'à elle même, et l'homme toujours homme dans le corps d'un autre animal, peut penſer, peut réfléchir, avec la même facilité que dans le ſien. Dès qu'on a adopté ce dogme, on peut diſputer ſur la nature de cette ame, mais il faut convenir qu'elle n'a rien de commun avec le corps qu'elle habite.

Novembre 15.]—J'ai lu *Cluvier Ital. Antiq. L. iii. C. vi, vii, viii. p.* 979—1048. Cluvier jette un coup d'œil ſur le petit pays des *Herniques,* niché parmi

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which the members of that confederacy annually met to celebrate. The poets, however, often confound thoſe two nations; which were indeed nearly united by the ſituation of their territories and their common origin. Ardea, the capital of the Rutuli, was taken and burnt by Eneas ; the poets feign that a bird flew from its aſhes ; a ſtrange fable, as ſhocking to the fancy as to reaſon. But the dogma of the metempſychoſis was extremely metaphyſical; and of that kind of metaphyſics, of which the conſequences became the more refined in proportion to the abſurdity of the fictions on which they were founded. Our religion aſſures us of the ſoul's immortality, and even immateriality; but the doctrine of the reſurrection makes us conſider the body as an eſſential part of the man, and tends to perſuade us that without the aſſiſtance of organs, the ſoul would not be capable of action. The metempſychoſis, on the contrary, ſeparate the ſoul and body without depriving the former of any of its faculties. Theſe faculties it owes only to itſelf: man is ſtill a man ; and in the body of another animal can think and reflect as well as in his own. When this opinion is adopted, though we may diſpute concerning the nature of this ſoul, we muſt allow that it has nothing in common with the body which it inhabits.

November 15.]—I read Cluverius Ital. Antiq. L. iii. C. vi, vii, viii. p. 979—1048. He caſts a glance on the little country of the Hernici, incloſed in the mountains; and deſcribes

parmi les montagnes. Mais il décrit fort au long, les territoires étendus des *Volſques : Antium* en étoit la capitale. Ces peuples avoient une marine compoſée de vaiſſeaux légers, avec leſquels ils faiſoient des courſes dans les mers de l'Italie, et de la Grece. Alexandre ſe plaignit à Rome par ſes ambaſſadeurs de ces déprédations ; et les Romains eſſayerent de les reprimer. Quel étoit cet Alexandre ? Je penſe que ce fut le roi d'Epire, qui fit la guerre en Italie, et que les colonies Grecques choiſirent pour leur général et leur protecteur contre les barbares. Cet emploi devoit naturellement le mettre en liaiſon avec les Romains.. Si quelques écrivains ont parlé d'une ambaſſade que le ſénat envoya à Alexandre le Grand, ils auront confondu l'oncle et le neveu.. L'autorité des anciens, auſſi bien que la vraiſemblance, m'engageront toujours à croire que le peuple Romain n'a point connu le conquerant de l'Aſie.

Novembre 16.]—J'ai lu *Cluvier Ital. Antiq. L. iii. C. ix. p.* 1048—1062. Il y eſt queſtion de cette confuſion de noms de peuples et de tribus, qu'il eſt ſi difficile de démêler. Des *Opici*, des *Oſci*, des *Auſones*, et des *Aurunci*. Ils ſont tellement confondus, qu'ils n'ont du être que des noms différens pour le même peuple, où les territoires de ces peuples ont été étrangement enclavés les uns dans les autres.

Novembre

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deſcribes at length the extenſive territories of the Volſci, of which Antium was the capital. This nation had a marine, conſiſting of light veſſels, with which they infeſted the ſeas of Greece and Italy. Alexander ſent ambaſſadors, complaining to the Romans of their depredations; and the Romans endeavoured to repreſs their piracy.—Who was this Alexander ? I think he was that king of Epirus, who made war in Italy, and whom the Greek colonies there choſe for their general and protector againſt the barbarians. This office naturally connected him with the Romans. When ſome writers ſpeak of an embaſſy ſent by the ſenate to Alexander the Great, they confound the uncle with the nephew. The authority of the ancients, as well as the improbability of the thing itſelf, convince me that the Romans never had any communication with the conqueror of Aſia.

November 16.]—I read Cluverius Ital. Antiq. L. iii. C. ix. p. 1048—1062. He ſpeaks of that confuſion of the names of nations and tribes, which it is ſo difficult to unravel. The Opici, the Oſci ;, the Auſones, and Aurunci, are ſo continually confounded, that there muſt have been different names for the ſame people, or their territories muſt have been ſtrangely intermingled..

November

Novembre 17.]—J'ai lu *Cluvier, L. iii. C. x. L. iv. C. i, ii. p.* 1062—1102. L'auteur examine le détail du pays des *Auſones*, qui devint dans la ſuite une partie du nouveau Latium. *Formiæ* paroît avoir eu l'honneur infame d'être capitale des *Leſtrigones*, dans le tems que l'Italie étoit pour les Grecs, ce que l'intérieur de l'Amerique eſt pour nous. Cette fable eſt intéreſſante chez Homère ; la decouverte d'un pays inconnu, où tous les objets nous étonnent et nous touchent, où la curioſité eſt aiguiſée, et ſatisfaite à chaque inſtant, nous procure le plaiſir que nous goutons dans les voyages. Cependant je reprocherois au poëte deux traits, dont le peu d'exactitude défigure un peu le tableau. 1. Les *Leſtrigones* ſont à la fois trop barbares et trop policés. Ils demeurent dans des villes ; ils ont des voitures, et des bergers à gages. Cependant ils ſont Antropophages. Heureuſement pour l'eſpece humaine cette fureur n'a jamais ſubſiſté que chez les nations deſtituées de toute culture, et même parmi ces peuples, l'homme ne devore gueres ſon ſemblable, qu'il n'y ſoit pouſſé par la diſette, ou la vengeance. 2. Les *Leſtrigones* étoient des géans. Tout devoit y être proportioné, leurs enfans, leurs maiſons, et leurs villes. Les eſpions d'Ulyſſe traverſent cependant le pays ; ils s'entretiennent avec la fille du roi ; ils la ſuivent ſans défiance juſques

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November 17.]—I read Cluverius, L. iii. C. x. L. iv. C. i, ii. p. 1062—1102. The author enters into particulars concerning the country of the Auſones, which became afterwards a part of New Latium. Formiæ was diſtinguiſhed by the infamous honour of being the capital of the Leſtrigones, at the time when Italy was to the Greeks what the inland parts of America are to us. Homer has rendered this fable intereſting. The diſcovery of an unknown country, where every object ſurpriſes and affects us, where curioſity is continually excited, and continually gratified, affords a pleaſure ſimilar to that felt in our travels. Yet the poet may be reproached with two incorrect touches, which ſomewhat diſfigure his picture. The Leſtrigones are either too refined, or too barbarous. They inhabit cities, they have chariots, and hired ſhepherds. Yet they are men-eaters. Happily for human nature, this ferocity never exiſted but in nations totally devoid of culture; and even among them man does not devour his fellow-creatures unleſs driven to this madneſs by famine or vengeance. 2. The Leſtrigones were giants. Every thing belonging to them ought to be in due proportion; their children, houſes, and cities. Yet Ulyſſes' ſpies travel through the country, converſe with the king's daughter, and follow her without diſtruſt to her father's

juſques dans la maiſon de ſon pere, et ils ne s'effrayent qu'à la vue de la reine des *Leſtrigones*. Gulliver a mieux obſervé les proportions.

Novembre 18.]—J'ai lu *Cluvier Ital. Antiq. L. iv. C. ii. p.* 1102—1115. Après avoir déterminé la ſituation et les bornes de la Campanie, Cluvier décrit les côtes depuis *Sinueſſe: Vulturnum, Liternum, Silva Gallinaria*, et *Cumes*. Cette dernière ville lui fournit beaucoup. Sa fondation, ſa puiſſance, mais ſurtout ſa Sybille, que Virgile a immortaliſée, lui fourniſſent une riche moiſſon. Ce dernier article me paroît bien traité, ſans confuſion, mais avec l'abondance qui lui eſt naturelle.

20.]—J'ai lu *Cluvier Ital. Antiq. L. iv. C. ii. p.* 1115—1146. Il pourſuit toujours ſon deſſein, et parcourt les côtes de la Campanie, de *Cumes* juſqu'à *Naples:* petit canton, mais célebre dans tous les ſiecles. *Miſenum, Baiæ, Puteoli*, et les lacs *Avernus* et *Lucrin*, la terreur des premiers Grecs, et les délices des Romains, le rendront toujours plus intéreſſant.

21.]—J'ai lu *Cluvier Ital. Antiq. L. iv. C. iii. p.* 1146—1164. Il continue et acheve les côtes de la Campanie, de Naples juſqu'au promontoire de Minerve, qui la ſéparoit du territoire des *Picentini*. *Herculaneum, Pompeii, Stabiæ*, et *Surrentum*, ſont les principaux endroits qu'il trouve ſur la route.

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father's palace. Their fears are not mentioned, till they ſee the queen of the Leſtrigons. Gulliver was a better obſerver of proportions.

November 18.]—I read Cluverius Ital. Antiq. L. iv. C. ii. p. 1102—1115. After having determined the ſituation and bounds of Campania, he deſcribes the ſea-coaſt from Sinueſſa, viz. Vulturnum, Liternum, Sylva Gallinaria, and Cumae. This laſt place is deſcribed at great length. Its foundation and power, above all its Sibyl, immortalized by Virgil, furniſh the geographer with an abundant crop. This laſt article is well treated, without confuſion, but with his natural copiouſneſs.

20.]—I read Cluverius, L. iv. C. ii. p. 1115—1146. In purſuance of his deſign, he deſcribes the coaſt of Campania, from Cumae to Naples: a ſmall diſtrict, famous in all ages. Miſenum, Baiæ, Puteoli, with the lakes Avernus and Lucrinus, the terror of the early Greeks, and the delight of the Romans, will always render this coaſt highly intereſting.

21.]—I read Cluverius Ital. Antiq. L. iv. C. iii. p. 1146—1164. He continues and concludes his account of the coaſts of Campania and Naples, to the promontory of Minerva, which ſeparated them from the territory of the Picentini. Herculaneum, Pompeii, Stabiæ, and Surrentum, are the principal places deſcribed in his rout.

Sur le lieu du ſépulcre de Virgile, il y a une diverſité d'opinions. St. Jerome et Donat paroîſſent d'un côté; mais Cluvier, ſuivi d'Addiſon, rejette ſans façon leur témoignage, et ſe fonde ſur l'autorité de Stace, pour tranſporter ce monument à l'autre côté de la ville, et aux pieds du Mont Veſuve. Je préférerois bien avec eux l'autorité de Stace, s'il s'étoit exprimé d'une façon préciſe; mais ce poëte ne parle qu'en général des rivages *Chalcidiques*, lieux qui avoient éprouvé la colère du Veſuve; épithetes vagues, et qui ne ſemblent déſigner que les environs de Naples. St. Jerome et Donat nous apprennent que Virgile fut enſeveli à deux milles de cette ville ſur le grand chemin de Puteoli. Cette deſcription eſt claire en ſans équivoque; elle peut s'accorder avec Stace; elle eſt ſoutenue par la tradition du pays. Pourquoi la recuſer?

Novembre 22.]—J'ai lu *Cluvier Ital. Antiq. L. iv. C. iv. p.* 1164—1171. Il y eſt queſtion des îſles qui ſe trouvoient oppoſées aux côtes de la Campanie. Les deux plus conſidérables paroîſſent des ouvrages avancés, qui gardoient les deux promontoires de la Baye de Naples. L'une s'appelloit *Ænaria* et *Pithecuſa*; et l'autre étoit la fameuſe *Caprée*.

24.]—J'ai lu *Cluvier Ital. Antiq. L. iv. C. v. p.* 1171—1179. Après avoir parcouru les côtes et les îſles de la Campanie, il paſſe a l'intérieur des terres.

There are different opinions concerning the place of Virgil's tomb. St. Jerom and Donatus appear on one ſide; but Cluverius, followed by Mr. Addiſon, on the other, rejects without ceremony their evidence; and, upon the authority of Statius, tranſports this monument to the other ſide of the city, and the foot of Mount Veſuvius. I ſhould with them prefer Statius's information, were it conveyed in preciſe terms. But this poet ſpeaks in general only of the Chalcidic ſhores, places which experienced the rage of Veſuvius; and ſuch vague language ſeems merely to indicate the neighbourhood of Naples. St. Jerom and Donatus, on the other hand, tell us, that Virgil was buried at the diſtance of two miles from that city, and on the high road to Puteoli; this account is ſo clear, that it cannot be miſtaken. It may be reconciled with that of Statius, and is juſtified by the tradition of the country. Why ſhould it be rejected?

November 22.—I read Cluverius Ital. Antiq. L. iv. C. iv. p. 1164—1171. He treats of the iſles lying oppoſite to the coaſt of Campania. The two largeſt appear like advanced works, intended to guard the two promontories of the Bay of Naples. The one is called Ænaria or Pithecuſa; the other is the famous Capreæ.

24.]—I read Cluverius, L. iv. C. v. p. 1171—1179. After having treated of the coaſts and iſlands of Campania, he proceeds to the inland country. We behold the

terres. Nous y voyons les champs fertiles de *Falerne* et de *Capoue*, dont le vin et le bled faiſoient le revenu le plus aſſuré de la république, et qui nourriſſoient un ſi grand nombre des citoyens. Les côteaux du Mont *Maſſicus* bordoient les champs de Falerne. Les anciens ont ſouvent confondu ces deux crûs. Capoue paroît enſuite ; ville orgeuilleuſe, qui croyoit follement qu'il ſuffiſoit d'être riche, pour ôſer lutter contre Rome. Les Romains détruiſirent la république de Capoue, mais ils épargnerent la ville. S'ils ne voulurent jamais y rétablir une conſtitution politique, qu'ils paroiſſoient toujours redouter, les craintes domeſtiques y avoient bien plus de part que la politique étrangère. Dans l'affaire de Rullus, Ciceron les a confondues à merveille ; il avoit des raiſons très ſages pour le faire.

Novembre 25.]—J'ai lu *Cluvier Ital. Antiq. L. iv. C. vi, vii, viii. p.* 1179—1205. L'auteur décrit tout le reſte de la Campanie, le territoire des *Picentins*, et le pays des *Samnites* et des *Hirpini*. Ces deux pays, remplis de montagnes et peu fertiles, étoient preſque déſerts du tems des Romains. Cette nation n'avoit pu vaincre les Samnites qu'en les exterminant. Florus avoit bien raiſon. On cherchoit vainement dans ces provinces l'objet de vingt quatre triomphes. Pourquoi faut-il que je trouve encore M. Addiſon ſur mon chemin ? mais auſſi pourquoi veut-il tranſporter dans l'Ombrie le lac d'*Ampſanctus*, que Virgile a ſi bien décrit ? Ignoroit-il, mépriſoit-il, les

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fertile fields of Falernum and Capua, whoſe corn and wine formed the ſureſt revenue of the republic, and nouriſhed a vaſt multitude of citizens. The diſtrict of Falernum was bounded by the vineyards of Mount Maſſicus. The ancients often confounded theſe two growths. Capua appears next ; that proud city, whoſe inhabitants fooliſhly thought that their riches would enable them to contend with Rome. The Romans deſtroyed the republic, but ſpared the city: and in never re-eſtabliſhing its political conſtitution, an event which they always feared, they were guided rather by a concern for the ſafety of their own government, than by maxims of external policy. Cicero artfully confounds thoſe two objects in his pleadings againſt Rullus; he had good reaſons for ſo doing.

November 25.]—I read Cluverius Ital. Antiq. L. iv. C. vi, vii, viii. p. 1179—1205. The author deſcribes the remainder of Campania, and the territories of the Picentini, Hirpini, and Samnites. Theſe two nations inhabited mountains of little fertility, which were almoſt deſerts, under the Romans; who had conquered the Samnites only by extirpating them. Florus is right. It is impoſſible to find in theſe diſtricts objects worthy of twenty-four triumphs. Mr. Addiſon is again in my way. Why would he place in Umbria lake Ampſanctus, which Virgil had ſo well deſcribed ?

les autorités de Ciceron et de Pline, qui le placent parmi les *Hirpini ?* La Furie ne faiſoit-elle pas un choix digne de ſon caractère, lorſqu'elle ſe plongeoit dans les eaux d'un lac, qui étoient fatales pour tous ceux qui oſoietn y entrer ?

J'ai achevé le *trente unième tome de la Bibliotheque Raiſonnée.* J'y trouve *Le Lucien, de MM. Hemſterhuis et Geſner*, qu'ils ont accompagné de tous les ſecours qui peuvent donner du prix à une édition : des manuſcrits collationnés, une verſion nouvelle, les obſervations d'un grand nombre de ſavans. A l'occaſion de *Philopatris*, ils prouvent qu'il étoit fait ſous un empereur de Conſtantinople, qui permettoit qu'on inſultât aux Chrétiens. Cette époque, qui ne convient qu'à Julien, fait tomber toutes les conſéquences qu'on a voulu tirer de cet ouvrage.—*Relation d'une Miſſion faite en Groenland, par M. Egede, en Danois.* Tout y eſt curieux : l'objet du voyage, aſſez rare parmi les Proteſtants, le pays, et ſes habitans. La nature y eſt affreuſe ; les animaux y ſont rares et petits. Il n'y peut venir que de ces plantes qui viennent à leur maturité pendant un été de deux mois, et qui peuvent ſupporter un hyver de dix. Au delà du ſoixante quatrième degré on ne peut pas faire croitre le bled ; au ſoixante cinquième l'eſprit de vin gêle. Point de neige ; tout eſt en vive glace, dont les couleurs différentes égayent la ſcene au milieu de toutes ces horreurs. Oui, l'homme eſt naturellement bon : J'en

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ſcribed? Was he ignorant of, or did he deſpiſe, the paſſages of Cicero and Pliny which place that lake in the country of the Hirpini? The Fury could not make a choice more worthy of her character, than that of plunging into a lake whoſe waters proved fatal to all who approached them.

I finiſhed the thirty-firſt volume of the *Bibliotheque Raiſonnée.* It contains *Lucian, by Meſſrs. Hemſterhuis and Geſner ;* accompanied with every help that can render an edition valuable : manuſcripts collated, a new tranſlation, and remarks of many of the learned. In ſpeaking of the Philopatris, the editors prove that it muſt have been written under an emperor of Conſtantinople, who allowed the Chriſtians to be inſulted. This æra, being applicable only to Julian, deſtroys all the conſequences which have been deduced from this work.—*Account of a Miſſion into Greenland, by Mr. Egede*, in Daniſh. All here is curious : the deſign of the voyage, uncommon among Proteſtants ; the country ; and its inhabitants. Nature is clad in terror ; the animals are ſmall and few. No other plants can thrive, excepting thoſe which ripen in a ſummer of two months, and can bear a winter of ten. Corn will not grow beyond the ſixty-fourth degree : beyond the ſixty-fifth ſpirits of wine freeze. There is not even ſnow ; all is hard ice, whoſe ſparkling colours gladden this ſcene of horror. Yes ; man is naturally good ;

J'en appelle à ces Groenlandois, qui connoiſſent l'amour au milieu de leurs frimas, mais qui ne connoiſſent la guerre qu'envers les animaux. Ils ſont pareſſeux, légers, ſans malice, et ſans vertus. Les Iroquois, qui mangent leurs priſonniers, ont auſſi des loix, des idées, des arts ; arts dont les autres ſont deſtitués. Comparé au Groenlandois, l'Iroquois eſt deja un homme civiliſé. Que j'aime à voir la nature !—*Théologie des Inſectes, par M. Leſner :* très curieuſe.—*Lettres du Comte d'Eſtrades :* très utile pour l'hiſtoire des négociations qui compoſent un genre preſqu'inconnu à l'antiquité.—*Grammaire Chinoiſe de Fourmont.* Quelle preuve de la ſupériorité des Européens ! On fait des grammaires Chinoiſes à Paris : en fera-t-on jamais de Françoiſes à Pekin ? Je doute qu'il y ait des Mandarins qui ſachent leur langue d'une manière auſſi raiſonnée que M. Fourmont.—*Traité des Sens, par M. le Cat.* La connoiſſance des ſens touche d'aſſez près à celle de l'ame, dont ils ſont les organes. M. le Cat développe leur conſtruction, leurs fonctions, et leurs objets, avec un pénétration toujours guidée par l'expérience ; il m'a fait un plaiſir indicible.—*Hiſtoire univerſelle, par une Société de Gens de Lettres.* Cet extrait roule ſur l'hiſtoire des Perſes, ſelon les écrivains Orientaux, que les éditeurs préferent ſans façon aux Grecs. Beaucoup de ſavans ont été du même

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good; I appeal to theſe Greenlanders, who are no ſtrangers to love in the midſt of their frozen regions, but are ſtrangers to war excepting againſt the brute creation. They are lazy, inconſtant; exempt from ill-nature, but deſtitute of great virtues. The Iroquois, who eat their priſoners, have alſo laws, ideas, and arts; with which laſt the Greenlanders are unacquainted. Compared with the Greenlanders, the Iroquois are a civilized nation. How delightful is the contemplation of nature !—*Theology of Inſects, by Mr. Leſner :* very curious.—*Letters of Count d'Eſtrades :* highly uſeful for the hiſtory of negociations, a kind of hiſtory almoſt unknown to antiquity.—*Fourmont's Chineſe Grammar.* A ſtriking proof of the ſuperiority of the Europeans. Chineſe grammars are written in Paris: will French grammars ever be written in Pekin ? I am doubtful whether the Mandarins themſelves know the principles of their own language as well as Mr. Fourmont.—*A Treatiſe on the Senſes, by Mr. Le Cat.* The knowledge of the ſenſes approaches nearly to that of the ſoul, of which they are the organs. Mr. Le Cat explains their anatomy, functions, and objects, with penetration always guided by experience. His work has given me a pleaſure not to be deſcribed.—*The Univerſal Hiſtory, by a Society of Men of Letters.* This extract relates to the hiſtory of the Perſians, according to oriental writers ; whom the editors boldly prefer to the Greek. Many learned men have entertained the ſame opinion, which appears to me indefenſible. 1. In the oriental writers, the characteriſtics of the fabulous are predominant ;

même goût, qui me paroît inſoutenable. 1. Tout reſſent la fable; point de chronologie; des erreurs géographiques à chaque inſtant; un merveilleux qui fait le fonds de la narration, au lieu d'en être l'acceſſoire. 2. Il y a dans l'hiſtoire de Perſe beaucoup de faits ſur leſquels les Grecs n'ont pu ſe tromper, tels que le tems de l'établiſſement de cet empire par Cyrus, et les guerres entre les Perſes et les Grecs. Les Orientaux ne leur ſont cependant pas moins oppoſés ſur ces faits, qu'à l'égard de tous les autres. 3. Je ſais que les Grecs ne firent que ſe montrer en Perſe, et que leurs ſujets vivoient aſſez tranquilles ſous leurs loix. Mais les Parthes, leurs ſucceſſeurs, nation Scythique, et ennemie des Perſes, dont ils mépriſoient la moleſſe, les tinrent pendant cinq cens ans ſous un joug de fer. Une incendie, un fleau paſſager, détruit rarement les monumens d'une nation; mais un gouvernement dur, où chaque génération du peuple vaincu, eſt plus abrutie que ne l'étoient ſes peres, les fait abandonner bientot aux vers et à la pouſſière, et la vérité eſt bientot étouffée par une tradition fabuleuſe. L'hiſtoire des rois Saſſanides n'eſt point ſujette à des objections auſſi fortes. Elle eſt mieux liée, plus vraiſemblable, et plus conforme aux écrivains d'Occident. Cependant après les conquêtes des Arabes, il s'eſt écoulé quelque tems, avant que les Perſes ſongeaſſent à raſſembler leurs traditions et leurs monumens.

Novembre

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minant; there is no attention to chronology; geographical errors abound; and the marvellous forms the eſſential part of the narrative, inſtead of being merely an acceſſory. 2. In the hiſtory of Perſia, there are many tranſactions concerning which the Greeks could not be miſtaken; as the time of the eſtabliſhment of Cyrus' empire, and the wars between the Perſians and themſelves. But the Perſian accounts differ as widely from the Greek, with reſpect to thoſe matters, as they do with reſpect to all others. 3. I know that the Greeks only ſhewed themſelves in Perſia, and that their eaſtern ſubjects lived quietly under their tranſitory reign. But their ſucceſſors, the Parthians, a Scythian nation who hated the Perſians, whoſe effeminacy they deſpiſed, kept them during five centuries under a yoke of iron. A conflagration, or other tranſient calamity, rarely deſtroys the whole monuments of a country; but, under a cruel government, which renders each generation more ſtupid than the preceding, they crumble into duſt, and become a prey to worms; and truth is ſoon ſtifled under a weight of fabulous tradition. The hiſtory of the dynaſty of the Saſſanides is leſs liable to objection. It is better connected, more probable in itſelf, as well as more conformable to the narratives of European writers. Yet a conſiderable time elapſed from the Arabian conqueſt, before the Perſians endeavoured to collect their hiſtorical monuments.

November

Novembre 27.]—Le fameux *factum* de Saurin contre Rouſſeau m'eſt tombé entre les mains. La ſingulière affaire ! pendant que des guerres et des traités ſont preſque oubliés, ce procès de quelques particuliers occupe encore la mémoire, et fait agir les paſſions des hommes au bout de ſoixante ans. Tout ce que je trouve d'aſſuré, c'eſt que ce *factum* de Saurin eſt un grand morceau de gout et d'éloquence.

28.]—J'ai lu *Cluvier Ital. Antiq. L. iv. C. ix, x, xi, xii, xiii. p.* 1205—1242. Cluvier paſſe au côtes de la mer Adriatique. Les *Frentani* l'occupent un inſtant. Il parle enſuite de l'Yapygia des Grecs, ou l'Apulie des Romains. Il en établit les bornes et la diviſion générale. C'eſt ici, à la page 1210, que l'éditeur nous inſtruit que Cluvier n'a pas pouſſé plus loin la reviſion de ſon ouvrage, et que la ſuite paroîtra moins limée, moins travaillée, et peut être moins exacte. La delicateſſe de M. Heinſius eſt louable, mais je n'ai pas encore vu la néceſſité de cet avis. Nous voyons paſſer en revue toutes les villes de l'Apulie et de la Calabre : *Arpi, Canuſium, Luceria, Brunduſium*, et enfin *Tarentum*, qui eſt traité avec un détail proportionné à ſon importance.

29.]—J'ai fini *la Bibliotheque Raiſonnée, le tome trente deuxième.—Recherches Philoſophiques de St. Hyacinthe :* petit ouvrage d'un homme qui avoit bien plus

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November 27.]—I read Saurin's famous pleading againſt Rouſſeau. How ſingular a buſineſs is this ! While wars and negociations are almoſt forgotten, this diſpute between two private individuals is ſtill remembered, and after the lapſe of ſixty years, ſtill foments party paſſions. All I can decide is, that this performance of Saurin's is a fine exhibition of taſte and eloquence.

28.]—I read Cluverius Ital. Antiq. L. iv. C. ix, x, xi, xii, xiii. p. 1205—1242. He proceeds to the coaſt of the Adriatic, and ſpeaks ſhortly of the Frentani. He then treats of the country called Japygia by the Greeks, and Apulia by the Romans : giving its general diviſion and limits. In page 1210 the editor appriſes us, that Cluverius did not proceed farther in reviſing his work ; and that the remainder will appear leſs poliſhed, leſs elaborate, and perhaps leſs accurate. Heinſius' delicacy in giving this information is commendable ; but I have not yet diſcovered its neceſſity. All the towns of Apulia and Calabria here paſs in review ; *Arpi, Canuſium, Luceria, Brunduſium*, and laſt of all *Tarentum*, which is treated with a copiouſneſs proportional to its importance.

29.]—I finiſhed the thirty-ſecond volume of the *Bibliotheque Raiſonnée*. It contains *Philoſophical Reſearches of St. Hyacinthe :* a ſmall performance, by a man who has more

plus le talent du ridicule que celui du raiſonnement.—*Traité ſur les Loix Naturelles, par Cumberland, traduit et commenté par M. Barbeyrac :* ſavante refutation de Hobbes. Ce philoſophe avoit rabaiſſé l'homme juſqu'à la bête ; l'autre l'éleve juſqu'aux intelligences ſupérieures. L'homme eſt fait pour la ſociété (dit l'éveque) : il eſt le ſeul entre les animaux qui rit et qui pleure. Sans contredit, lui repond le philoſophe, l'homme n'eſt nullement fait pour la ſociété, puiſque les enfans et les fous n'en ont pas d'idée, bien qu'ils participent à la nature humaine.—*Lettres de Calvin à Jacques de Bourgogne, Seigneur d'Alais.* Te voila, eſprit dur et farouche. Tu te brouilles avec un ami reſpectable, parcequ'il cherche à dérober une victime à ton zele théologique. A l'occaſion de ces lettres, le bibliothécaire de Genève en écrit une aux journaliſtes, pleine de recherches curieuſes, ſur toute cette affaire. Ce bibliothécaire a deja fourni pluſieurs pieces au journal. Elles ne roulent que ſur des bagatelles littéraires, mais ces bagatelles ſont traitées avec beaucoup de goût et d'agrément.—*Conformités de Jeſus Chriſt et de St. François d'Aſſiſe.* Barthelemi de Piſe n'en avoit trouvé que 40, mais cet auteur eſt allé juſqu'à 4000, la plus part ou très triviales ou très alambiquées. L'abſurdité de ce livre lui donne une eſpece de prix.—*Philon, par Mangey.* Philon, du premier ſiecle, cite toujours le Vieux Teſtament ſelon la verſion d'Aquila, qui n'a vecu que dans le ſecond. C'eſt une difficulté embarraſſante pour les critiques.—

Miſſions

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more talent for ridicule than for reaſoning.—*Cumberland's Treatiſe on the Laws of Nature, tranſlated and commented by Barbeyrac.* A learned refutation of Hobbes. This philoſopher had degraded man to the condition of a beaſt ; the biſhop exalts him to that of an angel. Man, Cumberland tells us, is made for ſociety ; he is the only animal that laughs and weeps. Hobbes maintains that man is not made for ſociety, becauſe children and ideots, though participating of human nature, do not know what ſociety means.—*Calvin's Letters to Jacques de Bourgogne.* Here we find you, harſh and intractable ſpirit ! quarrelling with a reſpectable friend, becauſe he wiſhes to ſnatch a victim from your theological zeal. On the ſubject of theſe letters, the librarian of Geneva writes one to the reviewers, containing a curious inveſtigation of the whole buſineſs. This librarian had already ſupplied them with ſeveral other pieces ; which treat indeed merely of literary trifles, but theſe trifles are written agreeably and elegantly.—*Conformities between Jeſus Chriſt and St. Francis of Aſſiſe.* Bartholemy of Piſa diſcovered only 40, but this author carries the number to 4000, moſt of them trivial, or too ſubtile. The abſurdity of this book gives it a kind of value.—*Philo, by Mangey.* Philo, in the firſt century, always quotes the Old Teſtament in Aquila's verſion, who lived in the ſecond : a perplexing difficulty for critics.—*Miſſions to Tran-*

Miſſions du Tranquebar. Voici le pendant du Voyage au Groenland. Tout y eſt oppoſé, hormis ſon objet. Les anciens ont un peu outré les choſes, mais ſi les zones torride et glaciales ſont habitées, le ſont elles par des hommes ? Je doute que ce pays ſoit jamais civiliſé comme les zones tempérées ; la rareté et la foibleſſe des animaux, et le défaut de fer, de bled, et de vin, formeront toujours des obſtacles phyſiques bien puiſſans. Mais je veux lire le livre même. C'eſt pourquoi je n'en dirai pas davantage.

Novembre 30.]—J'ai lu *Cluvier Ital. Antiq. L. iv. C. xiii, xiv. p.* 1242—1282. Après avoir fini la Calabre, il paſſe à la *Lucanie,* la ſeule province de l'Italie qui voyoit les deux mers. On y voit beaucoup de villes Grecques ſur les côtes, et une nation nombreuſe et féroce dans l'intérieur des terres. Mais les conquêtes des Romains abolirent toutes ces diſtinctions. Le peu d'habitans qui échappa à la fureur, oublia tout ce qu'il avoit été. Le géographe voit, peut être mieux que l'hiſtorien, ce qu'il en a couté à l'univers pour devenir Romain.

Decembre 3.]—J'ai lu *Cluvier. Ital. Antiq. L. iv. C. xvi, xvii. p.*1320—1338 ; *fin du quatrième livre, et de l'Ouvrage entier* ; tache vraiment laborieuſe ! J'ai mis plus d'ardeur à l'entreprendre, que de conſtance à le ſoutenir. Ce petit relachement peut ſe pardonner. Les détails de Cluvier ſont

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quebar. This is the counterpart of the Voyage into Greenland ; all is oppoſite in theſe voyages, excepting the deſign for which they were undertaken. The ancients went too far in their aſſertions ; but if the frozen and torrid zones are inhabited, is it by men ? I doubt whether theſe regions will ever be civilized like the temperate zones. The ſcarcity and weakneſs of animals, and the want of corn, wine, and iron, will always form natural obſtacles of great importance. But I intend to read the book itſelf, and therefore leave the ſubject at preſent.

November 30.]—I read Cluverius, L. iv. C. xiii, xiv. p. 1242—1282. After finiſhing the ſubject of Calabria, he proceeds to Lucania, the only province which commanded a view of both ſeas. There were many Greek cities on the coaſt, and a numerous and fierce people inhabited the inland country. Theſe diſſentions were aboliſhed by the Roman conqueſts. The few inhabitants who eſcaped the effects of their fury, loſt all remembrance of their former condition. The geographer perhaps ſees better than the hiſtorian, how dearly it coſt the world to become Roman.

December 3.]—I read Cluverius Ital. Antiq. L. iv. C. xvi, xvii. p. 1320---1338; which concludes the fourth book, and the whole work ; a truly laborious taſk ; undertaken by me with more ardour, than it was continued with perſeverance. But intervals of relaxation were pardonable. His materials are immenſe ; his method perplexed,

ſont immenſes, ſa méthode eſt confuſe, ſon ſtyle eſt bigarré par un tiſſu preſque continuel de citations des auteurs de tous les tems. Enfin je m'en ſuis tiré, et je m'en ſuis tiré avec des connoiſſances très intéreſſantes, et que je conſerverai long tems. J'ai dejà remarqué quel amas prodigieux de materiaux il a recueillis. Sur le plus chétif endroit, tout ce que l'antiquité, ou le moyen âge ont dit, ſe préſente à ſa mémoire; et un paſſage n'eſt pas mieux caché à ſes yeux, pour être enfoui dans un légendaire du dixième ſiecle, que s'il ſe trouvoit à la tête de l'Enéide. Partout il allegue ſes autorités, il les épluche, il les compare, et le réſultat de cette comparaiſon, ne leur eſt pas toujours favorable. Les anciens citoient beaucoup de mémoire: les livres étoient rares, les cartes géographiques l'étoient encore davantage; et dans une ſcience, où l'eſprit s'égare facilement, s'il n'eſt arrêté par le ſecours des yeux, il leur étoit difficile d'éviter l'erreur. Le commentateur Servius eſſuye ſouvent la critique de Cluvier. C'étoit un faux ſavant, à qui il arrache le maſque de ſa prétendue érudition. Ses bévues ne ſont égalées que par celles de l'hiſtorien Appien. Mais les plus grands noms de la géographie ancienne, ne ſont pas à l'abri de ſa cenſure: Ptolémée, qui connoiſſoit mieux l'Orient que l'Occident; Strabon, qui eſt quelque fois hiſtorien, politique, ou philoſophe, plutôt que géographe; et Pline, qui a voulu décrire l'univers dans trente ſept petits livres, qui a ſouvent ſacrifié la préciſion à la briéveté, et

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plexed, and his ſtyle a motley mixture of quotations from authors of all ages. My undertaking is now accompliſhed; and I have derived from it much uſeful knowledge, which will not be eaſily forgotten. I have already remarked his prodigious maſs of materials. In ſpeaking of the meaneſt village, all the learning of antiquity and the middle ages occurs to his memory: and a paſſage is not more concealed from his keen eye in a legend of the tenth century, than if it ſtood at the head of the Eneid. Throughout, his authorities are produced, and ſifted, and compared with each other; and the reſult of the compariſon is not always to their honour. The ancients quoted often from memory. Books were ſcarce; maps ſtill ſcarcer; and in a ſcience where the mind is ſo liable to wander without the direction of the eye, error was unavoidable. Servius the commentator is often expoſed to Cluverius' criticiſm. This pretended ſcholar is here ſtripped of his maſk of counterfeit erudition. His abſurd miſtakes are only to be equalled by thoſe of Appian the hiſtorian. But our author's cenſure ſpares not the greateſt names of ancient geography; Ptolemy, who knew the eaſt better than the weſt; Strabo, who is ſometimes an hiſtorian, politician, or philoſopher, rather than a geographer; and Pliny, who undertakes to deſcribe the world in thirty-ſeven ſmall books; whoſe brevity is often obſcurity, and who frequently ſees by other men's

et qui n'a que trop vu par des yeux étrangers, et ſouvent infideles. Après tant d'expériences du peu d'exactitude des anciens, Cluvier, moins que perſonne, devoit ſoutenir leur infaillibilité. Je le vois cependant prévenu de ce reſpect ſuperſtitieux pour les grands noms de l'antiquité, qui avoit ſubjugué l'eſprit de tous ſes contemporains. Quand il ne reſte à Cluvier aucune reſſource, ni d'explication, ni d'excuſe, il a celle du moins de rejetter l'erreur ſur le copiſte. Ce principe général, qu'il ne faut que ramener l'expreſſion à la vérité, pour rétablir le texte de l'auteur, devient fecond entre ſes mains. Le nombre de ſes corrections n'eſt égalé que par leur hardieſſe. La plus part de ces corrections, me paroiſſent inutiles et hazardées ; mais il y en a de très heureuſes. Le changement d'*Atheſis* et d'*Ufens* en *Æſis* et *Aufens*, épargne à Tite Live une bévue à peine concevable, ſubſtitue deux noms obſcurs, mais convenables, à deux autres beaucoup plus illuſtres, mais très deplacés ici ; et rend au Gaulois *Senones*, leur véritable habitation. Les éditeurs de Tite Live ont depuis inſéré cette correction dans le texte.

Decembre 5.]—J'ai achevé *le trente troiſième tome de la Bibliotheque Raiſonnée*. J'y trouve *Hiſtoire de Richard de Cornouailles, Empereur d'Allemagne, par M. Gebauer, Profeſſeur à Gottingen*. Si cet Allemand n'avoit pas été ſujet du roi d'Angleterre, Electeur d'Hanovre, auroit-il jamais troublé le repos d'un prince obſcur, dont le regne foible et ignoré, fut ſi pernicieux à l'Angleterre,

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eyes, and thoſe not always to be depended upon. After ſo much experience of their inaccuracy, it could hardly be expected that Cluverius ſhould maintain the infallibility of the ancients. But we may perceive in his work the ſame ſuperſtitious veneration for the great names of antiquity, which prevailed among his contemporaries. When no other excuſe for them remains, he is ſure to throw the blame on tranſcribers. This principle, that the true text need only be reſtored, in order to reſtore its propriety, he applies with unwearied diligence. The great number of his corrections is only equalled by their boldneſs ; the greater part are raſh or uſeleſs ; but ſome of them are extremely happy. The change of Atheſis and Ufens into Æſis and Aufens, reſcued the text of Livy from an abſurdity almoſt inconceivable ; ſubſtituted two obſcure but fit names, inſtead of two far more illuſtrious, but totally miſplaced ; and reſtored the Galli Senones to their proper habitation. This correction has been adopted by Livy's editors, and admitted into the text.

December 5.]—I finiſhed the thirty-third volume of the *Bibliotheque Raiſonnée*. It contains the *Life of Richard of Cornwall, Emperor of Germany, by Mr. Gebauer, Profeſſor at Gottingen*. Had not this German been a ſubject of the king of Great Britain as Elector of Hanover, would he ever have diſturbed the aſhes of this obſcure prince, whoſe

l'Angleterre, et ſi inutile à l'Allemagne ? Auroit-il jamais préféré ce prince au ſage roi de Caſtille ?—*Hiſtoire Univerſelle, par une Société de Gens de Lettres.* Il eſt queſtion dans cet extrait, de l'hiſtoire des Macédoniens. Elle eſt traitée avec beaucoup de ſavoir, de critique, et de goût. Cette Hiſtoire Univerſelle ſeroit ſans prix, ſi tout y étoit de cette force. Je me rappelle avec plaiſir, que j'ai formé la même idée de ce morceau, lorſque je l'ai lu à Bath l'an 1751. J'avois alors quatorze ans.—*Diſſertation ſur une Médaille de Smyrne, par M. de Boze :* pleine de goût et d'érudition. Il y a des recherches très curieuſes ſur la primauté des villes de l'Aſie.—*Recherches ſur les Polypes, par M. Trembley.* Quel monde nouveau ! quel lumière pour la phyſique, et quelles ténebres pour la métaphyſique ! —*Inſtitutions de Végece.* Les idées générales de ce Tacticien ſont ſaines ; ſes détails ſur la diſcipline des Romains, ſont pleins de confuſion et d'anachroniſmes.—*Défauts Théologiques.* Eh qui ne les connoit pas ?—*Conformités entre le Culte des Payens et celui des Catholiques.* MM. Warburton et Middleton ſont partagés ſur cette queſtion. Celui-ci penſe que les Chrétiens les ont emprunté des Payens : celui-la veut que les uns et les autres n'ayent conſulté que les mouvemens naturels de l'eſprit humain, porté de lui-même à toutes ces ſuperſtitions. Ces ſentimens, ſont-ils différens ? Pour vouloir, il nous faut un motif. Ces ſuperſtitions

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weak and ignorant reign was as pernicious to England as uſeleſs to Germany ? Would he ever have preferred this prince to the wiſe king of Caſtile ?—*Univerſal Hiſtory, by a Society of Men of Letters.* This extract treats of the hiſtory of the Macedonians. It is executed with much erudition, taſte, and judgment. This Univerſal Hiſtory would be invaluable, were all its parts of equal merit. I remember with pleaſure that I formed the ſame opinion of this article when I read it at Bath in 1751. I was then fourteen years old.—*Diſſertation on the Medal of Smyrna, by Mr. Boze :* replete with erudition and taſte ; containing curious reſearches on the pre-eminence of the cities of Aſia.—*Reſearches on the Polypus, by Mr. Trembley.* A new world ! throwing light on phyſics, but darkening metaphyſics.—*Vegetius' Inſtitutions.* This writer on tactics has good general notions ; but his particular account of the Roman diſcipline is deformed by confuſion and anachroniſms.—*Theological Faults.* Who does not know them ?—*Conformity between the Pagan and Catholic Rites of Worſhip.* Meſſrs. Warburton and Middleton are divided on this queſtion. The latter thinks that the Chriſtians copied after the Pagans. The former thinks that both followed the natural impulſe of human ſentiment, always prone to ſuperſtition. Theſe two opinions are not materially different. The will muſt always be actuated by ſome motive. Theſe rites were familiar and

ſuperſtitions étoient familières, elles convenoient aux Romains du quatrième ſiecle. Ils y avoient renoncé avec difficulté, ils les reprenoient avec plaiſir.

Decembre 7.]—Je me ſuis remis à mon recueil géographique ſur l'Italie, que j'avois interrompu depuis quelque tems. Je le partage ſuivant les régions d'Auguſte, et j'y fais entrer, ſur chacun de ces chefs, ce que je trouve de plus curieux dans mes lectures. Mon voyage d'Italie ne peut manquer de le groſſir beaucoup; et à mon retour en Angleterre, j'eſpere me trouver en état d'en tirer une deſcription de l'Italie ancienne, qui ſera le réſultat de mes études, de mes réflexions, et de mes obſervations. C'eſt un ouvrage encore à faire, et dont l'Italie de Cluvier de diſpenſe point. 1. Cluvier eſt trop diffus. Nous ne ſommes plus dans le ſiecle du travail, où les lectures n'avoient d'attrait, qu'à proportion de leur difficulté, et de leur étendue. Les gens de lettres de nos jours s'effrayent plus facilement, et deux in folio ſont un objet très redoutable. Pour peu qu'on ait cependant de curioſité, on ne ſauroit ſe contenter de ces abrégés décharnés, qui ne nouriſſent ni l'eſprit, ni la mémoire. Un ouvrage donc qui tiendroit le milieu entre Cluvier et Cellarius, ſeroit naturellement goûté. 2. Mais un bon abrégé de Cluvier ne ſuffiroit point. Pour abréger, il faut conſerver les proportions de l'original, et celles de Cluvier ne ſont pas toujours juſtes. Sans lui reprocher beaucoup d'endroits trop étendus, ou trop étranglés, trois

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and ſuitable to the Romans of the fourth century. They had renounced them with reluctance; they reſumed them with pleaſure.

Decembre 7.]—I returned to my geographical collection on Italy, which had been a ſhort time interrupted. I divide the country according to the regions of Auguſtus, introducing under each region the moſt intereſting particulars that occur in the courſe of my reading. This collection cannot fail being much augmented by my travels in Italy; and, at my return to England, I hope to be able to give a deſcription of ancient Italy, which will be the joint reſult of my ſtudies, reflections, and obſervations. Such a work ſtill remains to be written; that of Cluverius by no means ſupplying its place. 1. Cluverius is too diffuſe. We live not in that age of induſtry, when ſtudies were valued in proportion to their extent and difficulty. Our men of letters are afraid to encounter two volumes in folio. Yet thoſe who have curioſity, cannot be contented with ſuch meagre abridgments as enrich neither the underſtanding nor memory. A book holding the middle place between Cluverius and Cellarius would ſuit the public taſte. 2. An abridgment of the former would not anſwer the purpoſe. In abridgments the proportions of the original muſt be preſerved; and thoſe of Cluverius are not always accurate. Without reproaching him with exceſſive diffuſion in ſome parts,

trois objets généraux méritoient bien qu'il en fit mention : les diviſions des provinces par Auguſte et ſes ſucceſſeurs, les grands chemins de l'Italie, et la topographie de la ville de Rome. A peine paroît-il s'en apperçevoir. Je ſens que Cluvier n'étoit pas obligé de prévenir les découvertes de notre ſiecle ; mais c'eſt un bonheur pour un écrivain plus récent, de pouvoir profiter de la connoiſſance plus exacte, que nous avons des meſures itinéraires, et de pouvoir orner ſon ouvrage, de la fleur de deux nouveaux genres d'érudition, les monumens Etruſques et ceux d'*Herculaneum*. 3. Le Latin n'eſt plus la langue de lettres ; le Latin de Cluvier n'a jamais été la langue de gens de goût. Le public verroit avec plaiſir, qu'au lieu de cette chaine de citations, un bon écrivain fondit enſemble toutes ſes autorités, pour en former une narration claire, méthodique, et intéreſſante. Quelque fois néanmoins je conſerverais les propres paroles de mes auteurs ; mais je ne le ferais qu'à l'égard des poëtes, dont l'expreſſion fait ſouvent le mérite principal, et dont les images riantes égayeroient de tems en tems, la ſéchereſſe d'une déſcription géographique. 4. Je ſuivrois Strabon plutôt que Pline. Dans les diviſions générales, et les nomenclatures, je tacherois de mettre tout l'ordre et toute la netteté dont je ſuis capable ; mais j'enviſagerois d'un œil philoſophe, l'intérieur de l'habitation, et les habitans eux mêmes, après avoir décrit et partagé la

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and contraction even to torture in others, three objects are totally omitted, which ſurely merited his attention : the diviſion of the provinces by Auguſtus and his ſucceſſors ; the great roads of Italy, and the topography of the city of Rome. Cluverius is ſcarcely ſenſible of theſe omiſſions. He was not indeed obliged to anticipate the diſcoveries of the preſent age ; but it happens fortunately for a more modern writer, that it is in his power to avail himſelf of a more accurate knowledge of itinerary meaſures, and to enrich his work with the firſt fruits of two new diſcoveries, the Tuſcan monuments and thoſe of Herculaneum. 3. Latin is no longer the language even of learning, and Cluverius's Latin was never the language of taſte. The public would be pleaſed to ſee his broken chain of quotations melted down by a good writer into a clear, methodical, and intereſting narrative. Sometimes I would preſerve, however, the very words of my authorities, when they happened to be poets whoſe ſtyle often forms their principal merit, and whoſe ſmiling images would enliven the dryneſs of geographical deſcription. 4. I would follow Strabo rather than Pliny. To my general diviſions and tables I would endeavour to give all the neatneſs and perſpicuity poſſible ; while I examined with the eye of a philoſopher the interior of the country and the manners of its inhabitants ; the productions of art and nature, as far as they were known to the ancients ; the migration of tribes, their laws and character.

la ſurface, les productions de la nature et de l'art, autant qu'elles nous ſont connues par les anciens, les migrations des peuples, leurs loix, et leur caractère. Parmi tant d'objets ſi intéreſſans pour un philoſophe, je ſaiſirois toutes les occaſions que mon ſujet me fourniroit, de rechercher, quand et juſqu'à quel point la configuration du pays, le climat, la ſituation ont influé ſur les mœurs des habitans, et ſur les évenemens qui leur ſont arrivés. 5. Les méthodes ſont aſſez arbitraires. Celle que je ſuivrois me paroît facile et lumineuſe. Après avoir établi quelques préliminaires, je me placerois ſur le Mont Palatin avec Romulus, et, commençant par le berceau de la nation, et le premier *pomœrium* de la ville, j'en parcourrois les quartiers différens. Dans la déſcription de l'Italie, je ſuivrois l'ordre des conquêtes des Romains, et j'obſerverois la diviſion des régions d'Auguſte. Je dérogerois ſeulement à cette diviſion à l'égard du pays des Sabins, que je ſerois obligé de détacher du *Samnium*, pour le mettre à la tête du *Latium*. Au moyen d'un changement auſſi léger, je concilierois ces deux objets, et le lecteur ſuivroit ſans peine les armes des Romains, et la narration de Tite Live. Un ouvrage de cette eſpece, s'il étoit bien exécuté, ſeroit ſans doute accueilli du public. Il pourroit enrichir un libraire, paſſer à la dixième édition, et devenir un livre claſſique pour les colleges, les voyageurs, et même pour les gens de lettres. L'auteur, cependant, auroit tort de s'énorgueillir d'un ſuccès qu'il ne devroit qu'à

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ter. Amidſt ſo many intereſting objects, I would ſeize every opportunity of inveſtigating how far public tranſactions and manners were affected by local ſituation and climate. 5. Arrangements are arbitrary. The method which I ſhould follow, appears to me natural and luminous. I would place myſelf with Romulus on the Palatine Mount, and thus proceed to the different quarters of Rome, from the cradle of the nation to the firſt *pomœrium* of the city. In deſcribing Italy, I would follow the progreſs of Roman conqueſts, and pay particular attention to its diviſion by Auguſtus into regions; with this one exception, that I would ſeparate the territory of the Sabines from Samnium, and put it at the head of Latium. By this ſmall alteration I would reconcile the two principles of my arrangement; and the reader would eaſily follow the progreſs of Roman arms, and Livy's hiſtory. A work of this kind, well executed, would be favourably received by the public. It might enrich a bookſeller, paſs through ten editions, and become a claſſical book with ſtudents in colleges, travellers, and even men of letters. The author, however, would do wrong to value himſelf on a performance, which owed its whole ſucceſs to the nature of the ſubject, induſtry, and method. To ſpeak only of my own eſſay, the production of my youth, written

qu'à la nature de ſon ſujet, à ſon travail, et à un eſprit juſte et méthodique. Pour ne parler que de moi même, mon eſſai, ouvrage de jeuneſſe, fait dans deux mois, et oublié dans quatre, annonce plus de génie original, que ne pourroit faire un pareil traité. Des deux pivots de la réputation, la difficulté et l'utilité du travail, celui-ci eſt le plus ſûr, mais le moins flateur.

Decembre 9.—J'ai lu *la Bibliotheque Raiſonnée, le tome trente quatre; partie première.* J'y trouve trois *Traités par M. Harris, ſur l'Art, ſur la Muſique, et la Peinture; et ſur le Souvrain Bonheur.* C'eſt un grand admirateur de Platon et d'Ariſtote, qui lui ont appris une méthode ſcientifique de débiter des choſes communes, et un enthouſiaſme ſur le beau, le vrai, et les vertueux, qui lui tient quelquefois lieu d'idées préciſes. Ces défauts regnent ſurtout dans le premier et le dernier des trois diſcours. Le ſecond, rempli d'obſervations juſtes, et de diſtinctions fines, eſt plus dans le goût de la philoſophie moderne.—*Hiſtoire Naturelle des Abeilles, tirée des Ouvrages de M. de Réaumur:* tout eſt dans le meilleur goût; le choix du ſujet, la fineſſe, l'abondance et la ſingularité des obſervations, les agrémens du ſtyle et de l'arrangement, donnent le plus grand intêret à ce petit livre.

11.]—J'a lu le *trente cinquième tome de la Bibliotheque Raiſonnée.* J'y trouve *Hiſtoire Univerſelle:* cet extrait contient la vie d'Alexandre: mais un bon

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written in two months, and forgotten in four, yet does it ſhew more originality of genius, than would be required for ſuch a geographical performance. Of the two ſources of literary fame, difficulty and utility, the ſecond is the ſureſt, though the leaſt flattering to vanity.

December 9.]—I read the *Bibliotheque Raiſonnée*, volume thirty-four, part firſt. It contains three treatiſes of Mr. Harris, on the ſubjects of art, muſic and painting, and happineſs. He is a great admirer of Plato and Ariſtotle, from whom he has learned to expreſs common-place thoughts in technical language; and an enthuſiaſm for the beautiful, the true, and the virtuous, which are often ſubſtituted with him for preciſion of ideas. Theſe faults chiefly prevail in the firſt and third of thoſe eſſays. The ſecond, containing many juſt obſervations and nice diſtinctions, is more conformable with the taſte of modern philoſophy.—*Natural Hiſtory of Bees, extracted from the Works of Mr. Réaumur:* written in the beſt taſte; the choice of the ſubject, the refinement, copiouſneſs, and ſingularity of the obſervations, the beauties of ſtyle and arrangement, all contribute to raiſe the value of this little performance.

11.]—I read the thirty-fifth volume of the *Bibliotheque Raiſonnée.* It contains *An Extract from the Univerſal Hiſtory, concerning the Life of Alexander.* A good compiler would not have expatiated on a life ſo well known. A few ſections would have ſufficed.

bon journaliſte, auroit-il jamais donné un grand abrégé d'une vie auſſi connue? Il en auroit fallu détacher deux ou trois traits. Ces journaliſtes font la même choſe dans ce volume, à l'occaſion de l'Hiſtoire Romaine de Crevier. Cet uſage multiplie inutilement les livres, rebute le lecteur, et n'eſt avantageux qu'aux libraires.—*Quinze Sermons ſur les Devoirs Sociaux, par le Docteur Delany :* cet hiſtorien de David a l'eſprit un peu trop alambiqué, mais il dit de très bonnes choſes. Son diſcours contre le vice trop commun de ne point payer ſes dettes, eſt un morceau auſſi excellent qu'il eſt neuf.—*Bibliotheque Françoiſe, par l'Abbé Goujet, les tomes ſeptième et huitième :* c'eſt la ſuite d'un ouvrage curieux.—*Lettre du Bibliothécaire de Geneve ſur Jean Fauſt :* cet excellent correſpondant du journal, prouve aſſez bien que l'inventeur de l'imprimerie mourut de la peſte à Paris.—*Voyage au Nord, par M. Outhier :* c'étoit un des compagnons de M. de Maupertuis. Ce voyage a été ſurement utile pour l'aſtronomie, mais la géographie ne lui doit pas grand-choſe.—*Diſſertation ſur les Imprécations de David.* Il s'agit de prouver que David pouvoit ſouhaiter la deſtruction de ſes ennemis, et ſe réjouir de leurs maux, ſans bleſſer la douceur et la charité. La tâche eſt difficile. Un homme ne peut qu'y échouer. Un homme de bon ſens, ne l'auroit point entrepriſe.

Decembre 17.]—Je m'étois aſſez mal occupé depuis quelques jours des *Memoires de l'Abbé de Montgon*, en huit volumes in 12mo. grand format, petit

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ſufficed. Theſe compilers commit the ſame fault with regard to Crevier's Roman Hiſtory. This practice multiplies uſeleſs books, diſguſts their readers, and enriches none but bookſellers.—*Sermons on the Social Duties, by Doctor Delany.* This hiſtorian of David ſavours much of the enthuſiaſt; but he ſays excellent things. His diſcourſe againſt the common vice of not paying our debts, is a performance as excellent as it is new.—*Bibliotheque Françoiſe, by the Abbe Goujet; volumes ſeventh and eighth :* the continuation of a curious work.—*A Letter of the Librarian of Geneva, concerning John Fauſtus.* This excellent correſpondent of the Review clearly proves that the inventor of printing died at Paris of the plague.—*A Voyage to the North, by Mr. Outhier.* He was one of the companions of Mr. Maupertuis. This voyage, or journey, was ſurely uſeful to aſtronomy; but geography gained little by it.—*Diſſertation on David's Curſes.* The author attempts to prove that David might wiſh for the deſtruction of his enemies, and rejoice in their calamities, without offending againſt charity. The taſk is difficult, any man would fail in performing it; by a man of ſenſe it would not have been undertaken.

December 17.]—I employed myſelf very ill for ſome days, with the *Memoirs of Abbé Montgon*, in eight volumes large 12mo. ſmall letter, and very thick volumes.

petit caractère, et les volumes très épais. Il y a de quoi laſſer la patience de l'Allemand le plus déterminé ; huit volumes qu'on auroit réduit le plus facilement du monde à cent pages ! Tout ce qui regardoit l'Abbé de Montgon, lui paroîſſoit mériter l'attention de l'Europe entière. Il lui faut cinquante pages pour une converſation avec l'Archevêque d'Amida, cent pages pour une intrigue de la Ducheſſe de St. Pierre et du Comte de Rottembourg, et ainſi à proportion. Je vois que les ennemis de l'Abbé lui reprochoient deux défauts, une humeur tracaſſière, qui voyoit partout des ennemis chimériques, et une ambition démeſurée. Je ſoupçonne bien qu'il en étoit quelque choſe, et que la cabale du Cardinal de Fleury, reſſembloit beaucoup à la cabale chimérique de Jurieu. Pourquoi ce Cardinal lui en vouloit il ? Montgon ne devoit pas être l'objet de ſa vengeance, et encore moins celui de ſa crainte, ou de ſa jalouſie. C'eſt cependant pour nuire à cet homme, que le Cardinal de Fleury fait agir pendant cinq ans, des reſſorts preſqu'inviſibles, et qu'il transforme en lâches et en fripons l'Archevêque d'Amida, la Ducheſſe de St. Pierre, le Marquis de Braneas, et le Comte de Rottembourg ; tous très honnêtes gens, de l'aveu de Montgon. Pour ſon ambition, elle paroît aſſez à découvert. Un ſaint eccléſiaſtique ne ſonge à quitter ſa retraite, que pour aller partager celle d'un grand roi ; c'étoit déjà un

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The decided patience of a German would be tired with eight large volumes which, with the greateſt facility, might be reduced to an hundred pages. Whatever concerns the Abbé Montgon appears to himſelf to deſerve the attention of all Europe. Fifty pages are conſumed in a converſation with the Archbiſhop of Amida ; one hundred pages in an intrigue between the Ducheſs of St. Pierre and Count Rottembourg ; the other parts are in due proportion. The Abbé's enemies, I perceive, accuſe him of two faults ; a boundleſs ambition, and a ſuſpicious temper, which was always haunting him with imaginary enemies. I am inclined to think the accuſations juſt ; and that Cardinal Fleury's cabal was as chimerical as that of Jurieu. Why ſhould the Cardinal have been the Abbé's enemy ? Montgon did not deſerve to be the object of his vengeance, ſtill leſs of his hatred or jealouſy. Yet to hurt this man, the Cardinal during five years employs concealed and almoſt inviſible inſtruments, and transforms into rogues or cowards the Archbiſhop of Amida, the Ducheſs of St. Pierre, the Marquis of Brancas, and the Count of Rottembourg ; who, according to the Abbé, had all of them formerly been very honeſt people. His ambition appears very manifeſt. A holy eccleſiaſtic does not think of quitting his retreat, but with a view to become the attendant of a great king. This was an inclination which he ought to have diſtruſted. Before his departure, this prince remounts his throne. What had

un mouvement dont il auroit du ſe défier. Avant ſon départ, ce prince remonte ſur le trône. Qu'alloit-il faire à ſa cour? Il s'y rend cependant, ſe plonge dans les affaires du ſiecle, et toute la dévotion que j'apperçois dans la ſuite de l'ouvrage, ſe réduit à quelques paſſages de l'écriture, dont il ſe ſert contre ſes ennemis. Je conviens que notre Abbé ſuivoit ſa vocation. Il avoit l'eſprit des affaires; le génie un peu trop minutieux; mais au reſte, de la fineſſe, de la prudence, et de la netteté à déduire ſes raiſons. Les deux choſes les plus intéreſſantes que j'aye trouvé dans cet ouvrage, ſont:—1. Un tableau fort curieux de la cour d'Eſpagne, après le traité de Vienne, qui unit par les liens les plus étroits, deux princes qui s'étoient diſputé un couronne avec l'animoſité la plus vive. La cour de Vienne y dupa celle de Madrid. Au moyen d'un mariage chimérique, qu'on montroit dans l'éloignement, elle en tiroit des ſommes immenſes, pendant qu'elle ſtipuloit des avantages très réels pour ſon commerce. L'ambaſſadeur Autrichien, le Comte de Konigſeck, gouvernoit l'Eſpagne en premier miniſtre. Il pouſſa ſon crédit juſqu'à faire vérifier au conſeil de Caſtille, les lettres patentes de quelques Grands que Charles VI. avoit élevé à ce rang, pour les efforts qu'ils avoient fait contre la tyrannie du Duc d'Anjou. 2. On voit clairement par la commiſſion qu'on donna à l'Abbé, quel fond l'on doit faire ſur la renonciation de la branche d'Anjou à la couronne de France, et qu'elle ne manqueroit point de

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the good Abbé to do at his court? Yet he goes there, plunges into worldly affairs, and the only ſigns of devotion that I can diſcover in the ſequel of his work, conſiſt in ſome paſſages of ſcripture, which he applies to his enemies. I acknowlege that our Abbé followed his natural vocation. He had a turn for buſineſs; and, though too fond of minutiæ, was not deficient in addreſs, prudence, and perſuaſion. The two moſt intereſting parts of his work are, 1. The curious picture of Spain after the treaty of Vienna, which united in the cloſeſt amity two princes, who had diſputed a crown with the fierceſt animoſity. The court of Madrid was the dupe of that of Vienna. By means of a chimerical marriage ſhewn in diſtant proſpect, Auſtria drew vaſt ſums from Spain, at the ſame time that ſhe gained real advantages for her commerce. The Auſtrian ambaſſador, Count Konigſeck, governed Spain with the authority of a firſt miniſter. His weight was ſo great, that he cauſed the council of Caſtile to confirm the letters patent which Charles VI. had granted to ſome Spaniards, creating them Grandees, in reward of their ſervices in reſiſting the tyranny of the Duke of Anjou. 2. The commiſſion granted to the Abbé ſhews clearly, how little dependance is to be had on the renunciation made by the houſe of Anjou of its rights to the crown of France; and that theſe rights would be enforced on the firſt favoura-

de faire valoir ſes droits, ſi l'occaſion s'en préſentoit. Il eſt vrai que cette occaſion eſt beaucoup plus éloignée à preſent, qu'elle ne l'étoit alors. Le ſtyle de l'Abbé Montgon eſt ſans exactitude, et ſans intérêt, celui d'un homme qui ne connoit ni les graces, ni les regles de ſa langue. Quels mots que ceux de *Deſpoticité* et de *Stoicité!*

Decembre 19.]—J'ai lu *Claudii Rutilii Numantiani Iter, L. i. V.* 1—644; *et L. ii. V.* 1—68. C'eſt tout ce qui nous reſte de cet ouvrage, qui contenoit deux livres complets. Je l'ai lu dans le *ſecond tome des Poetæ Minores Latini de Burman, à Leide*, 1731. C'eſt un des *Variorum* d'Hollande, où le texte s'apperçoit à peine à travers les commentaires. Les 700 vers de Rutilius occupent près de 200 pages in 4to. qui ſont hériſſées des commentaires de Simler, de Caſtalio, de Pithæus, de Sitzmanus, et de Barthius. Cependant Rutilius n'eſt point un auteur difficile; je n'ai eu beſoin d'éclairciſſemens qu'une ou deux fois: je les ai cherchés, et je n'ai rien trouvé. Je connoiſſois trop les critiques pour m'en étonner. L'auteur de ce petit poëme veçut ſous l'Empereur Honorius, qui l'avoit élevé aux premiers emplois; il avoit été Conſul, Préfet du Prétoire, et Gouverneur de Rome. Il étoit Gaulois de naiſſance. Ce fut le 9 Octobre 416, A. U. C. 1169 *, qu'il s'embarqua à Oſtie pour retourner dans ſa patrie. La relation qu'il nous a laiſſée

ble opportunity. It is true that ſuch an opportunity is much leſs likely to occur now, than it was then. The Abbé Montgon's ſtyle is inaccurate and unintereſting; that of a man unacquainted with the beauties and rules of his own language. What ſtrange words are *Deſpoticité*, *Stoicité!*

December 19.]—I read *Claudii Rutilii Numantiani Iter, L. i. V.* 1—644; and *L. ii. V.* 1—68. This is all that remains of a work that contained two complete books. I read it in *Burman's Edition of the Poetæ Latini Minores, Leiden*, 1731; one of thoſe Dutch editions, *cum notis Variorum*, in which the text only peeps out amidſt a heavy maſs of commentary. The 700 verſes of Rutilius are ſpread over 200 4to. pages, crowded with the remarks of Simler, Caſtalio, Pithæus, Sitzmanus, and Barthius. Yet Rutilius is not a difficult author; once or twice only I ſhould have been glad of an explanatory note; I looked for it in vain, but knew commentators too well to be ſurprized at the diſappointment. The author of this little poem lived under the Emperor Honorius, by whom he had been raiſed to the firſt employments. He was Conſul, Præfectus Prætorio, or Governor of Rome: being a Gaul by birth, he embarked at Oſtia the 9th October 416, A. U. C. 1169 *, to return to his native country. The account which he has left us of his voyage along the coaſts of Etruria and Liguria is imperfect, concluding at the town of Luna. His work may be conſidered in relation,

* Cl. Rutilii, Iter. L. i. 183. 205.

1. to

laiſſée de ce voyage le long des côtes de l'Etrurie et de la Ligurie, eſt imparfaite, et finit à la ville de Luna. On peut enviſager cet ouvrage par rapport; 1. Au ſujet. 2. Au ſtyle et à la poëſie: et 3. Au caractère perſonel de l'auteur. 1. Si Rutilius avoit retranché les 180 premiers vers de ſon poëme, on le lui auroit pardonné. Après avoir expoſé un peu de mots le ſujet de ſon voyage, et les regrets qu'il a éprouvés en quittant Rome, le théâtre de ſes honneurs, et ſa nouvelle patrie, il ſe jette ſur les éloges de la capitale, et de l'empire de cette ville éternelle, à qui Jupiter n'avoit point aſſigné de limites, et qui devoit regner ſur tous les peuples, et ſur tous les ſiecles. Pour remplir dignement cette idée, il falloit être grand poëte; et Rutilius n'eſt qu'un froid déclamateur, qui s'épuiſe à chercher des lieux communs, au lieu de trouver dans la nature et dans ſon génie tous les grands traits de ſon objet. Je penſe même qu'un grand poëte auroit évité celui-ci. Ce n'étoit pas ſous le regne d'Honorius, qu'il falloit peindre la force de l'empire Romain. Ses forces l'avoient abandonné depuis long tems; mais ſon antiquité et ſon étendue inſpiroient une ſorte de vénération et même de terreur, à ſes voiſins, et le ſoutinrent encore. Cette illuſion fut enfin diſſipée. Peu à peu les barbares le connurent, le mépriſerent, et le détruiſirent. La Grande Bretagne ſe détacha de l'empire; les Goths, les Vandales, et les Sueves, inonderent les plus belles provinces de l'Eſpagne et les Gaules; et lorſque Rutilius écrivit, il y avoit ſix ans qu'Alaric s'étoit vu maître

1. to its ſubject; 2. its ſtyle and poetry; 3. the perſonal character of its author. 1. If Rutilius had lopped off the firſt 180 verſes of his poem, the reader would not have been a loſer. After briefly mentioning the object of his voyage, and his ſorrow at leaving Rome, his adopted country, and the ſcene of his honours, he expatiates on the glory of the capital, that eternal city, to whoſe empire Jupiter had not aſſigned any limits, and which was deſtined to reign over all nations, and during all ages. Such a ſubject required a truly poetical genius; and Rutilius is only a cold declaimer, who ſtrains his faculties to ſtring common-place thoughts, without finding in nature and himſelf colours fitted to adorn his theme. This theme indeed would not have been choſen by a judicious writer; for the reign of Honorius was not a proper period for deſcribing the greatneſs of Rome; a greatneſs long ſince fallen to decay. A veneration, and even terror, for her name, had been ſupported by her antiquity and extent of empire. But the illuſion was now over. The barbarians gradually knew, deſpiſed, and deſtroyed her. Great Britain ſeparated from the empire; the Goths, Vandals, and Suevi overflowed the fineſt provinces of Spain and Gaul; and when Rutilius wrote, Alaric had already been for ſix years maſter of Rome. I acknowledge that our

maître de Rome. Je conviens que notre poëte, qui voyoit tous ces malheurs, a pris la ſeule tournure qui lui reſtoit; ſans les diſſimuler, il les oppoſe aux journées de Cannes et d'Allie, pour faire ſentir que Rome n'éprouvoit jamais de revers, que pour s'en relever encore plus floriſſante. Comparaiſon foible et fauſſe. Tout étoit changé depuis les guerres Puniques. Du tems de Rutilius, tous les reſſorts du gouvernement étoit uſés ; le caractère national, la religion, les principes des loix, la diſcipline militaire ; tout juſqu'au ſiege de l'empire et à la langue même, ſuccomboit ſous le tems et les révolutions, ou n'exiſtoit dejà plus. Il étoit difficile que cette empire ſe relevât, mais quand il auroit eu ce bonheur, c'étoit plutôt l'empire de Conſtantinople ou de Ravenne, que celui de Rome. Une choſe qui auroit du faire ſentir à Rutilius, combien ſes éloges étoient dépourvus de vérité et de vraiſemblance, c'eſt l'image fauſſe et confuſe, qu'il ſe forme de Rome perſonaliſée. Du tems de Virgile, elle auroit été juſte. Rome, regardée comme une déeſſe qu'on invoquoit dans ſes temples, exiſtoit pour les peuples auſſi bien que pour les poëtes. Mere des citoyens, maîtreſſe des provinces, elle repréſentoit cet empire qui lui obéiſſoit. Mais lorſque l'empire n'étoit plus qu'un aſſemblage de pays ſoumis au même prince, Rome lui étoit devenue étrangère, et cette ville, réduite à ſon idée phyſique, ne repréſentoit plus rien que des

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our poet, who was ſenſible of theſe calamities, endeavours ingeniouſly to diſſemble their diſgrace; comparing them with the defeats of Allia and Cannæ, to ſhew that Rome never ſuffered a reverſe of fortune without riſing more vigorous from the ſhock. But the compariſon is feeble and falſe. Since the Punic wars, circumſtances were totally changed. In the time of Rutilius, the ſprings of government were worn out; the national character, religion, laws, military diſcipline, even the ſeat of the empire, and the language itſelf, had been altered or deſtroyed, under the impreſſion of time and accident. It would have been difficult to revive the empire; but even could that have been effected, it would have been the empire of Conſtantinople or Ravenna, rather than that of Rome. Rutilius might have felt how deſtitute his panegyric was of truth or probability, from the falſe and confuſed ideas excited by his perſonification of Rome. In the time of Virgil, this figure would have been natural. Rome, regarded as a goddeſs, and invoked in temples, had an exiſtence in the opinion of the multitude as well as in the fancy of poets. As the mother of the citizens, and the miſtreſs of the provinces, her name recalled the image of her empire: but when this empire conſiſted in an aſſemblage of nations, ſubject to the ſame prince, Rome was no longer its ſovereign; and this city, reduced to an idea merely phyſical, repreſented nothing more but walls, temples, and houſes, built on ſeven hills and on the

des murs, des temples, et des maiſons bâties ſur ſept montagnes, et ſituées ſur les bords du Tybre. Le reſte du voyage de Rutilius, eſt d'un plus grand prix. Ce ſont des objets plus ſimples, mais plus réels, qu'il a vus avec un eſprit d'obſervation, et qu'il décrit avec cet air de vérité et de vivacité, qui diſtingue toujours ce qui eſt le réſultat de notre expérience, des fruits de la lecture, de la méditation, ou de l'invention. On voyage fort à ſon aiſe avec Rutilius ; on parcourt les côtes de l'Etrurie dejà preſque déſerte ; on voit les ruines des villes, le coup d'œil du pays et tous les lieux que l'art, ou la nature avoient tiré de la foule. Le voyageur n'oublie point les îſles du voiſinage ; et la curioſité l'engage plus d'une fois à pénétrer dans l'intérieur des terres. Il égaye de tems en tems la ſéchereſſe d'un poëme didactique, par des digreſſions liées avec ſon ſujet *, et qui ne l'en éloignent pas trop : le caractère de *Lepidi*, l'origine de l'uſage du fer, la religion Juive, les moines Chrétiens, &c. Je le loue de n'avoir pas admis le merveilleux dans ſa relation, toute ſérieuſe qu'elle eſt. En effet, il convient mal dans un poëme, où l'auteur parle de lui même. Notre imagination aime ce merveilleux, notre raiſon le rejette. A conſidérer cette foi conditionelle que nous avons, cette illuſion imparfaite qui nous domine dans les ouvrages de fiction, on croiroit voir un

* J'en excepte l'invective contre Stilicon, L. ii. 41.

conflit

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the banks of the Tyber. The remainder of Rutilius' voyage is ſtamped with a higher value. The objects which he deſcribes have not only more ſimplicity, but alſo more reality ; and as they were obſerved with attention, they are painted with thoſe colours of truth and nature, which always diſtinguiſh the reſult of experience from the fruit of ſtudy and invention. By a diſtinct and eaſy road he conducts us along the coaſt of Etruria, which was become almoſt a deſert ; he points out the ruins of cities, the beauties of the landſcape, and all thoſe places which were diſtinguiſhed either by art or nature. Our traveller forgets not the neighbouring iſles ; and his curioſity leads him more than once into the interior of the country. The dryneſs of a didactic poem is occaſionally enlivened by digreſſions either immediately, or not too remotely connected with the ſubject † ; ſuch as the character of the Lepidi, the diſcovery of the uſe of iron, the Jewiſh religion, and the Chriſtian monks. He is worthy of commendation for not giving to his narrative, ſerious as it is, too much of the marvellous ; which never becomes a poem, where the author is his own hero. The marvellous is pleaſing to our fancy, but is rejected by our reaſon. When we conſider that conditional faith and imperfect deluſion with which we are affected in works of fiction, it ſhould ſeem as if

† I except his invective againſt Stilico, L. ii. v. 41.

there

conflit de deux puiſſances ennemies ; état de ſuſpenſe, qui ne peut ſubſiſter que par l'éloignement, l'obſcurité, ou le merveilleux des garants et des acteurs. Dèſque le poëte ſeroit à la fois l'un et l'autre, il nous rameneroit trop à l'ordre commun des choſes, et notre illuſion volontaire auroit de la peine à ſe ſoutenir.

2. L'ouvrage de Rutilius ſe fait lire avec plaiſir. Il eſt intéreſſant et utile ; mais pourquoi écrire en vers? C'étoit faire violence à ſon génie et à ſon ſujet. La relation d'un voyage convenoit au philoſophe, à l'homme d'eſprit, au bon écrivain, mais elle n'a aucun rapport avec le poëte. Lorſqu'on veut traiter en vers, un ſujet tout uni et tout ſimple, il n'eſt preſque pas poſſible de conſerver à la fois le ton des choſes et celui de la verſification. Celui la ne demande, il ne comporte même que la netteté, la facilité, et quelques ornemens diſpoſés avec art et ménagés avec ſoin. Celui-ci, qui doit ſuppoſer l'enthouſiaſme chez le poëte, et l'exciter chez le lecteur, ne cherche que l'énergie et l'harmonie, et leur ſacrifie ſans peine toutes les beautés d'un ordre inférieur. La poëſie a ſon langage particulier. Il ne convient qu'aux grands mouvemens de l'ame. Ce n'eſt donc que pour eux qu'il eſt fait. Le poëte qui cherche à l'employer dans un ſujet qui laiſſera l'ame tranquille et ſans ſenſation, ſe trouvera placé entre deux écueils qu'il ne pourra guères éviter.

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there was a conflict of two hoſtile powers, by which the mind is kept in a ſtate of ſuſpence, that can only be maintained by diſtance and obſcurity, and an air of myſtery hanging over either the actor or the author. When the poet unites both characters in his own perſon, we are diſpoſed to examine his narrative by the maxims of experience; and our voluntary deluſion cannot, without the greateſt difficulty, be ſupported.

2. Rutilius' voyage is read with pleaſure ; it is intereſting and uſeful ; but why was it written in verſe ? Poetry ſeems equally to miſbecome the ſubject and the genius of the author. The narrative of a voyage comes very properly from a philoſopher, a man of parts, or a fine writer, but has no connection with verſe. When we attempt to adorn with numbers a ſubject plain and ſimple, it is ſcarcely poſſible that our ſtyle ſhould not be either unpoetical or improper. The ſubject requires eaſe, perſpicuity, preciſion, and ſome ornaments introduced ſeaſonably, and with a ſparing hand. But the poet, in order to affect his reader with enthuſiaſm, muſt firſt feel it himſelf; he muſt aim at energy of expreſſion and harmony of numbers; and be willing to ſacrifice to them all beauties of an inferior order. The language of poetry ſuits only thoſe ſtrong paſſions of the ſoul, by which it was originally produced ; and he who attempts to employ this language on topics which leave the mind in tranquil-

éviter. Il échouera tour à tour contre l'un et l'autre. Ici la force de ſon coloris, défigurera la ſimplicité de ſon objet, au lieu de l'embellir. Là le poëte ne ſe fera ſentir que par l'harmonie des vers, pendant que les expreſſions ſeront froides et proſaïques. Toutes ces réflexions conviennent au voyage de Rutilius. Ses idées ſont ingénieuſes, placées avec art, et rendues avec clarté, avec préciſion, et avec goût. Mais ſa poëſie eſt lâche et traînante, ſans nerfs et ſans harmonie. On voit qu'il s'eſt défié quelque fois de lui même, et qu'il a voulu ſuppléer aux dons de la nature par les reſſources de l'art; reſſources foibles et uſées, qu'on pardonne à peine aux grands hommes, mais qu'on a rarement beſoin de leur pardonner. 1. Rutilius paroît avoir cru que les mots ſonores, qui rempliſſoient le mieux la bouche, frappoient auſſi plus agréablement l'oreille. Mais j'aurois voulu qu'il eut abandonné aux poëtes Malabares, un uſage qui n'eſt digne que d'eux. Je doute que *Bellerophonteis ſollicitudinibus** ſoit jamais cité, que pour la ſingularité de deux mots qui rempliſſent un vers pentamètre. 2. Il ſe donne beaucoup de licences les plus hardies, pour des mots nouveaux, ou des liaiſons extraordinaires. Il réuſſit rarement. Quoi de plus forcé que *connubium* pour *concilium*†? Mais j'aime beaucoup l'épithete de *legiferi*, appliquée aux triomphes des Romains. Ils produiſoient néceſſairement les loix et l'ordre:

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lity, will find himſelf between two rocks, on one of which he muſt ſhipwreck; the brilliancy of his expreſſion will either miſbecome the ſimplicity of his thoughts, or the tameneſs of his words and phraſes will diſgrace the dignity of verſe. All theſe reflections are applicable to Rutilius' voyage. His thoughts are ingenious, artfully arranged, and expreſſed with clearneſs, preciſion, and taſte. But his poetry is mean and creeping, deſtitute of ſtrength, and devoid of harmony. We ſee that he diſtruſts his natural vigour, and has recourſe to contrivances of art; contrivances weak and common, ſcarcely pardonable in great authors, and for which they ſeldom ſtand in need of pardon. 1. Rutilius ſeems to have thought that ſwelling words, which beſt filled the mouth, were alſo moſt pleaſing to the ear. But I wiſh ſuch words were reſigned to Oriental poets, of whom only they are not unworthy. I doubt whether *Bellerophonteis ſollicitudinibus* * be ever quoted, except on account of the ſingularity that two words ſhould compoſe a pentameter verſe. 2. He is bold even to licentiouſneſs in forming new words, or giving new combinations to the old. What can be more forced than uſing *connubium* for *concilium*†? I am pleaſed however with his epithet *legiferi*, applied to the Roman triumphs. Laws, order, and civility were produced

* Rutil. Iter. L. i. 450. † Idem, L. i. 18.

l'ordre : c'étoit pour ainſi dire le fruit qu'ils portoient. 3. J'ai cru appercevoir quelques rimes *. Mais elles ſont en trop petit nombre, pour décider ſi elles ſont l'effet de la negligence, ou d'un mauvais goût, que la corruption de la langue et le commerce avec les barbares, qui avoient des vers rimés, introduiſoient peu à peu parmi les Romains.

3. Les auteurs ſe peignent dans leurs écrits. C'eſt une maxime auſſi vraie qu'elle eſt ancienne. On peut ajouter que lorſqu'on apperçoit des ombres dans le portrait, elles ſont ſurement dans l'original. Le caractère de Rutilius me paroît aimable ; j'y vois de l'amour pour ſa patrie, et ſurtout pour ſa patrie malheureuſe ; un cœur ſuſceptible d'amitié, un ſouvenir tendre et reſpectueux pour la mémoire d'un pere. Tant de belles qualités ſeroient elles éclipſées par un peu de vanité ? Rutilius repaſſe avec plaiſir toutes ſes grandeurs ; et cette patrie, ces amis, et ce pere lui deviennent plus chers par la liaiſon qu'ils ont eu avec ſes honneurs. Cette vanité fait pitié. Cicéron ne ſe vantoit pas d'avoir été Conſul, mais d'avoir ſauvé la république pendant ſon conſulat. Je pardonne plus volontiers aux hommes de s'énorgueillir de leurs talens et de leurs actions, que de tirer vanité de quelques emplois, de quelques titres, vaines et frivoles diſtinctions de la ſociété. Rutilius déteſtoit

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by thoſe triumphs, and were their ordinary fruits. 3. I thought that I had diſcovered ſome rhymes *, but they are too few to enable us to determine whether they ought to be aſcribed to negligence, or were the effect of that bad taſte, which the corruption of language and connection with the barbarians, who were fond of rhyme, gradually introduced among the Romans.

3. Authors deſcribe themſelves in their works : a maxim as true as it is ancient. We may add that the ſhades which appear in the picture, certainly were to be found in the original. The character of Rutilius appears to me to have been amiable. I perceive a love for his country, eſpecially in its adverſity ; a heart ſuſceptible of friendſhip, and a tender and reſpectful regard for the memory of his father. Are ſo many good qualities to ſuffer a total eclipſe from a little too much vanity ? Rutilius reviews the ſtages of his greatneſs with complacence ; his country, his friends, and his father, are endeared to him by their connection with his own honours. His vanity is contemptible. Cicero boaſted not of being conſul, but of ſaving the republic in his conſulſhip. Men may be more eaſily pardoned for being proud of their actions and talents, than for valuing themſelves on their employments and titles, the vain and frivolous diſtinctions of ſociety. Rutilius deteſted the Jews, and deſpiſed the monks.

* Rutil. Iter. L. i. 39. 107, &c.

Was

teſtoit les Juifs, et mépriſoit les Moines. Lui on feroit en un crime ? J'aurois voulu à la vérité, que ſes ſentimens euſſent eu un principe, et un ton plus philoſophique. Mail il étoit Payen, il voyoit ſa religion s'affaiſſer ſous le poids de la vieilleſſe, et entrainer l'empire dans ſa chute. Les Chrétiens inſultoient à la ruine de ſa ſecte, qu'ils croyoient précipiter par leurs perſécutions. On peut bien lui pardonner un peu de mauvaiſe honneur. Quoi de plus vif que le tableau qu'il fait des Moines de l'îſle *Capraria ?* Quoi de plus ſenſé que les réflexions dont il l'accompagne ? La folie de ces ſolitaires, qui penſoient que la Divinité voit avec plaiſir les ſouffrances de ſes créatures, étoit extreme ; mais leur conduite étoit conſéquente. Si Rutilius avoit vêçu dans le douziême ſiecle, qu'auroit il dit de leurs ſucceſſeurs, qui avoient mis en œuvre la pauvreté volontaire et l'humilité, pour acquerir l'eſtime des peuples, et qui avoient profité de cette eſtime pour s'approprier des ſouverainetés temporelles, et la moitié des richeſſes de l'Europe ?

Decembre 20.]—J'ai lu le *Journal des Savans*, pour les mois de Janvier, Fevrier, et Mars 1763. Je ne ſaurois dire combien je ſuis content de ce Journal ; le ſavoir, la préciſion, et le bon goût en font le caractère ; mais j'aime ſurtout un ton qui lui eſt unique, un ton de modération, d'impartialité, qui diſtingue avec ſureté et avec plaiſir les beautés d'un ouvrage, et qui en releve les défauts avec beaucoup de ſang froid, et même de tendreſſe. Ce Journal,

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Was this in *him* a crime ? I could wiſh indeed that his feelings had been expreſſed with more philoſophical moderation, and had reſted on a better principle. But he was a Pagan, who beheld his religion ſinking under the weight of years, and involving the empire in its fall. The Chriſtians inſulted the decline of his ſect, which they endeavoured to haſten by perſecution. A little bad humour was excuſable. Nothing can be more animated than his deſcription of the monks in the iſle of Capraria, or more judicious than the reflections with which it is accompanied. The folly of theſe monks is extreme, in thinking that God took pleaſure in the ſufferings of his creatures : but their conduct was conformable with their principles. Had Rutilius lived in the twelfth century, what would he have ſaid of their ſucceſſors, who availed themſelves of their voluntary poverty and humility, to acquire the eſteem of the multitude, and of that eſteem to appropriate to themſelves temporal power, and half the riches of Europe ?

December 20.]—I read the *Journal des Savans*, for the months of January, February, and March, 1763. I can hardly expreſs how much I am delighted with this Journal ; its characteriſtics are erudition, preciſion, and taſte ; but what I moſt admire is that impartiality and candour which diſtinguiſh the beauties and defects of a

Journal, le pere de tous les autres, en eſt à preſent le meilleur. Il doit même avoir nouvellement acquis des travailleurs. Je voudrois connoitre celui à qui nous devons un morceau excellent, c'eſt l'analyſe et la critique de la nouvelle tragédie de Zelmire. On ne peut ſouhaiter à ce Journal qu'un peu plus de hardieſſe et de philoſophie ; mais il eſt fait ſous les yeux du Chancelier.

Decembre 23.]—J'ai lu deux morceaux de Virgile, très intéreſſans pour la géographie ; *le Catalogue de l'Armée de Turnus, L. vii.* 641—817 ; *et celui des Secours qu'Enée tira de l'Etrurie, L. x.* 163—214 ; pour les réflexions que cette lecture m'a fait naitre *V. No. I.* de mon nouveau Recueil d'Obſervations.

24.]—J'ai lu dans la même vue le Catalogue de l'Armée Romaine avant la bataille de Cannes, par *Silius Italicus, Punic, L. vii.* 334—623. Je l'ai relu enſuite une ſeconde fois, plutôt pour le graver dans ma mémoire, que pour me ſatisfaire l'imagination. *V. No. II.*

25.]—J'ai lu *la cinquième Satyre du premier Livre d'Horace.* C'eſt ſon voyage de *Brunduſium.* C'eſt toujours le poëte qui m'a occupé, moins que le géographe. Ce voyage m'a fait faire quelque réflexions ſur ceux des anciens en général. Je les ai raſſemblées, *V. No. III.* et l'on peut voir avec combien

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work, giving to the former due and hearty praiſe, and calmly and tenderly pointing out the latter. This Journal, the father of all the reſt, is ſtill their ſuperior : of late it muſt have acquired the help of ſome new labourers. I ſhould like to know the author of an excellent piece, an analyſis and criticiſm of the new tragedy of *Zelmire.* There is nothing to be wiſhed for in this Journal but a little more boldneſs and philoſophy ; but it is publiſhed under the Chancellor's eye.

December 23.]—I read two detached pieces of Virgil, of great importance in geography. The firſt is the review of Turnus' army, L. vii. V. 641—817: the ſecond, an account of the ſuccours which Eneas received from Etruria, L. x. V. 163—214. My reflections on theſe paſſages will be found in No. I. of my new Collection of Obſervations.

24.]—I read with the ſame deſign the review of the Roman army by Silius Italicus, before the battle of Cannæ ; Punic, L. vii. V. 334—623. I read it over again, rather to engrave it on my memory, than to pleaſe my fancy. See No. II.

25.]—I read the *fifth Satire of the firſt book of Horace,* containing his journey to Brunduſium. Geography rather than poetry was my object. This ſatire gave occaſion to ſome reflections on the journies of the ancients in general, which I have collected in No. III. and from which the reader will ſee with how little foundation

combien peu de fondement, Addiſon a apprécié les journées ordinaires d'un Seigneur Romain à quatorze milles.

Decembre 26.]—J'ai lu pluſieurs *Diſſertations dans le vingt ſixième tome des Mémoires de l'Académie des Belles Lettres*, qui pouvoient avoir du rapport avec mon objet actuel.—*Mémoire ſur le Mille Romain, par M. d'Anville*, *p.* 346—362. Ce ſavant le forma ſur le réſultat d'un grand nombre de meſures particulieres, priſes ſur la voye Emilienne, et dans les environs de Milan, et donne au mille Romain 756 toiſes de longueur.—*Remarques ſur quelques Points de l'ancienne Geographie, par M. de la Nauze*, *p.* 362—397. Il s'agit, 1. De la diſtance de Rome à Aricia; elle étoit certainement de 16 milles Romains de 128 ſtades. Si Strabon lui aſſigne 160 ſtades, il faut s'en prendre à ſon ignorance, ou à celle de ſon copiſte, et nullement à un ſtade particulier qu'il n'a point employé dans les environs de Rome. 2. Pline ſe trouve d'accord avec Strabon, quand il fait la traverſée de *Hydruntum*, à la côte d'Epire, de 50 milles Romains. 3. Il y avoit deux eſpeces de ſtades; l'ancien étoit de dix au mille, le moderne n'étoit que de huit. La diſtinction paroît néceſſaire. Malheureuſement elle ne fait que mettre l'incertitude à la place des difficultés. 4. Juſqu'au tems d'Auguſte, on comptoit les milles depuis les portes de Rome: le milliaire 1, qu'on y trouvoit n'étoit qu'un mille

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Mr. Addiſon eſtimates the ordinary day's journey of a Roman nobleman at fourteen miles.

December 26.]—I read ſeveral diſſertations in the *twenty-ſixth Volume of the Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres*, relative to my preſent purſuit.—*Memoirs of Mr. D'Anville on the Roman Mile*, *p.* 346—362. The reſult is drawn by this learned man from a number of particular miles meaſured on the Emilian way, and in the neighbourhood of Milan. He makes the Roman mile 756 fathoms long.—*Remarks on ſome Points of ancient Geography, by Mr. de la Nauze*, *p.* 362—397. He treats, 1. Of the diſtance between Rome and Aricia: it was certainly 16 Roman miles, or 128 ſtadia. Though Strabo makes it 160 ſtadia, this muſt be imputed either to his ignorance, or the fault of his tranſcribers, and by no means to his reckoning by a particular ſtadium in the neighbourhood of Rome. 2. Pliny agrees with Strabo in making the diſtance from Hydruntum to the coaſt of Epirus 50 Roman miles. 3. There were two kinds of ſtadia; the ancient of ten, and the modern of eight, to a Roman mile. This diſtinction is a neceſſary one, but unfortunately it only ſubſtitutes uncertainty for difficulty. 4. Until the time of Auguſtus, the miles were reckoned from the gates of Rome; and the firſt mile-ſtone only denoted the commencement of a mile; but when that prince erected the gilt pillar in the Forum, the mile-ſtone at the gates denoted the

mille commencé. Lorſque ce prince eut établi le milliaire doré dans le Forum, celui des portes devint un mille révolu, mais un mille imaginaire qui en contenoit deux ou trois.

Decembre 27.]—J'ai lu *le Mémoire de l'Abbé Barthelemy ſur les anciens Monumens de Rome, p.* 579—611, *du vingt ſixième tome des Mémoires de l'Académie des Belles Lettres.* Il eſt plein de goût, d'érudition, et de bon ſens, digne de ce ſavant aimable qui j'ai beaucoup connu à Paris. J'aſſiſtai l'année paſsée à la rentrée de ſon académie après la fête de Paques. L'Abbé Barthelemy devoit lire un diſcours ſur la langue Cophte. Nous le ſavions d'avance, et chacun blamoit ce choix d'un ſujet épineux, qui ne paroîſſoit fait que pour les aſſemblées particulieres. On vit avec un plaiſir mêlé de ſurpriſe, combien notre Abbé le rendoit intéreſſant aux femmes et aux gens du monde, qui l'écoutoient, par les graces de ſon ſtyle, par la fineſſe de ſa critique, et par ſes principes juſtes et lumineux.

30.]—Il ne me reſtoit plus rien à lire ſur l'ancienne géographie de l'Italie, ſinon ce que Strabon en a écrit. J'en ai lu *L. iv. p.* 139—144, *et L. v. p.* 145—157, dans la verſion Latine de Xylandre, revue par Caſaubon. Strabon y parcourt la Vénétie, la Gaule Ciſalpine, les Alpes, la Ligurie, l'Etrurie, et l'Umbrie.

Decembre

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the end of a mile; but that mile depended on the diſtance of the Forum from the ſeveral gates, and contained two or three miles.

December 27.]—I read the *Abbé Barthelemy's Memoir on the ancient Monuments of Rome, in the twenty-ſixth volume, p.* 579—611, *of the Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres.* It is replete with taſte, erudition, and good ſenſe; worthy of the amiable ſcholar, whom I well knew at Paris. I was preſent laſt year at the public meeting of the Academy, after the Eaſter holidays. The Abbé was to read a diſcourſe on the Coptic. This was known beforehand; and every body blamed the choice of ſo thorny a ſubject, that was fitter to be diſcuſſed at the Academy's private meetings. But our pleaſure was heightened by ſurpriſe, when we perceived that the Abbé rendered his ſubject intereſting to his audience of people of faſhion and women, by the beauties of his ſtyle, the delicacy of his criticiſms, and his principles of reaſoning as perſpicuous as they were ſolid.

30.]—There remained for me nothing to read concerning the ancient geography of Italy, except the books of Strabo on that ſubject. I read L. iv. p. 139—144, and L. v. p. 145—157, in Xylander's Latin tranſlation reviſed by Caſaubon. Strabo there treats of Venetia, Ciſalpine Gaul, the Alps, Liguria, Etruria, and Umbria.

December

Decembre 31.]—J'ai lu *Strabon Geograph. L. iv. p.* 157—173, *et L. vi.* 174—199; en ſautant ſeulement la partie qui regarde la Sicile. J'ai toujours admiré la variété des connoiſſances et le grand ſens de Strabon. L'antiquité nous a laiſſé des ouvrages plus brillans, mais je n'en connois aucun de plus utile et de plus inſtructif.

1764, Janvier 1.]—J'ai commencé pendant le mois de Janvier les Faſtes d'Ovide, dans l'édition du Dauphin. Comme je veux faire ſuccéder à la géographie, les médailles et les antiquités, ce poëme didactique, qui renferme toute la mythologie Romaine, m'a paru une bonne introduction à l'une et à l'autre de ces études. Comme ouvrage de poëſie, il n'a point ſoutenu l'idée avantageuſe, que les éloges des anciens et des modernes m'en avoient donnée; mais ce n'eſt pas ici que je dois m'expliquer la deſſus. L'édition eſt de Daniel Criſpin, Suiſſe de nation, attaché à la perſonne du Dauphin. Que l'évêque Huet a eu raiſon de ſe plaindre du choix qu'on fit des ſujets, pour exécuter l'idée heureuſe de M. de Montauſier! Cette édition eſt aſſez belle, bien imprimée, et corrigée avec ſoin. Le libraire a fort bien exécuté ſa tâche; mais que de choſes à reprendre dans celle de l'éditeur! Les notes ſont au deſſous de la critique. Elles ne ſerviroient qu'à un écolier, encore pourroient elles l'égarer ſouvent, tant elles ſont mal faites. Il ne leur manquoit que le ridicule d'un cortege de morale, et même de théologie à la ſuite d'un

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December 31.]—I read *Strabo's Geography, L. iv. p.* 157—173, *and L. vi. p.* 174—199; having ſkipped over that part which relates to Sicily. I have always been an admirer of Strabo's good ſenſe, and variety of knowledge. Antiquity has left us more brilliant performances than his; but I know of none more ſolid and more uſeful.

1764, January 1.]—In the month of January I began to read Ovid's Faſti, in the Dauphin edition. Purpoſing to add the ſtudy of medals and antiquities to that of geography, I thought this didactic poem, containing the whole Roman mythology, would be a good introduction to thoſe purſuits. As a poem, this work by no means correſponds to the favourable opinion which I had conceived of it, from the commendations of ancient and modern critics; but this is not the place for conſidering it in that light. The edition is that of Criſpin, a Swiſs, in the ſervice of the Dauphin. Biſhop Huet had good reaſon to complain of negligence in ſelecting competent perſons for executing Mr. Montauſier's excellent deſign. This edition is handſome, well-printed, and carefully corrected. The bookſeller has done his part well; but this is far from being the caſe with the editor. His notes are below criticiſm. They are fit only for a ſchool-boy, who would often be bewildered by their abſurdity. To render them completely ridiculous, they wanted only a copious apparatus of

d'un poëte libertin et Payen. Leur auteur a eu grand ſoin de le leur donner de tems en tems. L'interprétation auroit pu être utile, en ſubſtituant des mots communs à des mots peu connus, et des tours ſimples à des tours poëtiques. L'interprétation de Criſpin eſt à la fois proſaïque et ampoulée, auſſi peu propre à faire comprendre les beautés d'Ovide, qu'à rendre ſon ſens littéral. On a dejà remarqué que ces indices énormes, qui ſont un quart des éditions Dauphines, devoient ſervir à dévoiler les fineſſes et les tours particuliers à une langue, ou à un auteur, et non pas à compter combien de fois il a employé *et* ou *que* dans leur ſignification ſimple et uſitée. M. Criſpin a mis à la tête des Faſtes un calendrier ancien. Il avoue qu'il ne repond pas à celui d'Ovide, mais il n'avoit pas le tems de les concilier. Tout déroute un lecteur de cette édition, juſqu'à l'uſage de numéroter les vers par page, au lieu de le faire par livre ; ce qui empêche de vérifier la moindre citation.

J'ai lu *quatre tomes de la Bibliotheque Raiſonnée, le xxxvi, xxxvii, xxxviii, et xxxix.* Comme je n'ai plus entre les mains le *trente ſixième tome*, et qu'il ne m'en eſt même reſté qu'une idée aſſez confuſe, je ne parlerai que d'une piece originale qui m'a beaucoup plu. C'eſt *une Diſſertation ſavante et curieuſe contre le Prétendu Martyre de la Légion Thebéenne.* Il fait valoir avec beaucoup de force le ſilence des contemporains, et les défauts de vraiſemblance dans

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morality, and even of theology, as a fit appendage to the poem of a Pagan and a libertine. The author has taken care to ſupply that defect. His explanation might have been uſeful, had he ſubſtituted common for uncommon words ; and ſimple for poetical phraſes. But Criſpin's interpretation is at once ſwollen and proſaic ; equally unfit for diſplaying Ovid's beauties, and for making his meaning underſtood. It has been juſtly remarked, that thoſe enormous indices, which commonly make a fourth part of the Dauphin editions, ought to have been employed in pointing out the delicacies and idioms of the language or author, and not in enumerating how many times he uſes *et* and *que* in their common ſignification. Mr. Criſpin has prefixed an ancient calendar to the Faſti : he confeſſes that it does not agree with Ovid's ; he had not time to reconcile them. Every thing diſguſts us in this edition, even to the mode of reference ; which is to the page, and not to the book ; which prevents the poſſibility of verifying the quotations..

I read four volumes of the *Bibliotheque Raiſonnée ;* the 36th, 37th, 38th, and 39th. Not having the 36th at hand, and retaining but a confuſed notion of its contents, I ſhall only ſpeak of one article with which I was highly pleaſed. This is a learned and curious *Diſſertation concerning the prétended Martyrdom of the Thebæan Legion.* The author inſiſts with great force on the improbability of the fact, and the ſilence of contemporary writers. He inveſtigates the origin of a fable, ſo uſeful to the church of St. Maurice

dans l'hiſtoire même. Il cherche l'origine d'une fable qui a été ſi utile à l'égliſe de St. Maurice, en Valais, et la ſuit juſqu'au tems d'Eucher, évêque de Lyon, qui a vêçu un ſiecle et demi après Diocletien, et qui l'a racontée le premier, ſur une tradition vague et obſcure. Il paroît qu'un officier et quelques légionnaires avoient ſouffert le martyre vers ce tems là en Syrie, mais qu'en paſſant en Occident, ils étoient devenus une légion entière, compoſée uniquement de Chrétiens.

Le *trente ſeptième tome de la Bibliotheque Raiſonnée* contient: *Lettre ſur le Genre de Nourriture des premiers Hommes:* c'eſt une queſtion auſſi oiſive qu'elle eſt vague et obſcure. Je ne vois point de néceſſité de leur faire quitter les végétaux de ſi bonne heure. La terre a du être peuplée avec lenteur par les hommes et les animaux; pendant long tems elle fourniſſoit à toutes les races différentes, une nourriture abondante, ſans qu'elles fuſſent obligées de ſe dévorer mutuellement. A la fin les animaux étoient devenus à charge à l'homme, qu'ils menaçoient d'affamer. Mais il a fallu un danger preſſant, pour l'engager à ſurmonter l'horreur naturelle, que le meurtre et le carnage nous inſpirent. Ne donnera-t-on que quatre ou cinq ſiecles à toutes ces révolutions?—*Deſcription de l'Orient, par M. Pococke*; ſavante et curieuſe; *premier et deuxième Extrait.* On voit dans la Thébaïde les maiſons des premiers hommes, creuſées dans le roc. La magnificence perfectionna les ouvrages de la néceſſité. Mais l'art des Egyptiens n'avoit aucune rapport

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Maurice in the Valley, and traces it back to Eucher, Biſhop of Lyons, who lived a century and a half after Diocletian, and who firſt related it on the authority of a vague and obſcure report. It appears that ſome legionary ſoldiers with their officer had, about that time, ſuffered martyrdom in Syria. But Fame, in bringing this tranſaction to the Weſt, magnified them into a complete legion entirely compoſed of Chriſtians.

The 37th volume contains a *Letter* concerning the food of the firſt men. The queſtion is as idle as it is vague and obſcure. I do not ſee the neceſſity of making them leave off vegetables ſo ſoon. The earth muſt have been ſlowly peopled with men and animals; and for a long time muſt have ſupplied all living tribes with ſuch abundant nouriſhment as precluded the neceſſity of their devouring each other. At length, animals became formidable to man, who was in danger of ſtarving. But nothing ſhort of urgent danger could overcome his natural repugnance to the ſhedding of blood. Are five or ſix generations ſufficient for producing all theſe revolutions?—*Deſcription of the Eaſt, by Mr. Pococke*: learned and curious. The houſes of the firſt inhabitants of Egypt are ſtill to be ſeen in the Thebaid, in the hollows of rocks. Magnificence improved the works of neceſſity. The arts of the Egyptians bore no relation to thoſe of Greece.

port à celui des Grecs. L'un, aſſervi aux proportions, avoit l'air libre et hardi ; l'autre, abandonné au caprice des ouvriers, paroîſſoit extravagant plutôt qu'original.—*Commerce Epiſtolaire de MM. Leibnitz et Jean Bernouilli.* C'eſt un plaiſir d'étudier ces deux génies puiſſans, de voir la force et la profondeur de l'un, la variété, l'étendue, et la pénétration de l'autre.—*Hiſtoire de la nouvelle France, par le Pere Charlevoix :* bien écrite, curieuſe, et infidele.—*Hiſtoire de Louis XI. par M. Duclos.* Louis XI. nous intéreſſe très peu ; ſon ſiecle nous intéreſſe beaucoup. Auſſi M. Duclos a-t-il negligé le ſiecle pour n'enviſager que le prince.—*Les Géorgiques de Virgile, en Anglois, par M. Martin :* utile pour connoitre la botanique de Virgile.

Le trente huitième tome de la Bibliotheque Raiſonnée contient : *Melange Harleien, tome iii.* J'y vois le procès de Nicolas Antoine, brulé à Geneve en 1632, non point pour avoir inventé une héréſie nouvelle, mais pour d'avoir préféré le Judaiſme au Chriſtianiſme. C'eſt le pendant de l'Hiſtoire de Servet.—*Deſcription de l'Iſlande, &c. par M. Anderſon.* Quelle pays et quelles mœurs ; ſes habitans cependant, n'y renoncent qu'avec la vie.—*La Neceſſité du Culte Public, par M. de la Chapelle, contre une Lettre anonyme.* L'antagoniſte de M. de la Chapelle eſt un miniſtre dans le Pays de Vaud, nommé Allamand, et un des plus beaux génies que je connoiſſe. Il a voulu embraſſer tous les genres ; mais c'eſt la philoſophie qu'il a le plus approfondie.

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The latter, harmoniſed by proportions, were bold and liberal ; the former, enſlaved by caprice, were extravagant rather than original.—*Epiſtolary Correſpondence between Leibnitz and John Bernouilli.* It is a pleaſure to contemplate theſe two vigorous minds : the force and depth of the one ; the variety, extent, and penetration of the other.—*The Hiſtory of New France, by Father Charlevoix :* well written, curious, and unfaithful.—*Hiſtory of Lewis XI. by Mr. Duclos.* Lewis XI. is an unintereſting object ; his age quite the reverſe. But Mr. Duclos has ſhewn us only the prince, and neglected the hiſtory of his age. *Virgil's Georgicks, tranſlated into Engliſh by Martyn :* uſeful for its knowledge of the plants mentioned by Virgil.

The 38th volume of the *Bibliotheque Raiſonnée* contains the *Harleian Miſcellany, vol. iii.* We meet with the *Proceſs of Nicholas Antony, burnt at Geneva in* 1632, not for inventing a new hereſy, but for preferring the Jewiſh religion to the Chriſtian. It forms the counterpart to the hiſtory of Servetus.—*Deſcription of Iceland, by Mr. Anderſon.* The country and the manners of its inhabitants are equally ſtrange : Death only can make them quit this wretched iſland.—*The Neceſſity of Public Worſhip, by Mr. de la Chapelle, in anſwer to an anonymous Letter.* Mr. Chapelle's adverſary is a miniſter in the Païs de Vaud, of the name of Allamand, and never did I know a man of a finer genius. His mind embraced all kinds of learning, but philoſophy was his principal ſtudy. On all

Sur toutes les queſtions il s'eſt fait des ſyſtêmes, ou du moins des argumens toujours originaux et toujours ingénieux. Ses idées ſont fines et lumineuſes, ſon expreſſion heureuſe et facile. On lui reproche avec raiſon trop de rafinement et de ſubtilité dans l'eſprit ; trop de fierté, trop d'ambition, et trop de violence, dans le caractère. Cet homme, qui auroit pu éclairer ou troubler une nation, vit et mourra dans l'obſcurité. Il eſt ſingulier, qu'il n'ait preſque rien écrit, que deux petits ouvrages de commande.—*Voyage en Egypte, par le Sieur Granger :* hardi, mais très ſuperficiel. Les canaux des anciens rois portoient les eaux du Nil, et l'abondance dans tous les cantons de l'Egypte. Les Turcs ne les entretiennent point. Le pays a perdu ſa fertilité, et le Sieur Granger donne le démenti à toute l'antiquité qui dit qu'il la poſſédoit autrefois.—*Poëme de Pierre d'Ebato, ſur les Troubles de la Sicile, ſous l'Empereur Henry VI. tiré de la Bibliotheque de Berne, par M. Eugel :* il eſt aſſez curieux. Dans les ſiecles barbares la poëſie tient lieu d'hiſtoire. Auſſi en a-t-elle l'exactitude.—*Lettres d'un François,* oui : *ſur les Anglois,* non. Le pauvre Abbé le Blanc !

Le *trente neuvième tome de la Bibliotheque Raiſonnée* contient : *Lettre d'un Bibliothécaire de Geneve, ſur une Bulle ſingulière de Clement VI.* Singulière en effet. C'eſt une permiſſion, accordée l'an 1354, à tous les confeſſeurs de tous les rois de France, de diſpenſer le prince des ſermens qu'il ne pourroit tenir ſans

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queſtions, he had contrived ſyſtems, at leaſt arguments, equally new and ingenious. His ideas were refined and perſpicuous ; his expreſſion natural and happy. He was juſtly reproached with too much ſubtlety of thought, with pride, ambition, and exceſſive warmth of temper. This man, qualified to enlighten or diſturb a nation, lived and died in obſcurity. He left nothing in writing, excepting a few ſhort performances in anſwer to queſtions put to him.—*Travels into Egypt, by Mr. Granger :* bold, but ſuperficial. The canals of the ancient kings carried the waters of the Nile and fertility into all the provinces of Egypt. Theſe canals are not kept in repair by the Turks. The country has loſt its fruitfulneſs ; and Mr. Granger gives the lie to all ancient writers, who declare that it formerly was fruitful.—A *Poem* of *Peter Ebuto,* on the *Troubles of Sicily in the Reign of the Emperor Henry VI.* publiſhed from the library of Bern by Mr. Engel. The work is curious : poetry is the hiſtory of barbarous ages ; and has then all the circumſtantial minuteneſs which hiſtory requires.—" *Letters of a French-man,*" true ; " *on the Engliſh,*" falſe. Poor Abbé le Blanc !

The 39th volume of the *Bibliotheque Raiſonnée* contains a letter of the librarian of Geneva, on a ſingular bull of Clement VI. Singular indeed ! This bull is a permiſſion, granted in 1354, to all the confeſſors of all the kings of France, to grant diſpenſations to

ſans quelque incommodité. Le bibliothécaire fait des réflexions et des recherches, qui repandent beaucoup de lumière ſur l'authenticité, le caractère, l'objet, et le ſtyle de cette bulle. La lettre eſt écrite avec goût et modération.—*Amintor et Théodora, par M. Mallet.* Si mon ami a jamais une gloire poëtique, c'eſt cet ouvrage qui la lui donnera. M. Maty avoit fourni cet extrait dont Mallet fut ſi content, qu'il rechercha auſſitôt ſon amitié. C'eſt un anecdote que je tiens de tous les deux.—*Voyage de la Gothie Occidentale, par M. Linnæus ; et celui de la Siberie, par M. Gimelin :* ces deux expéditions, la dernière ſurtout, qui a ouvert un monde inconnu, font bien l'éloge des ſouverains du Nord.—*Œuvres de Virgile, avec les Commentaires de N. Heinſius et de Pierre Burman :* c'eſt la meilleure édition de Virgile et de Servius, comme elle eſt la dernière.—*Poëſies de M. de Haller, traduites de l'Allemand.* Une imagination riche, une énergie de ſtyle, et un ton de philoſophie, dont il a trouvé à propos de ſe défaire.—*Théorie des Sentimens agréables, par M. de Pouilly.* L'unité et la variété ſont les ſources de nos plaiſirs. L'idée me paroît juſte ; mais elle n'eſt point ni aſſez neuve, ni aſſez préciſe pour en faire un livre. J'ai lu auſſi les *Lettres de Lady Mary Wortley Montague,* qui viennent de paroître. C'eſt la relation d'un voyage où elle ſuivit ſon mari ambaſſadeur à Conſtantinople. Elles ſont aſſez legères et amuſantes.

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their ſovereigns from the obligation of oaths which it might be inconvenient for them to obſerve. The librarian's reflections and reſearches throw much light on the authenticity, the character, the object, and the ſtyle of this bull. This letter is written with moderation and taſte.—*Amintor and Theodora, by Mr. Mallet.* If my friend ſhould ever attain poetic fame, it will be acquired by this work. Mr. Maty furniſhed the extract, which pleaſed Mallet ſo much that he requeſted his friendſhip. This anecdote I learned from both parties.—*Travels into Weſtern Gothland, by Mr. Linnæus; and into Siberia, by Mr. Gimelin.* Theſe two works, the latter eſpecially, which opens to us an unknown world, do much honour to the ſovereigns of the North.—*The Works of Virgil, with the Commentaries of Heinſius and Peter Burman.* As this is the lateſt, ſo it is the beſt edition of Virgil and Servius.—*Haller's Poems, tranſlated from the German :* diſtinguiſhed by a rich imagination, energy of ſtyle, and an air of philoſophy, which he has thought fit to lay aſide.—*Theory of agreeable Sentiments, by Mr. de Pouilly.* Unity and variety are the ſources of our pleaſures. The idea ſeems to be juſt; but it has not enough either of novelty or preciſion to deſerve being expanded into a book. I read alſo *Lady Mary Wortley Montague's Letters,* juſt publiſhed. They contain an account of a journey in which ſhe accompanied her huſband in his embaſſy to Conſtantinople ; and are lively and entertaining. I am moſt pleaſed with what ſhe ſays concerning thoſe inner

amuſantes. Ce que j'aime le mieux, c'eſt ce qu'elle dit de l'intérieur des maiſons, où jamais homme n'a pénétré. Elle veut que les femmes Turques ayent beaucoup de liberté, et qu'elles ſortent ſeules à pied et voilées, tant qu'elles veulent, ſous le pretexte d'aller au bain ou à la moſquée. Les Turcs n'épouſent qu'une femme ; ſi quelqu'uns ſe ſervent de la permiſſion d'avoir des eſclaves concubines, le public les regarde comme des libertins, et leurs femmes n'habitent point avec eux. Elle avoit étudié la langue Turque, et paroît faire beaucoup de cas et de leur muſique, et de leur poëſie. On s'apperçoit à peine que les mœurs, les uſages, ou le génie des Grecs, ayent changé depuis le tems d'Homere.

Fevrier 1.]—J'ai lu *les Faſtes d'Ovide, L. iv. p.* 599—610. La fête de Palilia (très diſtinguée de celle de la fondation, quoiqu'elles tombaſſent l'une et l'autre le même jour, 21 Avril) paroît l'occuper beaucoup. Que l'eſprit humain eſt extravagant! Purger un peuple ! et le purger encore avec le ſang d'un cheval, la gouſſe d'un feve, et les cendres des entrailles d'un veau tué dans le ventre de ſa mere, et conſumé ſur l'autel de Veſta ! Ovide diſculpe fort bien le fondateur de la ville, du crime de fratricide. Rémus ne fut tué qu'en conſéquence d'un ordre général, et très ſage, que ſon frere avoit donné, et que ce prince viola ſans le ſavoir. Si Romulus parut indifférent à ſa mort, c'eſt qu'en légiſlateur il vouloit profiter d'un accident malheureux

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apartments into which men are not allowed to penetrate. She maintains that the Turkiſh women enjoy a great deal of liberty, and walk out alone veiled, as often as they pleaſe, on pretence of going to the bath or the moſque. The Turks marry only one wife : and though ſome uſe the permiſſion of concubinage with ſlaves, they are regarded as libertines, and forſaken by their wives. She ſtudied the Turkiſh language ; and ſpeaks in high terms of the Turkiſh muſic and poetry. The manners, cuſtoms, and genius of the Greeks ſeem to her to have undergone little change ſince the days of Homer.

February 1.]—I read *Ovid's Faſti, L. iv. p.* 599—610. The feſtival of Palilia is an object of much attention ; it is different from that of the foundation of Rome, though both happened on the ſame day, the 21ſt of April. To what extravagances is not the human mind liable ? Purify a nation ! and that too with the blood of a horſe, the huſk of a bean, and the aſhes of the bowels of a calf killed in the belly of its mother, and burnt on the altar of Veſta. Ovid clearly juſtifies the founder of Rome from the guilt of killing his brother. Remus was put to death in conſequence of a wiſe law made by his brother, and which this prince unintentionally violated. If Romulus did not

heureux, pour donner à ſes loix un caractère ſacré et inviolable, qui leur étoit très néceſſaire dans une république naiſſante.

Fevrier 2.]—J'ai lu *les Faſtes d'Ovide, L. v. p.* 610—620. Tout ce qu'il raconte des différentes étymologies dumois de Mai, eſt curieux et bien dit. J'y diſtingue ſans peine une allégorie Orientale, une fable Grecque, et une tradition Romaine. L'idée de faire ſortir les dieux du chaos, et de placer la *Majeſté* ſur le trône de l'Olympe, pour y former la hiérarchie céleſte, eſt d'une extravagance ſublime. Le tableau des Muſes eſt bien frappé; mais pourquoi ne pas ſe ſouvenir que des déeſſes infaillibles, doivent toujours être du même ſentiment?

9.]—J'ai lu *les Faſtes d'Ovide, L. v. p.* 620—630. Il raconte l'origine des jeux Floraux, de la façon la moins déſhonorante pour ſa réligion. En effet il eſt difficile qu'un peuple ait dreſſé des autels à une courtiſanne. C'eſt aſſez qu'on ait fait danſer des filles nues, en l'honneur d'une déeſſe à laquelle on croyoit déjà. Il eſt vrai que toutes les cérémoines ne reſpiroient que la débauche; mais la ſaiſon des fleurs a toujours inſpiré des idées libertines, à des peuples et à des hommes qui ignoroient très ſurement l'hiſtoire de la courtiſanne *Flora*. Pourquoi chercher dans la fable, ce qu'il faut puiſer dans la nature?

J'ai

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not ſhew grief for his death, this was to maintain the inviolable ſanctity of his laws, a thing neceſſary in his infant kingdom.

February 2.]—I read *Ovid's Faſti, L. v. p.* 610—620. His account of the different etymologies of the month of May is curious, and well expreſſed. We may diſtinguiſh in it an Oriental allegory, a Greek fable, and a Roman tradition. The iſſuing of the gods from chaos, and the majeſty of Olympus arranging the celeſtial hierarchy, is ſublimely extravagant. The picture of the Muſes is well delineated; but Ovid ſhould have remembered that theſe infallible divinities were always of one mind.

9.]—I read *Ovid's Faſti, L. v. p.* 620—630. He explains the origin of the Floral games in a manner leſs diſhonourable for his religion. It is not credible that any people ſhould have erected altars to a harlot. It was enough for them to celebrate the feſtival of a goddeſs, in whom they already believed, by the dances of naked girls. All the ceremonies of this goddeſs favoured of debauchery; but the ſeaſon productive of flowers too naturally inſpires thoſe with licentious ſentiments who have never heard of the courteſan Flora. Why have recourſe to fable for what may be found in nature?

I read

J'ai lu *les Faſtes d'Ovide, L. v. p.* 630—643. Tout s'annoblit ſous le pinceau du poëte. Neuf feves noires qu'on jette derrière ſoi, ne ſont pas un tableau bien relevé. Cependant Ovide a ſu leur donner un air de ſolemnité, et même de ſublime. Il ſe ſert ſurtout de ce coloris foible et incertain qui rend les objets plus terribles, en ne les montrant qu'à demi et d'une façon confuſe; le ſilence et le ténebres de la nuit, et l'ombre qui nous ſuit à pas légers, mais qu'on ne peut ſe retourner pour voir: tous ces traits me paroiſſent de ce genre qui a été ſi bien indiqué par M. Burke *. Le temple de Mars Ultor a du être magnifique. Le culte des Payens avoit au moins plus de juſteſſe que celui des Catholiques. Mars le Vengeur punit les meurtriers d'un grand guerrier, ſon deſcendant. C'eſt bien plus naturel qu'un apôtre, ou qu'un hermite qui ſe mêle de faire donner la victoire dans une guerre, où encore il ne ſera queſtion que d'intérêts politiques.

Fevrier 6.]—Je ſuis entré à la bibliotheque pour conſulter l'article *Flora* du Dictionnaire de Bayle. Lactance n'a que trop imité les peres de ſon ſiecle. Les jeux Floraux, fondés l'an 514, célébrés de tems en tems, devenus annuels en 580, par un arrêt du ſénat, et payés de l'argent des amendes, reſſemblent peu à la diſpoſition teſtamentaire d'une courtiſanne.

Fevrier

I read *Ovid's Faſti, L. v. p.* 630—643. The poet's genius ennobles every object; even nine black beans thrown behind the back, to which he gives an air of ſolemnity, and even of ſublimity. He chiefly employs that doubtful and faint colouring which renders objects more terrible, by ſhewing them partially and confuſedly; ſilence, obſcurity, the ſhadow which follows us with light ſteps, and which we dare not look behind us to ſee; all theſe touches belong to that kind of ſublimity which is well pointed out by Mr. Burke *. The temple of Jupiter the avenger muſt have been magnificent. The worſhip of the Pagans had at leaſt more conſiſtency than that of the Catholics. Mars the avenger puniſhes the murderers of a great warrior, his deſcendant. This is more natural than the interfernce of an apoſtle or hermit in wars and victories; and wars often undertaken merely for worldly intereſts.

February 6.]—I went to the library to conſult the article *Flora* in Bayle's Dictionary. Lactantius too well imitates the fathers of his age. The Floral games, founded A. U. C. 514, firſt celebrated occaſionally, afterwards rendered annual in 580, by an order of the ſenate, and their expence defrayed by money levied in fines; all this has not any reſemblance to the teſtamentary arrangement of a courteſan.

* Upon the ſublime and beautiful.

February

Fevrier 7.]—J'ai lu *les Faſtes d'Ovide, L. vi. p.* 648—687 ; la fin de ce livre, et de la partie de l'ouvrage que le tems a épargné. Les ſix autres livres qui achevoient l'année et le calendrier Romain, ne ſubſiſtent plus. Le début du ſixième livre eſt très beau ; la diſpute des trois déeſſes n'en vaut que mieux, pour être empruntée de celle de Paris, et du Mont Ida. La harangue de Junon eſt auſſi un peu moulée ſur celle du premier livre d'Eneïde ; mais l'aimable Hébé s'exprime avec des graces qui n'appartiennent qu'au poëte.

8.]—J'ai lu *une petite brochure de trente huit pages, par Jean Jacques Rouſſeau :* c'eſt un extrait des argumens de Platon contre la poëſie imitative, et ſurtout contre le théâtre. Ils devoient plaire au citoyen de Geneve ; mais comment a-t-il pu adopter ce tiſſu de ſophiſmes métaphyſiques? Toute la première partie, qui roule ſur le plus de juſteſſe de l'imitation, eſt d'une fauſſeté et d'une foibleſſe qui m'a étonné. Vers la fin, ſes raiſonnemens deviennent un peu plus ſpécieux. Je conviens que le théâtre, et ſurtout le théâtre d'Athenes, a quelquefois peint ſes héros trop foibles et trop ſenſibles à leurs malheurs, mais auſſi il faut accorder quelque choſe à l'humanité, qui gémit en ſecret, ou qui dépoſe ſes ennuis dans le ſein d'un ami. Les ſpectateurs ſont les confidens du poëte, mais il ne le ſont pas du perſonnage.

Fevrier

February 7.]—I read *Ovid's Faſti, L. vi. p.* 648—687, the concluſion of the book, and of all that part of the work which has come down to us. The ſix other books, which completed the Roman calendar, have periſhed. The beginning of the ſixth book is beautiful. The diſpute of the three goddeſſes is more pleaſing, becauſe borrowed from that of Paris and Mount Ida. Juno's ſpeech is alſo caſt in the ſame mould with that in the firſt book of the Eneid ; but the amiable Hebe expreſſes herſelf with thoſe graces that are peculiar to Ovid.

8.]—I read a little pamphlet of thirty-eight pages, by John James Rouſſeau. It contains an abſtract of Plato's arguments againſt imitative poetry, eſpecially the drama. I was aſtoniſhed at the weakneſs and falſeneſs of the whole firſt part, which treats of the imperfection of imitation. Towards the concluſion, his reaſonings are more ſpecious. I acknowledge that the theatre, and eſpecially that of Athens, ſometimes paints its heroes too weak and too much alive to their misfortunes. But ſome indulgence muſt be granted to humanity, which groans in ſecret, or pours its grief into the boſom of a friend. The ſpectators are indeed confidents of the poet, but not of his characters.

February

Fevrier 9.]—En attendant la ſuite de la *Bibliotheque Raiſonnée*, j'ai lu *l'excellent Traité ſur le Choix et la Méthode des Etudes, par l'Abbé Fleury; à Paris* 1753, *in* 12*mo. pp.* 364. Tout y reſpire l'amour de la vérité et de la vertu, joint à cette raiſon juſte et lumineuſe, à ce bon ſens perfectionné, qui eſt bien plus rare que l'eſprit, et preſque autant que le génie. L'auteur étoit Catholique et Prêtre; mais ce défaut ne ſe fait ſentir qu'à ceux qui ne le ſont pas. Il commence par l'hiſtoire des études, dont il fait un beau tableau. Les Grecs ſeuls ont eu un ſyſtême d'éducation philoſophique et nationale. La vertu et la juſteſſe d'eſprit des Romains, leur ont tenu lieu de cette théorie exacte. Les études des barbares du Nord, étoient auſſi barbares qu'eux. Aux ſiecles d'ignorance ont ſuccedé ceux d'une ſcience prétendue de la philoſophie d'Ariſtote, les Arabes, et les Scholaſtiques. Les humaniſtes du quinzième ſiecle ont rappellé la connoiſſance des anciens. De toutes ces méthodes il s'eſt formé un cahos d'études, qui regne dans nos colleges, mais qui eſt ſans ſyſtême, ſans ordre, et ſans utilité. L'Abbé Fleury, qui veut toujours ramener les ſciences du ciel à la terre, lui ſubſtitue un plan court, mais raiſonné, le ſoin de l'ame et du corps avec la connoiſſance des loix et des affaires économiques. Un François a raiſon de compter l'hiſtoire et la politique, parmi les études qui ne ſont que curieuſes pour un particulier. Le citoyen d'un état libre les regarderoit comme néceſſaires. L'Abbé Fleury a ajouté à ce

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February 9.]—While I waited for the ſequel of the *Bibliotheque Raiſonnée*, I read an excellent work on *the Method and Choice of our Studies, by the Abbé Fleury; Paris*, 1753, in 12*mo. pp.* 364. The whole breathes a ſpirit of truth and virtue, together with that clearneſs and ſtrength of reaſon, and that ſuperior good ſenſe, which is more uncommon than wit, and almoſt as rare as genius. The author was a Roman Catholic and a prieſt; but this fault is perceived by thoſe only who are neither the one nor the other. He begins by the hiſtory of education in different countries, of which he gives us a beautiful picture. That of the Greeks alone was philoſophical and national. The want of an accurate education among the Romans was ſupplied by virtue and natural good-ſenſe. The ſtudies of the barbarians of the North were as barbarous as themſelves. To ages of ignorance ſucceeded thoſe of the pretended philoſophy of Ariſtotle, the Arabs and ſcholaſtics. The humaniſts of the fifteenth century revived the knowledge of the ancients. From all theſe united, is compoſed that chaos of learning taught in our univerſities and colleges, alike deſtitute of ſyſtem, order, and utility. The Abbé Fleury, who wiſhes to bring down ſcience from the heavens to the earth, propoſes a plan equally ſhort and reaſonable, the care of the body and the mind, with the knowledge of œconomy and laws. A Frenchman juſtly reckons hiſtory and politics among thoſe ſtudies which are rather curious than uſeful.

à ce traité un diſcours ſur Platon. Il mépriſe beaucoup ſa phyſique et ſa métaphyſique ; mais il fait les plus grands éloges de la logique, de la morale, du ſtyle, et de la méthode de ce philoſophe.

Fevrier 10.]—J'ai revu avec ſoin les ſix livres des *Faſtes d'Ovide.* Les réflexions auxquelles cette lecture a donné lieu, ſe trouvent raſſemblées dans mon Recueil d'Obſervations, *No. IV.*

11.]—J'ai commencé un charmant petit ouvrage, ſur les médailles anciennes, par M. Addiſon—*Dialogues upon the Uſefulneſs of Ancient Medals, dans le troiſième tome de ſes Oeuvres, à Londres,* 1746 : j'en ai lu p. 1—113. Il cherche les différentes eſpeces d'utilités qu'on peut trouver dans l'étude des médailles ; il s'arrête au rapport frappant entre pluſieurs de leurs revers, et les déſcriptions des poëtes Latins. Dans cette vue il parcourt deux ſuites des médailles ; l'une des êtres allégoriques, et l'autre des ſymboles énigmatiques. Chacune lui fournit une vingtaine d'exemples. Les paſſages paralleles des poëtes ſont choiſis avec goût, et les réflexions de l'auteur ſont remplies d'eſprit et de ſagacité. Perſonne n'avoit retiré plus de fruit de l'étude des Belles Lettres que M. Addiſon. Ses ouvrages ont beaucoup contribué à former la langue et la littérature Angloiſe.

12.]—J'ai achevé l'ouvrage d'Addiſon. *Dialogues upon the Uſefulneſs of Ancient Medals,* p. 113—167. Les planches des médailles en occupent encore

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The citizen of a free country regards them as indiſpenſable. To this treatiſe the Abbé Fleury has added *a Diſcourſe on Plato.* He deſpiſes both his phyſics and metaphyſics ; but ſets the higheſt value on his logic, morals, ſtyle, and method.

February 10.]—I read over with care the ſix books of *Ovid's Faſti ;* and have written the reflections, which occurred to me in the peruſal, in my Collection of Obſervations, No. IV.

11.]—I began to read *Mr. Addiſon*'s charming little *Treatiſe on ancient Medals,* in the third volume of his Works, *London,* 1746. I read p. 1—113. He conſiders the different advantages that may be derived from the ſtudy of medals ; and dwells on the ſtriking connection between their reverſes and the deſcriptions of Latin poets. In this view, he examines two ſerieſes of medals ; the one containing allegorical perſonages, and the other enigmatic ſymbols. Each claſs furniſhes him with twenty examples. The paſſages of the poets are ſelected with taſte ; and the author's reflections are replete with judgment and ſagacity. No man ever benefited more than Mr. Addiſon by the ſtudy of the Belles Lettres. His works have much contributed to improve the Engliſh language and literature.

12.]—I finiſhed *Addiſon*'s work, *Dialogues upon the Uſefulneſs of ancient Medals ; p.* 113—167 : beſides which, the plates take up ſixty-eight pages. The third ſeries of examples contains

encore 68. La troiſième ſuite d'exemples eſt tirée des repréſentations des pays ſur les médailles. Elle eſt curieuſe. M. Addiſon employe un troiſième entretien à faire le parellele un peu flatté des anciennes médailles avec les modernes. Cet auteur débute fort bien, les caractères des perſonnages ſont bien marqués; tout y reſpire une converſation d'amis libres, polis, et ſavants; mais il auroit tout auſſi bien pu donner aux deux derniers entretiens le nom de lettres, d'eſſais que de dialogues. L'épitre de Pope eſt digne de lui; mais cette inſcription de la médaille imaginaire de Craggs, inſcription en ſix grands vers, auroit été peu goutée par Addiſon *. On ne fait pas l'éloge d'un ouvrage didactique, en negligeant le plus important de ſes préceptes.

J'ai commencé *le bel ouvrage de M. Spanheim, de Præſtantia et Uſu Numiſmatum, en deux Volumes in 4to. Amſterdam*, 1671. Ce n'eſt pas la meilleure édition; mais je m'en ſers en attendant celle de Londres de 1708, que je fais venir de Geneve. J'ai lu *la Préface et la Diſſertation I. p.* 1—49; ſur la beauté et les agrémens de la ſcience numiſmatique; et *la Diſſertation II. p.* 49—68, ſur les ſecours que les grammariens y trouvent pour déterminer le caractère et l'orthographe des langues de l'antiquité. J'ai achevé quelques réflexions ſur les *Faſtes d'Ovide, V. No. IV.* de mon Recueil d'Obſervations.

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contains the repreſentation of countries on medals: it is curious. Mr. Addiſon has a third dialogue, in which the parallel is drawn between ancient and modern medals; rather flattering for the ancients. In the firſt dialogue, the author ſets out well; his characters are well marked; and the whole has the air of a free converſation among polite and learned friends: but the two following dialogues might as well have been called letters or eſſays. Pope's epiſtle is worthy of himſelf; but the inſcription on his imaginary medal of Craggs, filling ſix verſes, would not have been reliſhed by Addiſon *. It is a bad compliment to a didactic work, to violate, in commending it, the moſt important precept which it contains.

I began *Spanheim*'s noble work *de Præſtantia et Uſu Numiſmatum, in two volumes, 4to. Amſterdam.* This is not the beſt edition; but I make uſe of it till I receive that of London, 1708, from Geneva. I read the *Preface and Diſſertation I. p.* 1—49, on the beauty and entertainment of medallic knowledge: and *Diſſertation II. p.* 49—68, on the aſſiſtance which it may afford to grammarians in aſcertaining the letters and orthography of ancient languages. I finiſhed ſome reflections on *Ovid's Faſti.* See my Collection of Obſervations, No. IV.

* V. Dialog. iii. p. 154—156.

Fevrier 13.]—J'ai écrit quelques remarques ſur les êtres allégoriques des médailles, *V. No. V.* de mon Recueil.

J'ai lu *Spanheim de Uſu et Præſtantia Numiſmatum, Diſſert. II. p.* 68—93. C'eſt une ſuite de ſes obſervations grammaticales. Elles ſont curieuſes, mais un peu ſeches. Spanheim oublie un peu ſa politeſſe pour relancer Triſtan. Il eſt vrai que ſa mépriſe étoit des plus lourdes.

J'ai achevé *le quarantième tome de la Bibliotheque Raiſonnée :* j'y trouve *Traité ſur le Sénat Romain, par le Docteur Middleton.* La queſtion ſur la méthode d'entrer dans ce corps, me paroît des plus ſimples. Les rois, les conſuls, et les cenſeurs y nommoient: mais comme ils y mettoient toujours les queſteurs, leur pouvoir diminuoit, à meſure qu'ils ſe multiplioient, et il ſe trouva reduit à une pure formalité, lorſqu'ils furent devenus aſſez nombreux pour recruter le ſénat tout ſeuls.—*Hiſtoire de la Suede, par M. Dalin, en Suédois.* Ce pays eſt nouveau ; il y a deux mille ans que les montagnes de la Suede, et encore plus celles du Dannemarck, ne formoient qu'un archipel de petites îſles entrecoupées de canaux et de détroits. La mer s'eſt retirée, et ſe retire tous les jours dans la proportion d'environ cinquante pouces par ſiecle. On croit même que l'océan, beaucoup plus étendu dans le commencement de l'empire Romain, s'étoit ouvert une communication avec la mer Caſpienne. Cette circonſtance, et un climat moins rigoureux alors, rendoit

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February 13.]—I wrote ſome remarks concerning the allegorical perſonages on medals. See my Collection, No. V.

I read *Spanheim, de Uſu et Præſtantia Numiſmatum, Diſſert. II. p.* 68—93. It contains the ſequel of his grammatical obſervations. They are curious, but rather dry. Spanheim forgets his politeneſs in refuting Triſtan. The latter's miſtake indeed was a moſt abſurd one.

I finiſhed the fortieth volume of the *Bibliotheque Raiſonnée.* It contains *Dr. Middleton's Treatiſe on the Roman Senate.* The queſtion concerning the mode of entering into the Roman ſenate appears to me capable of an eaſy anſwer. The nomination belonged ſucceſſively to the kings, conſuls, and cenſors. But as they always named the queſtors, their right of naming gradually became of leſs value as the queſtors became more numerous, and was reduced to a mere formality, when their number became ſufficient to ſupply that of the ſenate.—*Hiſtory of Sweden, by Mr. Dalin, in Swediſh.* This is a new country. Two thouſand years ago the mountains of Sweden, as well as thoſe of Denmark, ſtood in an archipelago of little iſlands interſected by canals and ſtraits. The ſea retired, and ſtill continues to retire, the ſpace of fifty inches, each century. It is thought alſo that the ocean, which covered a far greater ſurface towards the beginning of

rendoit les émigrations des Scythes beaucoup plus faciles. La colonie la plus célebre y paſſa vers l'an 100, ſous la conduite d'Odin, Scythe des bords du Tanais. Ce légiſlateur du Nord s'établit à Upſal, le ſiege de la religion et de l'empire. Ses ſucceſſeurs, rois, pontifes, maîtres d'un beau pays, et reſpectés des autres rois de la nation, y regnerent juſqu'en 870; ſa race ne s' teignit en Norvege qu'en 1060.

Fevrier 15.]—J'ai lu *Spanheim, de Præſtantia Numiſmatum, Diſert. II. p.* 93—112. C'eſt un peu trop une déclamation ſur la morale et la politique des médailles, aſſez ennuyeuſe, quoique l'auteur y ait enchaſé tous les termes numiſmatiques. Pourquoi juſtifier la lâcheté du ſénat qui détruiſoit, autant qu'il pouvoit, le ſeul frein qui reſtoit encore à ſes tyrans? Ils les louoient (dit on) pour leur tracer la route de la vertu et de la gloire. Cette excuſe étoit bonne la première année de Domitien, mais elle ne valoit rien la quinzième. Et puis quels éloges nouveaux avoient-ils pour Trajan?

16.]—J'ai lu *Spanheim, de Præſtantia Numiſmatum, Diſſert. II. p.* 112—122, *et Diſſert. III. p.* 122—166. Les lumières que les repréſentations des animaux ſur les médailles peuvent fournir à l'hiſtoire naturelle, y ſont étalées.

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of the Roman empire, opened a communication with the Caſpian Sea. This circumſtance, and a climate milder than the preſent, facilitated the emigrations of the Scythians. Their moſt celebrated colony travelled to the North in the year of J. C. 100, under the conduct of Odin, a Scythian from the banks of the Tanais. This legiſlator of the North reſided at Upſal, the ſeat of his religion and empire. His ſucceſſors, both kings and prieſts, were maſters of a fine country, and reſpected by the other kings of the nation. They reigned at Upſal till A. C. 870. Their family was not extinct in Norway till 1060.

February 15.]—I read *Spanheim, de Præſtantia et Uſu Numiſmatum, Diſſert. II. p.* 93—112: and found it a tireſome declamation on the morality and policy to be learned from medals; in which the author has contrived to introduce all the technical medallic terms. Why does he juſtify the ſenate for removing the only check that remained on the tyranny of the emperors? They praiſed them, he ſays, to ſhew to them the road of virtue and glory. This excuſe was good in the firſt year of Domitian's reign; but was good for nothing in the fifteenth. Beſides, what new praiſe was kept in reſerve for Trajan?

16.]—I read *Spanheim, de Præſtantia Numiſmatum, Diſſert. II. p.* 112—122. He deſcribes the advantages which natural hiſtory may derive from medals. I ſaw with pleaſure

étalées. J'y ai vu avec plaiſir la preuve de ce que j'avois avancé dans *mon Eſſai*, ſur les ſpectacles du Cirque et de l'Amphithéâtre.

J'ai achevé le *quarante et unième tome de la Bibliotheque Raiſonnée*. J'y trouve *Voyage de Monſ. Anſon, premier et deuxième Extrait*. Je connois peu de livres auſſi amuſans; mais le portrait du chef eſt bien flatté. Cet homme, élevé enſuite aux premières places, n'a point ſoutenu le fardeau de ſa renommée. Il ne lui eſt reſté que celui de choiſir et d'employer le mérite. Brett, Saunders, Rodney, Keppel, ſont du nombre de ſes éleves.—*Traité ſur les Miracles, par M. le Moine:* un pareil ouvrage affoiblit la religion qu'il veut appuyer. Nous ſommes bien faits pour apperçevoir l'étendue de la puiſſance de la nature, et des anges! Connoiſſons-nous ſeulement celle de nos ſemblables?—*Les Mœurs*. On ne peut plus accuſer les ennemis de la révélation, de n'être pas les amis de la religion naturelle. Le pauvre Touſſaint fait à preſent la Gazette de Bruxelles. Quel emploi pour un philoſophe!—*Ouvrage de Pénélope, ou Machiavel en Medecine, par M. de la Metrie:* c'eſt une ſatyre mordante, ingénieuſe, et ſavante; contre la faculté de Paris, et ſurtout Aſtruc, Sylva, Chirac, et Winſlow.

Fevrier 17.]—Matinée perdue. J'ai cependant trouvé moyen de lire *Spanheim, de Præſtantia Numiſmatum, Diſſert. III. p.*166—196: c'eſt une ſuite

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pleaſure the proof of what I had ſaid in my Eſſay on the ſubjects of the Circus and Amphitheatre.

I finiſhed the forty-firſt volume of the *Bibliotheque Raiſonnée*. It contains *Anſon's Voyage, firſt and ſecond Extract*. I know few books that are more amuſing; but the hero is painted in too flattering colours. When afterwards raiſed to the firſt employments of ſtate, he was unable to ſupport the weight of his renown. One praiſe indeed belongs to him, that of chooſing and employing merit. Brett, Saunders, Rodney, and Keppel are among thoſe whom he brought forward and educated.—*Mr. le Moine's Treatiſe on Miracles*. Such a work tends to injure the cauſe of religion which it endeavours to ſupport. How ill qualified are we to aſcertain the powers of nature, and of angels! Do we know exactly the extent of thoſe belonging to our fellow-creatures?—*Morals*. The enemies of Revelation can no longer be accuſed of hoſtility to natural religion. Poor Touſſaint is now the editor of the Bruſſels Gazette. Strange employment for a philoſopher!—*Penelope's Web, or Machiavel Phyſician, by Mr. de la Metrie:* a ſevere, ingenious, and learned ſatire againſt the faculty in Paris, particularly Aſtruc, Sylva, Chirac, and Winſlow.

February 17.]—This morning was loſt, except that I found time to read *Spanheim, de Præſtantia Numiſmatum, Diſſert. III. p.* 166—196. He continues the ſame ſubject; panthers,

ſuite du même ſujet; des panthères, des ſerpens, et des dauphins. L'article des ſerpens ſurtout, les miniſtres des oracles, et les génies tutélaires, eſt curieux.

Fevrier 18.]—Ce ſoir j'ai lu un conte en vers, que Voltaire vient de faire, et qu'on m'a prêté. *Ce qui plait aux dames*; c'eſt l'autorité. L'idée eſt empruntée de *la Femme de Bath, de Pope.* Le conte eſt d'ailleurs un peu diffus, et les vers n'ont point cette légereté, et ce naturel, qui eſt ſi eſſentiel. On m'a prêté en même tems *l'Eloge du Duc de Sully, par M. Thomas:* piece qui a remporté le prix de l'académie Françoiſe.

19.]—Au lieu de continuer Spanheim, j'ai repris mon *Recueil Géographique ſur l'Italie*, qu'il faut expédier. J'en ai écrit deux pages et demie ſur l'Etrurie.

J'ai achevé *l'Eloge du Duc de Sully.* M. Thomas eſt un grand orateur. Quelle force dans la penſée! quelle rapidité dans le ſtyle! Il a l'ame d'un citoyen, l'eſprit d'une philoſophe, et le pinceau d'un grand peintre. C'eſt Démoſthène, mais Démoſthène qui a ſacrifié aux graces. On y trouve, avec toute la pompe de l'éloquence, la préciſion des détails, qui ne ſont jamais petits, quand ils ſont bien choiſis, et bien rendus; et la fidélité hiſtorique qui ne peut qu'embellir l'éloge de tout homme qui en mérite un. Le parallele

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panthers, ſerpents, dolphins. The part reſpecting ſerpents, thoſe miniſters of oracles, and tutelary genii, is particularly curious.

February 18.]—In the evening I read a tale in verſe, which was lent to me, juſt publiſhed by Voltaire. *What moſt pleaſes women?* Command. The deſign is borrowed from Pope's Wife of Bath. The narrative is rather diffuſe, and the verſes have not that natural eaſe and briſkneſs which is an eſſential requiſite. I borrowed at the ſame time *the Panegyric of the Duke of Sully, by Mr. Thomas;* a performance which gained the prize propoſed by the French Academy.

19.]—Inſtead of continuing Spanheim, I reſumed my *Geographical Collection on Italy*, which I wiſh to put out of hand. I wrote two pages and an half of it, on Etruria.

I finiſhed *Sully's Panegyric.* Mr. Thomas is a great orator. What ſtrength of thought, what rapidity of ſtyle! He has the ſoul of a citizen, the ſenſe of a philoſopher, and the pencil of a great painter. His manner is that of Demoſthenes, but of Demoſthenes who has ſacrificed to the graces. United with the pomp of eloquence, we find an accurate detail of particulars, which are never minute when they are well choſen and well expreſſed; and that hiſtorical truth which always embelliſhes the panegyric of every man entitled to public praiſe. The parallel of Sully with Colbert is not drawn

relle de Colbert et de Sully, bien loin d'être flateur pour ſon héros, ne lui eſt pas équitable. On compare trop les difficultés que ces deux miniſtres ont eu à ſurmonter. Faut il comparer les horreurs de la ligue, quarante ans de guerres civiles, le fanatiſme et l'indépendance maîtres de tous les eſprits et 800 millions des dettes, avec les caprices de la Fronde, quelques concuſſions de Mazarin, et une nation ſans chef, ſans principes de revolte, et laſſée des déſordres domeſtiques. M. Thomas ne ſe ſouvient pas toujours que l'éloge eſt un genre mitoyen entre l'hiſtoire et l'oraiſon funebre; peut être même que ſon ſtyle fort ſublime et nourri des images les plus juſtes et les plus hardies, auroit pu ſe paſſer de la comparaiſon, de l'apoſtrophe, et de toutes les figures, qui ne conviennent parfaitement qu'à la poëſie. Je ſuis ſur qu'il auroit mieux fait de ne point faire contraſter les opérations du Sully avec celles de la ſageſſe éternelle. C'eſt un ſublime toujours faux, qui ne peut que ravaler les deux objets de la comparaiſon.

Fevrier 20.]—J'ai écrit une page et demie *du Recueil Géographique*, ſur le Tybre et les rivières qui s'y jettent.

J'ai achevé le *quarante deuxième tome de la Bibliotheque Raiſonnée*. A ne conſidérer que *le Voyage de la Baye d'Hudſon, par M. Ellis*, on ne peut douter de l'exiſtence du paſſage tant recherché du Nord Oueſt. En tout cas la

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with flattery, ſcarcely with equity, towards the former. Mr. Thomas dwells too long on the compariſon of the difficulties which theſe two miniſters had reſpectively to encounter. The horrors of the league, forty years of civil war, enthuſiaſm and independence in the public mind, and eight hundred millions of debt; theſe were difficulties incomparably greater than the caprices of the Fronde, ſome extortions on the part of Cardinal Mazarine, a nation deſtitute of either principles or leaders of rebellion, and long weary of domeſtic diſturbances. Mr. Thomas does not always remember that a panegyric ought to hold the middle place between a hiſtory and a funeral oration. Perhaps the ſtrength and ſublimity of his ſtyle, replete with images as bold as they are natural, might have enabled him to diſpenſe with compariſons, apoſtrophes, and all thoſe figures, which more properly belong to poetry. I am certain he would have done well to omit his compariſon of Sully's operations with thoſe of eternal wiſdom; a ſpecies of falſe ſublime which can only tend to degrade both the compared objects.

February 20.]—I wrote a page and an half of my *Geographical Collection* on the Tiber, and the rivers which flow into it.

I finiſhed the forty-ſecond volume of the *Bibliotheque Raiſonnée*. If we conſider only *Mr. Ellis's Voyage to Hudſon's Bay*, the exiſtence of a north-weſt paſſage will appear very doubtful. Be that as it may, the Company will always endeavour to prevent its

la compagnie en empêchera toujours la découverte.—*Eſſai ſur la Marine des Anciens, par M. Deſlandes.* Jamais les anciens n'ont connu que les trirêmes, ou les vaiſſeaux de guerres à trois ponts, chaque pont garni de rames de longueurs différentes. Les quadrirêmes, &c. n'étoient que des ponts ſupérieurs garnis de machines, mais ſans rames.—*Expoſition des Découverts de Newton, par M. Maclaurin:* ouvrage admiré de tous les mathématiciens. J'eſpere y ajouter un jour un ſuffrage éclairé.—*Rélation d'un Voyage au Pérou, par M. Bouquer.* Les Cordilières forment la chaine de montagnes la plus haute de la terre. Le ſommet du Chimboraco eſt élevé de 3217 toiſes, au deſſus de la mer; et à 2400 toiſes la niege ne fond plus. Le province de Quito eſt un vallon des Cordilières, et cependant ſes habitans ſont les plus élevés qu'on connoiſſe. Les monumens qui ſubſiſtent encore, ne permettent point de douter ſur la grandeur des Incas. On voit encore les traces de la chauſſée de 400 lieus de Cuſco à Quito.—*Melange Harleien, tome vi.* On y trouve la ſuite d'une piece, où regne la bonne philoſophie. De l'axiome que l'Etre Eternel ſe ſuffit à lui même, on déduit une religion ſans ſuperſtition, ſans contradictions, et ſans peines éternelles.—*Voyage en Turquie et en Perſe, par M. Otter:* curieux, mais bien ſec.—*La Vie heureuſe, par M. de la Metrie:* c'eſt un fou, qui empoiſonne en riant.—*Remarques ſur le Dictionnaire*

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diſcovery.—*An Eſſay, by Mr. Deſlandes, on the Marine of the Ancients.* The ancients never made uſe of any but trireme gallies, that is, veſſels with three tire of oars of different lengths. The quadriremes, &c. had decks above theſe barns of oars, provided with machines of war; but they had only three tire of oars.—*Maclaurin's Account of Sir Iſaac Newton's Diſcoveries.* A work admired by all mathematicians. I hope to be able at ſome future time to beſtow on it enlightened approbation.—*Narrative of a Voyage to Peru, by Mr. Boucher.* The Cordilleras form the higheſt chain of mountains in the world. The top of Chimboraco is 3217 fathom above the ſea: at the height of 2400 the ſnow never melts. The province of Quito, though a valley in the Cordilleras, is the higheſt inhabited country known. Subſiſting monuments ſtill atteſt the former greatneſs of the Incas. We yet behold the veſtiges of the cauſeway extending 400 leagues from Cuſco to Quito.—*The Harleian Miſcellany, Vol. vi.* contains the ſequel of a work diſtinguiſhed by the ſpirit of ſound philoſophy. From the axiom that the Eternal Being is all-ſufficient in himſelf, a religion is deduced, free from ſuperſtition, contradictions, and eternal puniſhments.—*Travels in Turkey and Perſia, by Mr. Otter:* curious, but dry.—*The happy Life, by Mr. de la Metrie:* the work of a fool, whoſe laughter is poiſonous.

naire de Bayle. La ſuperſtition intolérante eſt encore plus dangereuſe que l'impiété.

Fevrier 24.]—J'ai écrit une page et demie du *Recueil Géographique ſur l'Ombrie.* Je commence à mettre dans le détail de chaque région, un ordre qui me ſera très utile.

25.]—J'ai achevé le *quarante troiſième tome de la Bibliotheque Raiſonnée.* J'y trouve *Leibnizii Protogea :* ouvrage poſthume d'un grand homme, ſur la ſtructure primitive de la terre. Tout étoit cahos. Une incendie fondit la maſſe, et les matières différentes acquirent leur degré de ſolidité, depuis la vitrification des pierres précieuſes juſqu'à la fluidité des eaux, à proportion du tems qu'elles ont mis à ſe refroidir.—*Hiſtoire du Stathouderat, et celle du Parlement d'Angleterre, par l'Abbé Raynal.* Ses portraits ſont remplis de très jolies antithèſes.—*Hiſtoire de Jovien, par l'Abbé de la Bleterie, avec la Traduction de quelques Ouvrages de Julien.* Quelle littérature, quel goût, et quelle élégance ! J'ajoute, et quelle modération ! Julien étoit Payen, et l'Abbé ne haît que les Jeſuites.—*L'Eſprit des Loix.* Qu'en dire ici ?—*Le Roi Patriote.* Milord Bolingbroke avoit de la force et de l'élévation dans l'eſprit, mais il eſt petit philoſophe.—*Recherches libres ſur les Miracles, par le Docteur Middleton.* Cet homme avoit bien de la netteté et de la pénétration.

—*Remarks on Bayle's Dictionary.* Intolerant ſuperſtition is more dangerous than impiety.

February 24.]—I wrote a page and an half of my *Geographical Collection,* on the ſubject of Umbria. I begin to put the materials in order, belonging to each region of Italy, which will be of much uſe to me. I finiſhed the forty-third volume of the *Bibliotheque Raiſonnée.* It contains *Leibnizii Protogea :* a poſthumous work of this great man, on the original ſtructure of the earth. Chaos firſt reigned ; a conflagration melted the maſs ; and different ſubſtances acquired different degrees of hardneſs from fluid water to vitrified gems, in proportion to the time they were in cooling.—*The Hiſtory of the Office of Stadtholder, and of the Parliament of England, by the Abbé Raynal.* The pictures which he draws are filled with pretty antitheſes.—*The Hiſtory of Jovian, and the Tranſlation of ſome Works of Julian, by the Abbé de la Bleterie :* admirable, in point of erudition, taſte, elegance, and I will add, moderation. Julian was a Pagan, but the Abbé hates only the Jeſuits.—*The Spirit of Laws.* What occaſion was there to ſpeak of it here ?—*Lord Bolingbroke's Patriot King.* This lord had ſtrength and elevation of mind ; but he was a ſorry philoſopher.—*Middleton's Free Inquiry into the*

tion. Il voyoit bien juſqu'où l'on pouvoit pouſſer les conſéquences de ſes principes, mais il ne lui convenoit pas de les tirer.

Fevrier 26.]—J'ai écrit trois pages de mon *Recueil Géographique*, au chapitre du *Samnium*. J'ai achevé *le pays des Sabins*, et une partie de *celui des Marſes*.

27.]—J'ai écrit deux pages de mon *Recueil Géographique*, au chapitre du *Samnium*, ſur le lac *Fucinus*, le pays des *Equi*, et celui des *Peligni*.

J'ai auſſi lu mon *Spanheim, de Uſu et Præſtantia Numiſmatum, Diſſert. III. p.* 196—245. Il y eſt queſtion des animaux fabuleux du ſphinx, de l'hydre, des ſyrenes, des oiſeaux Stymphalides, du phœnix, &c. On voit cependant que l'eſprit des Grecs, tout romaneſque qu'il étoit, a moins inventé qu'il n'a embelli. Le ſphinx n'étoit dans l'origine qu'une guenon d'Ethiopie, dont les habitans de la Thébaïde firent le ſymbole du myſtère, et qu'ils placoient aux portes de leurs temples.

28.]—Je n'ai lu de *Spanheim* que *Diſſert. III. p.* 245—253. Il y eſt queſtion des animaux monſtrueux et hyéroglyphiques, dont les noms ſont inconnus.

J'ai achevé *le quarante quatrième tome de la Bibliotheque Raiſonnée*. J'y ai trouvé *Hiſtoire des Papes, par Bower*; *premier et deuxième Extrait*. Les commencemens de Rome Chrétienne, ſont pour le moins auſſi obſcurs et fabuleux

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the Miracles, &c. This man was endowed with penetration and accuracy. He ſaw where his principles led; but he did not think proper to draw the conſequences.

February 26.]—I wrote three pages of my *Geographical Collection*, on the ſubject of *Samnium*. I have now finiſhed the country of the Sabines, and a part of the territories of the Marſi.

27.]—I wrote two pages of the chapter *Samnium* in my *Geographical Collection*, deſcribing the lake *Fucinus*, and the countries of the *Equi* and *Peligni*.

I alſo read *Spanheim, de Uſu et Præſtantia Numiſmatum, Diſſert. III. p.* 196—245. He treats of fabulous animals, the ſphinx, hydra, ſirenes, the birds of Stymphalus, the phœnix, &c. We may perceive that the genius of the Greeks, romantic as it was, employed itſelf rather in embelliſhment than invention. The ſphinx was originally an Ethiopian ape, whom the inhabitants of Thebais choſe for the ſymbol of myſtery, and placed at the gates of their temples.

28.]—I read in *Spanheim* only *Diſſert. III. p.* 245—253. He treats of monſters and hieroglyphics, whoſe names are unknown.

I finiſhed the forty-fourth volume of the *Bibliotheque Raiſonnée*. It contains *Bower's Lives of the Popes; firſt and ſecond Extract*. The beginnings of Chriſtian Rome are

fabuleux que ceux de Rome Payenne. On a reproché à l'auteur d'avoir fait une compilation partiale et indigeſte des Papes. C'eſt un fripon démaſqué, qui a joui pendant vingt ans de la faveur publique, pour avoir quitté une ſecte à laquelle il tenoit encore, et pour avoir été conſeiller de l'inquiſition dans la ville de *Macerata*, où il n'y a point d'inquiſition.—*Voix libre d'un Citoyen.* Quand un roi Polonois écrit ſur la conſtitution de ſa patrie, on eſt ſurpris de ne voir que les lieux communs d'un rhéteur, et les viſions impraticables d'un ſpeculatif de cabinet.—*Traité ſur les Syſtêmes, par l'Abbé de Condillac.* Il eſt très finement penſé ; mais l'Abbé de Condillac confond quelquefois les vérités de théorie, qui peuvent découler de quelques principes généraux, et les arts pratiques, qui demandent encore les talens, l'expérience, &c. et dont quelqu'uns par leur nature ſont beaucoup plus incertains.—*L'Aſiatique Tolérant.* Des vérités importantes et communes, exprimées avec beaucoup de hardieſſe.—*L'Art de faire éclorre les Poulets, &c. par M. de Réaumur.* Celui-ci eſt ſur et facile. Cet homme me feroit aimer l'hiſtoire naturelle. Quel inſtinct que celui du Poulet, qui travaille pendant une demi-journée à l'ouvrage difficile de ſa propre naiſſance !—*Eſſai de Philoſophie Morale, par M. de Maupertuis :* non ; tu ne me feras pas haïr la vie.

Eloge

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at leaſt as obſcure and fabulous as thoſe of the Pagan. The author is reproached with making a partial and ill-digeſted compilation of papal biography. He is a rogue unmaſked, who enjoyed, for twenty years, the favour of the public, becauſe he had quitted a ſect to which he ſtill ſecretly adhered ; and becauſe he had been a counſellor of the inquiſition in the town of Macerata, where an inquiſition never exiſted.—*The free Voice of a Citizen.* When a king of Poland writes on the conſtitution of his country, we ſhould not expect to find the trite topics of a rhetorician, or the ſpeculative dreams of a pedant.—*A Treatiſe on Syſtems, by the Abbé Condillac :* judicious, and abounding with fine thoughts ; but the Abbé ſometimes confounds theory and truths flowing from a few general principles, with thoſe practical arts which require talents and experience, and which from their nature are liable to great uncertainty.—*The Toleration of the Aſiatics :* truths common and important, expreſſed with much boldneſs.—*The Art of hatching Eggs, &c. by Mr. Réaumur.* That propoſed is ſure and eaſy. This author will make me in love with natural hiſtory. How extraordinary an inſtinct is that of the chicken, which employs itſelf half a day in the difficult work of its own birth ! —*Eſſay on Moral Philoſophy, by Mr. Maupertuis.* No ; you are not able to make me hate life.

The

Eloge de M. de Schultens. Ce ſavant a trop préféré les Hébreux aux Arabes.

Mars 1.]—J'ai lu *Spanheim, Diſſert. IV. p.* 253—265. Des animaux il paſſe aux plantes, et ſurtout au lotus, dont les Egyptiens couronnoient ſouvent ſur les médailles leurs rois, leurs dieux, et leurs animaux ſacrés.

2.]—J'ai lu *Spanheim, Diſſert. IV. p.* 265—310. Il eſt toujours queſtion des plantes, qui ſont repréſentées ſur les médailles.

J'ai achevé *le quarante cinquième tome de la Bibliotheque Raiſonnée.* J'y trouve *Négociations du Chevalier Edmond, publiées par le Docteur Birch:* curieuſes pour le caractère, les dernières années, et la mort d'Elizabeth.—*Mémoires de Brandebourg.* Ils ſont bien écrits; mais ceux de l'auteur, que je les attends avec impatience!—*Traité ſur la Glace, par M. de Mairan:* profond et judicieux. J'avois ſenti auſſi bien que le journaliſte, qu'il ne faut pas multiplier les êtres, et que le feu mis en mouvement ſuffit ſans la matière ſubtile.—*Hiſtoire Naturelle, par M. de Buffon, premier tome.* Le grand peintre, et le génie original! Le journaliſte veut ſoutenir le deluge. Mais quel aveu, que les coquillages ne ſe trouvent ſur les montagnes que juſqu'à la hauteur de 600 pieds.—*Recueil de Pieces d'Eloquence de l'Académie Françoiſe:* vox et præterea nihil.—*Hiſtoire de la Suede, par M. Dalin, en Suédois, tome deuxième.*

La.

The Eloge of Mr. Schultens. This learned man preferred the Jews too much to the Arabians.

March 1.]—I read *Spanheim, Diſſert. IV. p.* 253—265. From animals, he proceeds to plants, and particularly the lotus, with which the Egyptian medals often crown their kings, gods, and ſacred animals.

2.]—I read *Spanheim, Diſſert. IV. p.* 265—310. He ſtill treats of the plants repreſented on medals.

I finiſhed the forty-fifth volume of the *Bibliotheque Raiſonnée.* It contains *Edmond's Negotiations*, publiſhed by *Dr. Birch:* curious, in as far as it relates to the character, laſt years, and death of Queen Elizabeth.—*Memoirs of Brandenburgh.* They are well written; but the memoirs of the author himſelf—how impatiently do I expect them!—*Treatiſe on Ice, by Mr. Mairan:* judicious and profound. I perceived, as well as the journal-writer, that cauſes ought not to be multiplied without neceſſity; and that fire ſet in motion is ſufficient without the ſubtile matter.—*Natural Hiſtory, by Mr. Buffon:* a great painter, and an original genius. The reviewer endeavours to defend the deluge; but confeſſes that ſhells are found in the mountains only at the elevation of ſix hundred feet.—*A Collection of Pieces of Eloquence of the French Academy:* vox et præterea nihil.—*The Hiſtory of Sweden, by Mr. Dalin, in Swediſh, Vol. ii.* Superſtition and

La ſuperſtition et la puiſſance du clergé furent portées par les Suedois au plus haut point. Cette nation, en ſe convertiſſant, prit le ſyſtême entier, et devint Chrétienne à la mode du douzième ſiecle. Elle n'avoit point de traditions anciennes à réclamer. Son hiſtoire ne lui fourniſſoit aucun argument contre le ſyſtême Romain, et ſon ignorance l'empêchoit de les chercher dans celles des autres peuples, dans la raiſon, et dans l'écriture.—*Parellele des Marbres de Paros avec les Chroniques Egyptiennes.* C'eſt une piece originale. Je vois que l'auteur *(l'Abbé Richer du Boucher)* mépriſe ces marbres; et qu'il a beaucoup étudié Manéthon. Toutes ſes découvertes viennent à un ſyſtême général qu'il ne révele point. Je ne ſaurois en eſpérer beaucoup.

Mars 3.]—J'ai lu *Spanheim, Diſſert. IV. p.* 310—340; *et Diſſert. V. p.* 340—344. Il finit l'article des plantes. J'en ſuis charmé. Elles n'ont qu'une liaiſon indirecte avec les médailles. D'ailleurs Spanheim n'étoit point botaniſte, et je n'ai pas envie de le devenir. J'ai achevé ce qui doit être la partie la moins intéreſſante de l'ouvrage. La deuxième diſſertation eſt seche, quoique utile: mais je réduirois à dix pages toutes les déclamations de morale et de politique, et je ne conſerverois des deux dernières, que quelques faits choiſis et débaraſſés de tout attirail étranger.

Mars

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clerical power reached the higheſt pitch in Sweden. At the time of their converſion, the Swedes adopted the whole papal ſyſtem, and became Chriſtians after the faſhion of the twelfth century. They could not plead the authority of any ancient traditions; their hiſtory furniſhed them not with any argument againſt the Roman faith, and their ignorance hindered them from ſeeking ſuch arguments in the hiſtory of other nations, in reaſon, or in ſcripture.—*Parallel of the Arundelian Marbles with the Egyptian Chronicles.* I perceive that the author, the Abbé Richer du Boucher, has a great contempt for theſe marbles; and that he is deep in Manethon. All his diſcoveries are connected with a general ſyſtem of chronology, which he does not explain. I do not expect much from it.

March 3.]—I read *Spanheim, Diſſert. IV. p.* 310—340; and *Diſſert. V. p.* 340—344. He concludes the article of plants; I am glad of it; they are but little connected with medals: Spanheim was not a botaniſt, nor do I wiſh to become one. I have now finiſhed the moſt intereſting part of his work. The ſecond diſſertation is dry, but uſeful: his declamations on morals and politics might be reduced to ten pages; and from the two laſt diſſertations I would ſelect only a few facts, cleared from all circumſtances foreign to the ſubject.

March

Mars 4.]—J'ai lu *Spanheim, Dissert. V. p.* 344—373. Il y a une grande érudition, et des détails très curieux sur les cornes dont on ornoit la tête d'Ammon, de Junon, de Bacchus, des Fleuves, d'Alexandre, et de ses successeurs.

5.]—J'ai parcouru le *Nouvel Arétin*. Une crasse ignorance, un bouffonerie de corps de garde, et des discours impertinents, qui n'ont pas même le mérite de la nouveauté, distinguent ce mauvais ouvrage, qu'on rejetteroit sur le champ, ne fût-il qu'écrit contre la religion avec une licence effrénée.

6.]—J'ai achevé le *quarante sixième tome de la Bibliotheque Raisonnée*. J'y trouve *Le Suétone d'Oudendorp*. L'édition me paroît bonne. Mais pourquoi en faire une après celle de Grævius? Pourquoi omettre les excellens commentaires de Torrentius et de Casaubon?—*Mémoires de la Reine Christine :* curieux, et d'un travail immense.—*Mémoires de l'Academie de Petersbourg*. Toutes les institutions en Russie doivent être bien entendues. On a pu les jetter tout d'une fonte, dans un tems qu'elles étoient déjà perfectionnées chez ses voisins.—*Nouveau Dictionnaire Historique et Critique, par M. de Chaufepié*. J'y trouve le savoir et l'exactitude de Bayle, mais où est sa philosophie et son génie?

Mars 9.]—J'ai écrit trois pages et demie de mon *Recueil Géographique*. J'ai achevé le chapitre du *Samnium*, par un précis assez détaillé sur les Samnites.

March 4.]—I read *Spanheim, Dissert. V. p.* 344—373. This part is replete with erudition, and enters into many curious particulars concerning the horns which adorn the head of Ammon, Juno, Bacchus, Rivers, Alexander, and his successors.

5.]—I glanced over *the New Aretin*. Gross ignorance, blackguard buffoonery, and impertinent reasonings, which have not even the merit of novelty, disgrace this wretched performance, which would be thrown by with disgust, did it not attack religion with the most shocking indecency.

6.]—I finished the forty-sixth volume of the *Bibliotheque Raisonnée*. It contains *Suetonius, by Oudendorp*. The edition is good, but unnecessary after that of Grævius. Why are the excellent commentaries of Torrentius and Casaubon omitted?—*Memoirs of Queen Christina :* a curious work, and of immense industry.—*Memoirs of the Academy of Petersburgh*. All the institutions of the Russians ought to be well contrived, and skilfully proportioned. They may be made at one cast, from models highly improved among their neighbours.—*A New Historical and Critical Dictionary, by Mr. Chaufepié :* the learning and accuracy of Bayle, without his philosophy and genius.

9.]—I wrote three pages and an half of my *Geographical Collection*. I have now finished the chapter on *Samnium*, by a complete abridgment of what concerns the *Samnites*

nites et ſur le Duché de *Beneventum*. J'a auſſi commencé le chapitre de l'*Apulie*, dont j'ai fait la première diviſion, le pays des *Hirpini*.

Mars 10.]—J'ai écrit près de quatre pages de mon *Recueil Géographique*. C'eſt tout le reſte du chapitre de *l'Apulie*. Il y a un article aſſez étendu ſur *Tarente*.

J'ai achevé le *quarante ſeptième tome de la Bibliotheque Raiſonnée*. J'y trouve *Mémoires Critiques ſur les Suiſſes, par M. de Bochat :* vaine et futile ſcience des étymologies !—*Nouveau Teſtament de Wetſtein*. Le MS. Alexdrin paroît avoir été écrit en Egypte, vers la fin du cinquième ſiecle.—*Lettres ſur les Jubilés, par M. le Chais :* ſavantes et philoſophiques.—*La Monogomie, par M. de Frémontval*. Pourquoi intéreſſer la religion dans une queſtion de calcul et de convenance ?—*Défenſe du Chriſtianiſme, par le Docteur Stebbing*. Il ſe bat bien, mais il embraſſe trop de terrein ; il faudroit abandonner au moins les ouvrages extérieurs.—*Défenſe de Moyſe contre Appien, par l'Abbé Richer du Bouchet*. Il répand toujours ſur ſon ſyſtême chronologique, une obſcurité myſterieuſe. Je n'oſe décider, mais je le crois un peu viſionnaire, parceque : 1. Il parle des dynaſties Egyptiennes comme il pourroit faire de la cour de Louis XIV. Il étale trop de confiance et de certitude dans un ſujet qui ne permet que la vraiſemblance, et les conjectures. 2. Quand il veut chercher la clef du fragment hiſtorique de Manéthon,

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nites and the Duchy of *Beneventum*. I have alſo begun the chapter on *Apulia ;* and finiſhed the firſt diviſion, viz. the territory of the *Hirpini*.

March 10.]—I wrote nearly four pages of my *Geographical Collection ;* containing the remainder of *Apulia*. There is a pretty extenſive article on *Tarentum*.

I finiſhed the forty-ſeventh volume of the *Bibliotheque Raiſonnée*. It contains *Critical Memoirs on the Swiſs, by Mr. Bochat ;* turning on the vain and futile ſcience of etymology.—*Wetſtein's New Teſtament*. The Alexandrian manuſcript appears to have been written in Egypt towards the end of the fifth century.—*Letters on Jubilees, by Mr. le Chais :* learned and philoſophical.—*Monogomy, by Mr. Premontval*. Why ſhould religion be introduced into a queſtion depending on calculation and circumſtances ?—*Defence of Chriſtianity, by Dr. Stebbing*. He is a good polemic, but embraces too wide a field ; the outermoſt works ſhould be relinquiſhed.—*Moſes defended againſt Appian, by the Abbé Ricker de Bouchet*. He ſtill throws an air of myſtery over his chronological ſyſtem. I ſpeak not decidedly, but to me he appears a little of a viſionary. 1. He ſpeaks of the Egyptian dynaſties as he would of the court of Lewis XIV.; ſhewing too much confidence and certainty on a ſubject, which admits only of probability and conjecture. 2. When he inveſtigates the key to Manethon's hiſtorical fragment, he

thon, il rejette la critique, et laiſſe entrevoir que ce dénouement ne peut ſe trouver que dans l'analyſe géométrique. Cet homme n'eſt il pas un peu fou? 3. Eſaü et Oſiris! Je vois que c'eſt le fondement de ſon ſyſtême. Qu'il me ſeroit facile de le renverſer! Jamais princes (ſi Oſiris en étoit un) n'ont eu moins de rapport.

Mars 11.]J'ai écrit deux pages de mon *Recueil Géographique*, au chapitre de la *Lucanie*. Elles comprennent preſque toute la Lucanie propre.

12.—J'ai écrit deux pages, au chapitre de la *Lucanie*. Elles comprennent le reſte de la Lucanie propre, et une partie de *Brutium*.

13.]—Je n'ai écrit que trois quarts de page, au chapitre de la *Lucanie*; c'eſt la continuation du *Brutium*.

14.]—J'ai lu un ouvrage nouveau de Voltaire. *Traité ſur la Tolérance*. Le but ne peut qu'être louable: réveiller, rappeller dans tous les cœurs les ſentimens de l'humanité, et devélopper les ſuites affreuſes de la ſuperſtition; mais dans l'exécution, ce n'eſt qu'un petit recueil de lieux communs, où l'auteur parle de tout, plutôt que des grands principes de ſon ſujet. J'aime beaucoup ſes concluſions fauſſes et contradictoires ſur l'hiſtoire ancienne. L'hiſtoire ancienne (dit il) eſt remplie de prodiges: ils ne ſauroient être vrais. Donc tout y eſt fable et conjecture *. L'hiſtoire ancienne eſt remplie

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he quits the road of criticiſm, but gives us to underſtand that this knot can be unravelled only by geometrical analyſis. Does not this ſavour of madneſs? 3. Eſau and Oſiris! Their ſameneſs, I ſee, is the foundation of his ſyſtem. How eaſily might it be refuted! No two princes, if Oſiris was really a prince, had ever leſs reſemblance.

March 11.]—I wrote two pages of the chapter on *Lucania* in my *Geographical Collection*; comprehending almoſt the whole of *Lucania* properly ſo called.

12.]—I wrote two pages on the chapter of *Lucania*, comprehending the reſt of proper *Lucania* and a part of *Brutium*.

13.]—I wrote only three quarters of a page of my chapter on *Lucania*, being a continuation of *Brutium*.

14.]—I read a new work by Voltaire; *Treatiſe on Toleration*. The end is commendable; to awaken in the ſoul the feelings of humanity, and diſplay the dreadful conſequences of ſuperſtition. But in point of execution this work is a trifling collection of common-place remarks, in which the author expatiates rather on every other topic than the great principles belonging to his ſubject. I am diverted with his falſe and contradictory concluſions concerning ancient hiſtory. This hiſtory, he ſays, is filled with prodigies. They cannot be true; therefore ancient hiſtory conſiſts merely of fables and conjectures *. Again, this hiſtory is filled with prodigies: we are obliged to believe

* Traité ſur la Tolérance, C. ix. N. c. p. 71—75.

plie de prodiges : on ne peut que les adopter. Donc les hommes et la nature même n'avoient dans ces tems reculés, rien de commun avec nous *. Voltaire révoque en doute les débauches infames de Tibere dans l'îſle de Caprée. Cependant Tacite et Suétone étoient preſque contemporains de ce prince. Je n'apperçois aucune trace de haine dans leurs écrits. Ils le juſtifient ſouvent ; ils diſtinguent avec autant de bonne foi que de pénétration, les époques différentes de la diſſimulation, des cruautés et des débauches publiques de cet empereur. On connoit le débordement affreux de ce tems ; faut il s'étonner qu'un monarque qui pouvoit aſſouvir toutes ſes paſſions avec impunité, ne leur refuſât rien, ſurtout lorſque la retraite l'eut affranchi de l'obſervation du public, le ſeul frein qui puiſſe retenir un deſpote ? Pour ces débauches recherchées, qui étonnent M. de Voltaire, c'eſt préciſément dans un veillard de ſoixante et dix ans, que je les trouve vraiſemblables *.

Mars 15.]—J'ai achevé *le quarante huitième tome de la Bibliotheque Raiſonnée.* J'y trouve *Découvertes d'Herculaneum, par le Marquis Venuti.* C'eſt à la profondeur de 73 pieds, ſous pluſieurs couches ſucceſſives de terre et de pierre vitrifiée, qu'on a trouvé cette ancienne ville qui auroit mérité des obſervateurs plus exacts et plus fideles. Herculaneum n'étoit qu'une ville obſcure. Elle avoit cependant un théâtre à trois étages, qui avoient 300 pieds

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them ; therefore the principles of nature, as well as of men, were quite different then from what they are at preſent *. He calls in queſtion the infamous debaucheries of Tiberius in the iſland of Capreæ. Yet Tacitus and Suetonius were almoſt the contemporaries of that prince. I perceive not any marks of hatred in their works. They often juſtify Tiberius, and diſtinguiſh with as much penetration as honeſty the different ſtages of the diſſimulation, cruelty, and public debaucheries of that emperor. The abominable licentiouſneſs of thoſe times is well known ; and it is not matter of ſurpriſe that Tiberius ſhould refuſe nothing to his appetites, when he had the unbounded power of gratifying them with impunity, eſpecially when they were concealed by his retirement from the public eye, which is the only reſtraint on the behaviour of a deſpot. As for thoſe refinements in debauchery which aſtoniſh Voltaire, it is preciſely in an old profligate of ſeventy that I ſhould expect to meet with them.

March 15.]—I finiſhed the forty-eighth volume of the *Bibliotheque Raiſonnée.* It contains the *Diſcoveries made at Herculaneum, by the Marquis Venuti.* This ancient city, which deſerved to be examined more accurately and faithfully, was found at the depth of ſeventy-three feet under many ſucceſſive beds of earth and vitrified ſtone. Hercula-

* Traité ſur la Tolérance, C. xii. p. 127—129.
† Le même, C. viii. p. 69—63.

neum

pieds de circonférence, et qui étoit posé sur des pilastres de briques, couverts d'un beau vernis, et ornés de corniches de marbre.—*Lettres sur les Jubilés.* Il est difficile de distinguer avec les théologiens entre la coulpe et la peine. Dans l'église des Feuillans à Paris, on peut gagner dans un Carême pour plus de 150,000 ans d'indulgences.—*Essai sur l'Esprit.* Cet ouvrage de l'éveque de Cloghor est un Arianisme métaphysique.—*Dissertation sur la Chronologie d'Usserius.* Encore l'Abbé Richer! le personnage est fou. Quel emportement contre les Juifs et les Protestans sur une question de critique! Il rejette la chronologie des Hebreux, parcequ'elle est sortie de l'école de Tiberiade, et qu'un éveque protestant l'a fait valoir.

Mars 16.]—J'ai écrit une page demon *Recueil Géographique*, au chapitre de la *Lucanie*; c'est la suite du *Brutium*.

17.]—J'ai écrit une page et demie du chapitre de la *Lucanie, sur la Grande Grece.* Après quoi je suis monté à la bibliotheque, pour lire les savantes recherches de Freret, sur les premières peuplades de l'Italie; *Histoire de l'Academie de Belles Lettres, tome xviii. p.* 72—114.

18.]—J'ai écrit une page de mon *Recueil Géographique*, au chapitre des *Nations de l'Italie*, sur le premières peuplades de ce pays.

Mars

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neum was but an obscure place; yet it was adorned by a theatre three hundred feet in circumference, raised on brick pilasters, covered with a beautiful varnish, and ornamented with cornices of marble.—*Letters on Jubilees.* It is difficult to distinguish with theologians between the defilement of sin and its punishment. In the church of the Feuillans at Paris, indulgences may be procured, in the space of one Lent, for 150,000 years.—*Essay on Spirit.* This work of the Bishop of Clogher contains a metaphysical Arianism.—*Dissertation on the Chronology of Usher.* The Abbé Richer again. This man is a fool. Wherefore so much rage against the Jews and Protestants in treating a question of criticism? He rejects the chronology of the Jews, because it came from the school of Tiberias, and is approved by a Protestant bishop.

March 16.]—I wrote a page of the chapter of *Lucania* in my *Geographical Collection*; it is the continuation of *Brutium*.

17.]—I wrote a page and an half of my chapter on *Lucania*, concerning *Magna Græcia*: after which I went to the library to read Freret's learned researches on the first inhabitants of Italy; *Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Letters, Vol. xviii. p.* 72—114.

18.]—I wrote a page and an half of the chapter intitled "*Nations*" in my *Geographical Collection*; it treats of the first communities in Italy.

Mars 19.]—J'ai écrit une page de mon *Recueil Géographique*, ſur les premières Peuplades, au chapitre des *Nations de l'Italie*.

J'ai achevé *le quarante neuvième tome de la Bibliotheque Raiſonnée*. J'y trouve *Lettres ſur le Tutoiement, par M. Vernet*; je pencherois pour le mélange du vous et du toi.—*Conſidérations ſur les Mœurs, par M. Du Clos*. L'ouvrage en général eſt bon. Quelques chapitres (le rapport de l'Eſprit et du Caractère) me paroiſſent excellens. Du Clos a préludé au ſecrétariat de l'académie, par celui des cafés, où il recueilloit ſoigneuſement les propos des gens d'eſprit.—*Hiſtoire Romaine de Dion Caſſius, par MM. Fabricius et Raymar:* excellente édition.—*Œuvres de Maupertuis: Appel au Public, par M. Kenig*. Dans ſes propres ouvrages il ne paroît qu'un viſionnaire extravagant, dont la réputation ne pouvoit pas ſe ſoutenir. Dans la diſpute avec Kenig; c'eſt un lâche perſécuteur, qui employe le bras ſéculier pour écraſer un de ſes confreres.—*Eſprit des Nations*. Eh! le mauvais ſinge!—*Tréſor des Médailles Imperiales de Morel, avec les Commentaires de Gori et d'Havercamp*. Quelles richeſſes!—*Nouveau Teſtament, par Wetſtein*. Dans une diſpute que les Franciſcains eurent avec Jean XXII. au quatorzième ſiecle, ils inventerent l'explication de l'Apocalypſe, ou le Pape eſt l'Antechriſt. Des eſſaims nombreux de ces Moines ſortirent de leurs convens, pour embraſſer la

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March 19.]—I wrote a page and an half on the chapter "*Nations*", concerning the firſt communities in Italy.

I finiſhed the forty-ninth volume of the *Bibliotheque Raiſonnée*. It contains *Letters on the Uſe of the Pronoun Thou, by Mr. Vernet*: I am inclined to think both *thou* and *you* ought to be uſed.—*Conſiderations on Morals, by Mr. Du Clos*. The work is in general good: ſome chapters treating of the connection of genius with character are excellent. Du Clos, before he was ſecretary of the academy, had been that of the coffee-houſe; where he carefully treaſured up the converſations of men of wit.—*The Roman Hiſtory of Dion Caſſius, by Meſſrs. Fabricius and Raimar*: an excellent edition. *Maupertuis' Works; and Appeal to the Public, by Mr. Kenig*. In his own works, Maupertius appears only as an extravagant viſionary, whoſe fame reſts not on any ſolid baſis. In his diſpute with Kenig he is a cowardly perſecutor, who employs the ſecular arm to cruſh one of his colleagues.—*The Spirit of Nations*: a wretched imitation.—*The Treaſury of Imperial Medals, by Morell, with the Commentaries of Gori and Havercamp*: what riches!—*Wetſtein's New Teſtament*. In a diſpute which the Franciſcans had with John XXII. they firſt gave that explanation of the Revelations, which makes the Pope Antichriſt. Numerous

la réformation de Lùther. Ils répandirent cette idée Capucine parmi les Proteſtans.—

Mars 20. J'ai écrit une page et demie de mon *Recueil Géographique*, ce qui acheve le chapitre des *Nations d'Italie.*

21.]—J'ai écrit quatre pages de mon *Recueil Géographique*, au chapitre de la *Campanie.* C'eſt *la Diviſion de cette Région et du Latium propre.*

J'ai achevé *le cinquante et dernier tome de la Bibliotheque Raiſonnée.* J'y trouve *Eſſai ſur la Nature de la Sacrificature.* Peut être que le clergé Chrétien n'a ſuccedé qu'aux philoſophes et aux prophetes qui enſeignoient la morale, et nullement aux prêtres Payens et Juifs, qui n'étoient chargés que des ſacrifices, et de la loi cérémonielle.—*Oeuvres de Scarron.* Le ſeul Roman comique vivra; dans tout le reſte la plaiſanterie eſt plutôt dans l'expreſſion que dans la penſée. Tout au plus eſt elle dans le contraſte unique du caractère de Scarron et de ſa ſituation.—*Deux Epitres de St. Clement, en Syriaque et en Latin. Diſſertation upon two Epiſtles, &c.* Le Docteur Lardner conteſte cette découverte de M. Wetſtein, de ce monument de premiers Chrétiens. *Sub judice lis eſt.* Je vois que les idées de St. Clement ſur le célibat ſont très outrées, mais ne conviennent elles pas au fanatiſme d'un ſecte naiſſante et perſécutée ? Au reſte, ſi ces épitres ſont authentiques,

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ſwarms of thoſe monks left their convents, and embraced Luther's reformation. They ſpread this Capuchin notion among the Proteſtants.

March 20.]—I wrote a page and an half of my *Geographical Collection*, which finiſhes the chapter on the *Nations of Italy*.

21.]—I wrote four pages of the chapter *Campania* in my *Geographical Collection*. They treat of *the Diviſion of that Country and Latium proper.*

I finiſhed the fiftieth volume of the *Bibliotheque Raiſonnée.* It contains, *Eſſay on the Nature of the Office of Sacrificer.* The Chriſtian clergy have perhaps ſucceeded only to the philoſophers and prophets, who taught morality; and not to the prieſts, who performed ſacrifices and other parts of the ceremonial law.—*Scarron's Works.* His comic Romance alone will live: in other parts of his works, the wit is rather in the ſtyle than in the thought. At beſt, it reſults from the contraſt between his character and ſituation.—*St. Clement's two Epiſtles, in Syriac and Latin. Diſſertation on two Epiſtles, &c.* Dr. Lardner diſputes Mr. Wetſtein's diſcovery of this monument of the firſt Chriſtians. *Sub judice lis eſt.* St. Clement's ideas on celibacy are carried, I perceive, to great extravagance. But even *they* are natural to the enthuſiaſm of a riſing and perſecuted ſect! If theſe epiſtles are authentic, St. John muſt have written his Goſpel

tiques, St. Jean avoit écrit ſon Evangile long tems avant la vieilleſſe de Clement, qui avoit une trentaine d'années vers l'an 60.

C'eſt une excellente reſſource que d'avoir toujours quelque lecture intéreſſante, facile, et détachée pour les momens perdus, ou qui le ſeroient ſans cela. Rein ne convient mieux qu'un bon journal. La *Bibliotheque Raiſonnée* mérite certainement ce titre ; mais on peut partager ſon étendue en deux parties à peu près égales, mais d'un caractère bien différent. La première ſuit le goût des bonnes études du dix ſeptième ſiecle : beaucoup de théologie, de juriſprudence, et de Belles Lettres, une érudition puiſée dans les ſources, et une ſaine critique. L'eſprit de controverſe religieuſe y domine un peu trop, et l'on y voit trop d'aigreur et de minuties. Dans la ſeconde partie, le journal ſe rapproche de notre tems ; une aſſez grande indifférence pour la théologie, une littérature ſuperficielle, une philoſophie hardie, un ton dogmatique, un ſtyle plus figuré et plus coupé.

Mars 22.]—J'ai écrit une page et demie du *Recueil Géographique de l'Italie*, au chapitre de la *Campanie :* c'eſt le pays des *Rutuli* et des *Hernici*.

23.]—J'ai écrit près de trois pages du *Recueil Géographique*, au chapitre de la *Campanie :* c'eſt le pays des *Volſques* et des *Auſones*.

Mars

Goſpel a long time before the old age of Clement, who was only in his thirtieth year in A. D. 60.

It is a great convenience to have always at hand ſome book containing eaſy and intereſting productions, that may be read by ſnatches, at moments which would otherwiſe be loſt. Nothing anſwers this end better than a good journal ; which title the *Bibliotheque Raiſonnée* certainly merits. It may be divided however into two parts, of nearly equal extent, but of completely different characters. The firſt part is adapted to the taſte for true learning which prevailed in the ſeventeenth century ; containing a great deal of theology, juriſprudence, and Belles Lettres ; erudition drawn from the ſource, and mixed with ſound criticiſm. The ſpirit of religious controverſy is rather too prevalent ; and we are diſguſted with too much minuteneſs, or provoked at too much aſperity. The ſecond part of the journal has more affinity with the taſte at preſent ; uniting much indifference about theology, with ſuperficiality of learning, and boldneſs in philoſophy ; its tone is dogmatical, and its ſtyle more broken into ſhort ſentences and more metaphorical.

March 22.]—I wrote a page and an half of my *Geographical Collection*, containing *a Deſcription of the Countries of the Rutili and Hernici*, comprehended in the chapter on *Campania*.

23.]—I wrote near three pages of my *Geographical Collection*, on the countries of the *Volſci* and *Auſones*, comprehended in the chapter on *Campania*.

March

Mars 24.]—J'ai écrit une page, au chapitre de la *Campanie :* c'eſt le commencement de la *Campanie propre.*

25.]—J'ai écrit environ trois pages. J'ai achevé le chapitre de la *Campanie*, et j'ai écrit pluſieurs morceaux détachés dans d'autres chapitres.

26.]—J'ai écrit près de trois pages, au chapitre de *Rome.*

27.]—J'ai écrit plus d'une page et demie, au chapitre de *Rome.*

28.]—J'ai écrit plus de deux pages, au chapitre de *Rome.*

29.]—J'ai écrit deux pages, *ſur les Itinéraires et les grands Chemins des Romains.* Je m'arrête à préſent avec un fond déjà très riche *de quatre vingt douze pages in folio*, et très ſerrées. Ce ſeroit à mes lectures futures, et à mon voyage d'Italie, d'augmenter mon recueil, au point que je n'aurois plus qu'un certain arrangement à lui donner, pour trouver la déſcription de l'Italie toute faite.

30.]—Je me ſuis remis à *Spanheim, de Uſu et Præſtantia Numiſmatum*, dont j'ai lu *Diſſert. V. p.* 373—476. Il y traite des médailles des rois, ſurtout des ſucceſſeurs d'Alexandre, et des titres qu'on leur donnoit—d'amis des Romains ou des Grecs, de victorieux, de foudroyant, de grand roi, de roi des rois, d'autocrator, ou roi par ſoi même ; du nom de Dieu en général, et en particulier de ceux de Bacchus, de Dieu Sauveur (Soter), et de Dieu manifeſté

March 24.]—I wrote a page of my chapter on *Campania*, which is the beginning of *Campania proper.*

25.]—I wrote about three pages, finiſhing the chapter on *Campania*, and inſerting ſome detached materials into other chapters.

26.]—I wrote nearly three pages of my chapter on *Rome.*

27.]—I wrote more than a page and an half of my chapter on *Rome.*

28.]—I wrote more than two pages of the chapter on *Rome.*

29.]—I wrote two pages on the *Itineraries and high Roads of the Romans ;* and ſtop ſhort at preſent with a rich fund of ninety-two folio pages cloſely written. My travels in Italy, with my future ſtudies, will ſwell this collection to ſuch a magnitude, that it will be neceſſary for me only to arrange my materials to have a complete deſcription of Italy.

30.]—I reſumed the peruſal of *Spanheim, de Uſu et Præſtantia Numiſmatum ;* of which I read *Diſſert. V. p.* 373—436. He treats of the medals of kings, particularly the ſucceſſors of Alexander, and the epithets beſtowed on them—friends to the Romans or Greeks ; victorious ; thunderers ; great kings ; king of kings ; autocrator, or poſſeſſor of independent power ; the name of God in general ; and the particular names of Bacchus, of God the Saviour, or Soter ; and of God manifeſted on earth,

manifeſté ſur la terre *(Epiphane,* qu'il ne faut pas traduire ſeulement par *illuſtre)*. Toutes ces médailles ſont Grecques. Nous n'avons des rois barbares, que celles qui ont été frappées par les villes Grecques de leurs états.

J'ai lu une comédie de *Piron,* qu'on a parlé de jouer à Mon Repos. *La Métromanie.* La verſification en eſt très belle, et l'on y trouve des ſentimens auſſi juſtes qu'ils ſont bien rendus. Toute la ſcene entre M. Ballivau et Damis eſt de cette eſpece. Mais je n'ai rien vu d'auſſi mal couſu que l'intrigue. La partie du plan qui regarde les amoureux Dorante et Lucile, eſt très embrouillée. Celle de Damis eſt plaiſante, mais d'un plaiſant aſſez peu dans la nature. Où trouver un poëte qui renonce à une maitreſſe belle et riche, pour un autre qui n'exiſte que dans le Mercure? Quel caractère que celui de ce poëte qu'on veut rendre à la fois ridicule et héroique! Comparez la ſcene de ſon oncle avec celle de ſon valet. Je ſais que le chef d'œuvre de Molière eſt *le Miſanthrope,* ridicule et reſpectable en même tems, mais c'eſt que ſes foibleſſes ne ſont que les vertus pouſſées à l'excès, et qu'en ſe moquant de ſes travers, on ne peut que révérer leur principe. Rien n'eſt lié dans Damis. Le mauvais poëte eſt un caractère. L'homme juſte, généreux, qui pardonne les foibleſſes de ſon ami, et qui ne repouſſe ſes outrages

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Epiphanes, which is not fully tranſlated by "illuſtrious."—All theſe medals are Greek. We have not any other medals of Barbarian kings, but thoſe ſtruck by the Greek cities in their dominions.

I read *Piron's Comedy, Metromanie,* which there was an intention of acting at Mon Repos. The verſification is beautiful, and many of the ſentiments correct and well expreſſed. This applies to the whole ſcene between Mr. Ballivau and Damis. But I never read any thing worſe contrived than the plot. There is much confuſion in that part which regards the lovers Dorante and Lucile. The part of Damis is diverting, but unnatural. Where is it poſſible to find a poet that will reſign a rich and handſome miſtreſs for another that has no exiſtence but in the Mercury? What an extravagant attempt is it, to endeavour to render the character of this poet at once heroical and ridiculous! Compare together his ſcene with his uncle and that with his valet. I know that in Moliere's maſter-piece, the Miſanthrope is at once ridiculous and reſpectable. But this happens becauſe his faults conſiſt in virtues carried to exceſs; which, though ridiculous in their effects, are reſpectable in their principle. There is no connection in the part of Damis. The bad poet is one character; the juſt and generous man who pardons his friend's faults, and anſwers his inſults only by good offices, is quite a different one. If probability is not violated, unity at leaſt is not maintained.

But

rages que par les bienfaits, en eſt un autre. Si la vraiſemblance de mœurs n'eſt pas violée, au moins l'unité n'eſt pas conſervée. Encore où eſt la vraiſemblance dans la façon dont Damis reçoit le dernier aveu de Dorante. Ses excès ne ſe conçoivent qu'en lui ſuppoſant la Métromanie dans toute ſa force. Cependant il reçoit avec indifférence la chute de ſa tragedie, qu'il traite de *frivole ſoin*. S'il avoit pardonné à Dorante d'avoir attenté à ſa vie, ſans pouvoir lui pardonner d'avoir fait ſiffler ſa piece, le caractère m'auroit paru mieux ſoutenu.

Mars 31.]—J'ai lu *Spanheim, Diſſert. V. p.* 476—494, *et Diſſert. VI. p.* 494—553. Il paſſe aux médailles conſulaires, aux noms et ſurnoms des Romains, et des différens emplois qui ſont marqués ſur les médailles. Je m'étois attendu à y apprendre plus de choſes nouvelles.

Je ſuis monté à la bibliotheque, où j'ai parcouru le journal d'un voyage de l'Italie, par M. de la Condamine. *V. Mem. de l'Académie des Sciences, p.* 386—411, *de l'année* 1757. J'y ai vu avec plaiſir le calcul de pluſieurs hauteurs différentes par l'obſervation du barometre ; le voici :

Niveau de la mer, - - - - -	0
Le Rhone, et le Lac Leman, Canigon, ſommet des Pyrenées,	1410
Quito dans le Pérou, - - - - -	1430
Chemin du Mont Cenis, - - - - -	1460

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But how improbable is the reception which Damis gives to the laſt declaration of Dorante. His tranſports cannot be conceived as natural, without ſuppoſing him domineered by the *Metromanie* in its utmoſt force. Yet he receives an account of the fall of his tragedy with indifference, calling this a trifling matter. Had he pardoned Dorante for attempting to put him to death, but remained inexorable to the crime of hiſſing his play, the character would have appeared to me to be better ſupported.

March 31.]—I read *Spanheim, Diſſert. V. p.* 476—494; and *Diſſert. VI. p.* 494—553. He proceeds to the conſular medals; the names and ſurnames of the Romans, and their different offices repreſented on medals. I expected to have found more novelty in this part of his work.

I went to the library to read *Mr. de la Condamine's Journal of his Travels in Italy*, in the *Memoirs of the Academy of Sciences for* 1757, *p.* 386—411. I was pleaſed to find the heights of ſeveral mountains in fathoms meaſured by the barometer. They are as follow:

Level of the ſea, - - - - - - -	0
The Rhone, and Lake of Geneva and Canigon the top of the Pyrenees,	1410
Quito in Peru, - - - - - - -	1430
The road over Mount Cenis, - - - - -	1460

La plus haute pointe du Mont Cenis, - - -	1510
Pic de Ténériffe, - - - - -	2150
Le Mont Blanc, à 14 ou 15 lieues au Sud eſt de Geneve, où l'on apperçoit à 60 lieues, des environs de Langres, -	2676
Chimboraco, la plus haute montagne des Cordilières des Andes, et peut être de la terre, - - -	3220

M. de Condamine a remarqué, que dans les voyes Romaines, les jointes des pierres ne ſont jamais placées dans la direction des voitures, et que le lit du Tybre doit être exhauſſé de dix ou douze pieds, puiſque le pavé antique du panthéon, eſt inondé tous les hyvers d'autant. L'éméraude de Gênes n'eſt que de verre.

Avril 1.]—J'ai lu *Spanheim, Diſſert. VI. p.* 533—589, *et Diſſert. VII. p.* 589—633. Il continue le chapitre des emplois, et ſurtout les légats propréteurs que les empereurs envoyoient dans leurs provinces, et qui acquirent le titre de conſulaires vers le tems des Antonins. Il paſſe enſuite aux médailles des empereurs et des impératrices. Je n'ai rien vu d'auſſi curieux que l'article de ces princeſſes. Je ne ſerai plus étranger à leur cour, puiſque je reconnoitrois juſqu'aux deux Fauſtines à leur coëffure différente.

Avril

The higheſt point of Mount Cenis, - - - -	1510
Pic of Teneriffe, - - - - - -	2150
Mount Blanc, 14 or 15 leagues to the ſouth-eaſt of Geneva, and viſible at 60 leagues off, at Langres, - - - -	2676
Chimboraco, the higheſt mountain of the Cordilleres of the Andes, and perhaps of the world, - - - - -	3220

Mr. Condamine remarks, that in the Roman highways, the joinings of the ſtones are never placed in the ſame direction with that of the motion of the carriages that travelled over them; and that the bed of the Tiber muſt have acquired ten or twelve feet in height, becauſe the ancient pavement of the pantheon is overflowed to that height every winter. The emerald of Genoa is only a piece of glaſs.

April 1.]—I read *Spanheim, Diſſert. VI. p.* 533—589; and *Diſſert. VII. p.* 589—633. He continues the chapter concerning offices, particularly thoſe of legates and prætors, whom the emperors ſent into the provinces, and who were diſtinguiſhed by the epithet "Conſular" towards the time of the Antonines. He then proceeds to the medals of emperors and empreſſes. I have met with nothing more curious than the article concerning thoſe princeſſes. I ſhould not be a ſtranger at their courts, ſince I could diſtinguiſh the two Fauſtinas by their reſpective head-dreſſes.

April

Avril 2.]—J'ai lu *Spanheim, Dissert. VII. p.* 633—660. Toujours les femmes et les parens des Césars.

3.]—J'ai lu *Spanheim, Dissert. VIII. p.* 660—737 : rien de plus curieux. C'est le détail des différens titres, dont la réunion formoit la puissance impériale : Césai, Auguste, Impérator, Souvrain Pontife, Pere de la Patrie, revêtu des puissances proconsulaire et tribunitienne ; l'empereur étoit bien plus que roi. Encore dès le tems de Domitien, les historiens Grecs, et les poëtes Latins lui donnerent ce titre, qu'ils n'oserent cependant prendre eux mêmes que sous le bas empire, et vers le tems de Constantin, lorsque toutes les maximes de la république étoient effacées des esprits.

Je suis monté à la bibliotheque, pour revoir le Journal de M. de la Condamine, que j'avois parcouru un peu legèrement. Voici deux éclairciſſemens sur la hauteur des montagnes. 1. Les 1460 toises qu'on donne au Mont Cenis, ne regardent point le chemin, mais une station bien plus élevée, où ce voyageur monta avec des peines infinies. L'Hospital des Pélerins est à cinq cent toises plus bas. 2. M. Falio de Duillier avoit donné au lac Léman 426 toises d'élévation au dessus du niveau de la mer, et au Mont Blanc 2000 toises de plus, en tout 2426 toises : mais on sait que les deux élémens du calcul pechent, l'un par défaut, l'autre par excès. M. de Chesеaux, qui a me-

April 2.]—I read *Spanheim, Dissert. VII. p.* 633—660. He continues to speak of women, and the relations of the Cæsars.

3.]—I read *Spanheim, Dissert. VIII. p.* 660—737. This part is very curious ; containing an account of the different titles, which, by their union, formed the Imperial authority : Cæsar, Augustus, Imperator, High Priest, Father of the Country, Proconsul, Tribune—all these taken together rendered the emperors far greater than kings. This last title was also given to them as early as the time of Domitian by Greek historians and Latin poets, though those princes themselves did not venture to assume it, till the time of Constantine and the lower empire, when all republican maxims had been effaced from the minds of their subjects.

I went to the library to re-examine Mr. de la Condamine's Journal, which I had read too hastily. I met with the two following particulars concerning the height of mountains. 1. The 1460 fathoms given for the altitude of Mount Cenis are not applicable to the road, but to a station far more elevated, which Mr. de la Condamine reached with the utmost difficulty. The Pilgrims' Hospital is five hundred fathoms lower. 2. Falio de Duillier made the Lake of Geneva 426 fathoms above the level of the sea, and Mount Blanc 2000 fathoms higher : in all 2426 fathoms. But of the two elements of this calculation, the one is taken too high, and the other too low. Mr. de

a meſuré une plus grande baſe, trouvoit au Mont Blanc 2250 toiſes au deſſus du niveau du lac ; mais il faut redreſſer la différence entre ce niveau et celui de la mer, par les obſervations du barometre faites à Geneve, à Turin, et à Gênes, et qui ne lui donnent que 188 toiſes au lieu de 426. La hauteur corrigée du Mont Blanc ſera donc de 2438 toiſes. C'eſt ainſi que M. de la Condamine rectifie dans l'hiſtoire de l'académie, les idées, qu'il n'avoit pas aſſez approfondies, lorſqu'il a compoſé ſon journal.

Avril 4.]—J'ai lu *Spanheim, de Uſu Numiſmatum, Diſſert. VIII. p.* 737—757, *et Diſſert. IX. p.* 757—813. Après avoir épuiſé les titres des princes qui n'étoient qu'honoraires, il paſſe aux médailles qu'on appelle les *Spintriæ* de Tibere ; il croit que c'étoient des monnoyes qu'on jettoit parmi le peuple aux jeux obſcenes de Flore, &c. Il parle enſuite des colonies, des villes ſacrées, libres, et autonomes, des bienfaits des empereurs, du *vehiculatio Italiæ*, et des reliquats des impots. C'eſt bien un livre claſſique pour les médailles.

J'ai achevé la *Critique Générale de l'Hiſtoire du Calviniſme de Maimbourg, par M. Bayle, en quatre tomes in* 12*mo. à Ville Franche*, 1684 ; *troiſième édition*. L'empire de la mode a jetté le philoſophe Bayle dans la controverſe : il y a porté un eſprit de lumière, de juſteſſe et de modération, joint à des agrémens qui ſont aſſez rares dans ce genre. Dans tous ſes raiſonnemens ſur

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Cheſeaux, meaſuring a larger baſe, found Mount Blanc to be 2250 fathoms above the level of the lake ; but the height given to the lake above the ſea, corrected by barometrical obſervations at Geneva, Turin, and Genoa, appears to be only 188, inſtead of 426 fathoms : ſo that the true height of Mount Blanc is 2438 fathoms. Mr. de la Condamine thus rectifies, in the Hiſtory of the Academy, the notions which he had not ſufficiently examined when he publiſhed his journal.

April 4.]—I read *Spanheim, de Uſu Numiſmatum, Diſſert. VIII. p* 737—757. After diſcuſſing the honorary titles of princes, he proceeds to the medals called the *Spintriæ* of Tiberius : he believes them to have been pieces of money that were ſcattered among the common people at the obſcene games of Flora. He then treats of colonies ; ſacred, free, and independent cities ; the bounties of the emperors ; the *vehiculatio Italiæ ;* the arrears of impoſts ; the whole forming a claſſic book on the ſubject of medals.

I finiſhed *Bayle's General Criticiſm on Maimbourg's Hiſtory of Calviniſm ; in* 12*mo. Villa Franca*, 1684, *third edition*. The faſhion of the age made the philoſopher Bayle enter the liſts of controverſy ; into which he brought with him a meaſure of knowledge, preciſion, and candour, as well as entertainment, ſeldom exhibited there. In his reaſonings

ſur l'infaillibilité, les droits d'une conſcience erronée, je vois un dialecticien précis et clair, mais un peu diffus. Jamais homme n'a ſcu comme Bayle, ſe mettre à la place de ſon adverſaire, revêtir ſon ſyſtême, et prevoir tous les avantages qu'il en pouvoit tirer. C'eſt là un des efrets les plus précieux de la philoſophie ſceptique. Les chapitres ſur le mariage des prêtres ſont pleins de plaiſanterie, de littérature, et d'une connoiſſance exacte de l'homme. Mais les deux lettres ſur l'amour paternel et ſur la jalouſie, ſont d'une philoſophe profond ; il y développe une chaine de préjuges liés à notre être, néceſſaires à notre bonheur, et deſtinés par l'Etre Supreme à nous tenir lieu d'une raiſon trop relevée pour le commun des hommes, et qui n'auroit jamais eu le degré de vivacité propre à nous faire agir. Au reſte les nouvelles lettres me paroiſſent très ſupérieures aux deux premiers tomes.

Avril 5.]—Je n'ai lu de *Spanheim* que *Diſſert. IX. p.* 813—834. Il y parle des rois que les Romains donnoient aux nations.

7.]—J'ai employé toute la matinée à la bibliotheque, où j'ai lu des morceaux très étendus de la deuxième partie du troiſième tome de l'*Antiquité expliquée, par le Pere Monfaucon,* ſur les théâtres et les amphithéâtres des Romains.

Avril

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reaſonings concerning infallibility, and the rights of an erroneous conſcience, you ſee the accurate and enlightened dialectician; but he is rather too diffuſe. No man was ever better qualified than Bayle for aſſuming the character of his adverſary, ſhewing his ſyſtem in a new garb, and for availing himſelf of all the places open to aſſault ; which is one of the greateſt advantages of the ſceptical philoſophy. His chapters on the marriage of the clergy are full of pleaſantry, learning, and knowledge of human nature ; and his two letters on the love of parents towards their children, and on jealouſy, contain a profound philoſophy ; in which he unfolds a chain of prejudices connected with our exiſtence, neceſſary for our happineſs, and intended by the Supreme Being to ſupply the place of a reaſon too exalted for the bulk of mankind, and too weak to be a principle of action. The new letters appear to me far ſuperior to the two firſt volumes.

April 5.]—I read only the ninth Diſſert. of *Spanheim, p.* 813—834. He treats of kings appointed by the Romans.

7.]—I ſpent the whole morning in the library, reading very extenſive articles in the ſecond part of the third volume of *Monfaucon's Explanation of Antiquities.* He treats of the theatres and amphitheatres of the Romans.

April

Avril 9.]—J'ai parcouru une bonne partie de Keyſler, pour en tirer ce qui pouvoit intéreſſer la tournée d'Italie que j'entreprends dans quelques jours avec Guiſe. Ce Keyſler me plait beaucoup. Il eſt plein des choſes utiles, curieuſes et même ſavantes ſans aucune affectation. Quand je ſonge qu'il a bien vu l'Italie dans neuf mois, je ſens combien le tems eſt long à qui ſait le mettre à profit.

10.]—J'ai lu *Spanheim, Diſſert. IX. p.* 834—860. Il y eſt queſtion des victoires des empereurs, de leurs ouvrages publics, et de leurs *allocutions* aux ſoldats, qu'eux ſeuls avoient droit de faire. Les chefs d'accuſation contre *Metius Voluſianus*, n'étoient point auſſi ridicules dans les mœurs des Romains que dans les notres. MM. de Monteſquieu et Spanheim ſont du mêmea vis, et l'érudition a prouvé ce que le génie avoit entrevu.

11.]—J'ai lu *Spanheim, Diſſert. IX. p.* 860—914; fin de l'ouvrage. Il y parle des ſecours que la chronologie et la géographie peuvent tirer des médailles. M. D'Alembert pouvoit bien les ignorer.

12.]—J'ai repaſſé le Traité de Spanheim : c'eſt un vrai tréſor d'érudition métallique, et un livre claſſique ſur cette ſcience.

Avril

April 9.]—I read a conſiderable part of *Keyſler*, in order to extract from him whatever might be uſeful in my travels in Italy; on which I ſet out in a few days with Guiſe. I am much pleaſed with Keyſler; his work is uſeful, curious, and learned without affectation. When I conſider how well he examined Italy in nine months, I am ſenſible that time is long, when we know how to make a good uſe of it.

10.]—I read *Spanheim, Diſſert. IX. p.* 834—860. He treats of the victories of the emperors, their public works, and the ſpeeches which *they only* had a right to make to the ſoldiers. The heads of accuſation againſt Metius Voluſianus were not ſo ridiculous according to Roman, as they would be according to modern manners. Monteſquieu and Spanheim think alike on this ſubject; the ſuggeſtions of genius are confirmed by erudition.

11.]—I read *Spanheim, Diſſert. IX. p.* 860—914; which concludes the work. He treats of the aſſiſtance which chronology and geography may derive from medals. Mr. d'Alembert's ignorance on this ſubject is pardonable.

12.]—I re-examined Spanheim's work, which is a real treaſury of medallic erudition, a claſſic book on this ſcience.

Avril 14.]—J'ai parcouru l'ouvrage de Vaillant ſur les médailles des colonies, pour l'article de Jules Céſar. Que n'ai je le tems de l'approfondir !

16.]—J'ai trouvé moyen, au milieu de beaucoup d'embarras, de parcourir l'ouvrage de Vaillant juſqu'au regne de Claude. Je voudrois qu'il eut nommé les cabinets d'où il a tiré les médailles.

Gênes, Juin 11.]—Je n'ai rien fait quant aux études que de lire les ſept premières épitres du premier livre d'Horace. Le charmant philoſophe et l'excellent poëte ! Dans quelques autres momens perdus, j'ai fait des eſſais de traductions Angloiſes ſur quelques endroits de mes recueils, qui m'ont donné lieu de faire pluſieurs obſervations ſur l'idiome différent des deux langues, et ſur l'extreme difficulté d'écrire bien dans l'une et l'autre, ſans que leur pureté ne ſoit alterée par le mélange réciproque. Un matin je me ſuis jetté dans des réflexions qui m'ont ſouvent occupé ſur les monnoyes anciennes. J'étois ſi bien en train, qu'avec quelques livres je ſerois allé loin. Je crois que notre *livre de Troye* pourroit bien être l'ancienne livre Romaine. En attendant des recherches qui peuvent ſe faire, quoiqu'on ne les ait pas encore faites, voici ma table. Je fixe le denier par un moyen proportionel entre ceux de MM. Greaves et Arbuthnot, et les déductions du *Conge Farnèſe:* toujours en y comptant une ſixième partie d'alliage.

Denier

April 14.]—I read haſtily Vaillant's book on the medals of colonies, with a reference to the article of Julius Cæſar. I much wiſh that I had time to examine it more deeply.

16.]—I found leiſure, amidſt multiplied occupations, to read Vaillant down to the reign of Claudius. I wiſh he had mentioned the cabinets in which his medals are to be found.

Genoa, June 11.]—I have done nothing in the way of ſtudy but read the firſt ſeven epiſtles of the firſt book of Horace; who was as delightful a philoſopher as an excellent poet. At leiſure moments I tranſlated into Engliſh ſome parts of my Collection, which ſuggeſted to me various obſervations concerning the different idioms of the two languages, and the extreme difficulty of writing in both, without injuring the purity of either. One morning I gave way to reflections which had often occurred to me, on ancient coins; and was ſo well diſpoſed for diligence, that, with the aſſiſtance of a few books, I might have made great progreſs in the ſubject. I believe that the pound Troy was the ancient Roman pound. Until more accurate reſearches are made, which however have hitherto been neglected, I would propoſe the following table. The denarius ſhould be aſcertained by a mean proportional between the eſtimate of Greaves and Arbuthnot, and the concluſion reſulting from the Farneſe Congius; deducting a ſixth part for alloy.

The

Denier Romain, ou drachme Grecque eſt à $7\frac{1}{2}$ ſous d'Angleterre, environ 14 ſous de France.

La talent Attique à 187 l. 10 s. ſterling, environ 4280 livres de France, plus ou moins.

Le grand ſeſterce eſt de 7 l. 16 s. 3 d. ſterling, de 180 livres de France.

Florence, Juin 25.]—Je me ſuis procuré deux tomes des *Symbolæ Florentinæ de M. Gori*, pour lire la diſſertation de M. de Muratori ſur la table de bronze, trouvée auprès de *Velleia*, laquelle il a miſe à la tête d'une copie fort exacte de la table même. *V. Symbolæ, tomé V. p.* 1—56, et ſept feuilles pour la table. Elle eſt écrite avec érudition, avec préciſion et avec clarté. M. Muratori n'eſt point un ſimple *erudit*; il prouve très bien que Trajan eſt le premier qui inſtitua des *Pueri Alimentarii* en Italie, l'an de J. C. 103; que cet établiſſement utile fut ſoutenu par ſes ſucceſſeurs juſqu'au regne de Pertinax, qui l'abolit entièrement, et qu'on peut tirer de cette inſcription unique par ſon étendue, des lumières très utiles ſur l'hiſtoire, la géographie et l'économie de ce ſiecle. Je le penſe avec lui; mais après y avoir mûrement réfléchi, je crois qu'il ne les a pas toutes tirées.

Juillet 2.]—J'ai revu la diſſertation de Muratori avec ſoin. Je me donne la peine d'extraire de la table de bronze, les rentes auxquelles un ſi grand nombre

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The Roman denarius, or Greek drachma, will make $7\frac{1}{2}$ Engliſh pence, about 14 French ſous.

The Attic talent 187 l. 10 s.; about 4280 French livres.

The ſeſtertium, or *great ſeſterce*, 7 l. 16 s. 3 d. or 180 French livres.

Florence, June 25.]—I procured two volumes of *Mr. Gori's Symbolæ Florentinæ*, in order to read Mr. Muratori's diſſertation on the brazen table found near Velleia, which he has prefixed to an accurate plate of the table itſelf. See *Symbolæ, Vol. v. p.* 1—56, and ſeven ſheets for the table itſelf. It is written with as much preciſion and perſpicuity as learning. Mr. Muratori is not a mere antiquary. He proves clearly that Trajan firſt inſtituted the *Pueri Alimentarii* in Italy, A. D. 103; and that this inſtitution was ſupported by his ſucceſſors to the time of Pertinax, who entirely aboliſhed it. He thinks that this inſcription, far longer than any other, may throw much light on the hiſtory, geography, and œconomy of that age. I quite agree with him; but, after maturely conſidering the inſcription, do not think that he has ſeen all the conſequences which ought to be drawn from it.

July 2.]—I carefully re-examined Muratori's diſſertation. I take the trouble of extracting from the bronze table the rents which a vaſt number of citizens of Velleia

nombre des citoyens de *Valeia* s'étoient aſſujettis, et les fonds ſur leſquels on les avoit aſſignées. C'eſt un travail ſec et ingrat; mais quand on conſtruit un édifice, il faut en creuſer les fondemens. L'on eſt obligé de faire le rôle de maçon, auſſi bien que celui d'architecte. J'eſpere pouvoir tirer quelque choſe de cette eſpece de recenſement.

Juillet 4.]—J'ai achevé le volume des *Statues*, avec les obſervations de M. Gori.

14.]—J'ai lu l'*Introduction à l'Hiſtoire de Dannemarck, par M. Mallet*; avec la *Traduction de l'Edda*, le livre ſacré des anciennes Celtes. Nous avons à preſent une demi-douzaine de ces bibles (en y comprenant les notres). Ce ſeroit un bel ouvrage à faire que le tableau philoſophique des religions, leur eſprit, leur raiſonnement et leur influence ſur les mœurs, le gouvernement, la philoſophie et la poëſie de chaque peuple. M. Mallet eſt ſage et ſenſé; il a étudié ſon ſujet avec ſoin, et il le développe d'une façon plutôt claire qu'élégante. Son idée principale, que la religion d'Odin a formé le caractère des Septentrionaux, qui ſe fait encore ſentir parmi nous, eſt un idée judicieuſe, vraie à bien des égards et parfaitement ſuivie. Ses réflexions ſur la population ancienne du pays, ſont excellentes; il ſait voir que ces eſſaims nombreux pouvoient ſortir du Nord, ſans le ſuppoſer plus peuplé qu'à preſent. L'Edda lui avoit beaucoup fourni ſur la religion et les mœurs.

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covenant to pay, and the funds from which they are to raiſe them. The taſk is dry and unpleaſant; but, before building an edifice, it is neceſſary to lay the foundation; there muſt be bricklayers as well as architects. I hope to benefit by this enumeration.

July 4.]—I finiſhed the volume of *Statues*, with Gori's obſervations.

14.]—I read *Mr. Mallet's Introduction to the Hiſtory of Denmark*, with *a Tranſlation of the Edda*, the ſacred book of the ancient Celts. We have now half a dozen of bibles, if we include our own. A valuable work might be written, giving a philoſophical picture of religions, their genius, reaſonings, and influence on the manners, government, philoſophy, and poetry of their reſpective votaries. Mr. Mallet is a man of ſenſe and candour; he has carefully examined his ſubject, but treats it with more perſpicuity than elegance. His great principle, that the religion of Odin formed that character of the northern nations, whoſe effects are ſtill perceptible among ourſelves, is judicious, in many reſpects well founded, and perfectly well illuſtrated. He makes excellent obſervations on the populouſneſs of the North; tending to ſhew that the numerous ſwarms which iſſued from it in ancient times do not prove it to have been more populous than it is at preſent. The Edda ſupplied him with copious materials on the ſubject

mœurs. Deſtitué de ce ſecours ſur le gouvernement, il s'abandonne à Tacite et à l'analogie ; mais ces guides lui ſont ils toujours fideles ? Tacite comprenoit la Scandinavie ſous le nom de Germanie ; mais il ſonge dans ſa déſcription générale des conſtitutions, à celles qu'il connoiſſoit le mieux, celles des voiſins du Rhin et du Danube. La religion d'Odin, eſt elle d'ailleurs auſſi ancienne que Tacite ? Lorſque je vois que cet hiſtorien ſuppoſe comme une vérité claire et inconteſtable que les Germains ſont une nation indigêne, qui n'a jamais été alterée par aucun mélange étranger, j'ai de la peine à me perſuader qu'il ait pu ignorer qu'une grande colonie Scythique s'étoit emparée de la Scandinavie 150 ans auparavant. J'aime mieux ſuppoſer avec M. Dalin, que la migration d'Odin eſt du tems de Trajan. La foibleſſe des Cimbres, et l'eſclavage des *Sinones*, que Tacite a apperçu, ont du donner de grandes facilités à ce conquerant. Cette époque me fait voir que le peu d'invention des hommes encore plus que la politique des prophetes, les oblige d'enrichir toujours des religions nouvelles aux dépens des anciennes, et d'aſſujettir celles-la au caractère national, &c. Une religion qui auroit prêché la crainte de la mort, auroit été mal reçue parmi les Celtes. C'eſt pourquoi je trouve un même fond de mœurs et de religion chez les Cimbres, les devanciers d'Odin, et les Celtibères qui n'entendirent peut

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ject of religion and morals. In treating of government, he has not a voucher equally authentic, and is obliged to have recourſe to Tacitus and analogy. Theſe guides are not always to be truſted. Tacitus indeed comprehended Scandinavia under the name of Germany ; but in his general deſcription of the Germanic inſtitutions, he had chiefly in view the nations with which he was beſt acquainted, thoſe ſituate near the Rhine and the Danube. Beſides, it is not certain that the religion of Odin is as old as the time of Tacitus. When that hiſtorian takes it for a truth certain and incontrovertible, that the Germans were indigenous, and that the purity of their blood was never corrupted by any foreign admixture, there is ſome difficulty in conceiving how he could be ignorant that a great Scythian colony had conquered Scandinavia one hundred and fifty years before his own times. I would rather ſuppoſe with Dalin, that Odin's migration happened in the reign of Trajan. That conqueror's deſign muſt have been greatly facilitated by the weakneſs of the Cimbri, and the ſlavery of the Sinones, ſufficiently indicated in Tacitus. This æra tends to ſhew that the poverty of human invention, as well as the policy of prophets, always obliges them to enrich new religions at the expence of the old, and to mould them conformably to the national character. A religion inculcating the fear of death would have met with a very unfavourable reception among the Celts. The genius of Odin's ſuperſtition and morals prevailed among

peut être jamais parler de lui. Quant au lieu d'où ſortit le fondateur du culte d'Edda, je m'en tiens à la tradition commune, qui le place aux environs du Tanaïs et du Palus Méotide. L'éloignement ne me rebute point. Ces courſes immenſes conviennent aux nations ſauvages. Je ſens que les connoiſſances géographiques ſont très bornées parmi elles, mais les accidens les étendent ſouvent. Un Scythe de la tribu des *Aſæ*, fait priſonnier par ſes voiſins, aura paſſé de main en main juſqu'aux bords de la mer Baltique. A ſon retour, il aura parlé des avantages du pays, et des facilités qu'on auroit à en faire la conquête. Odin (il faut le ſuppoſer homme de génie) aura compris que les nations limitrophes de l'empire étoient plus aguerries, et moins ignorantes, et que le chef d'une petite cité qui vouloit fonder un grand empire, devoit s'avancer plus au Nord. Les peuples ſur ſa route ſe feront délivrés d'un avanturier inquiet, en lui accordant un paſſage ; grace que la ſcience militaire de ces ſiecles, rendoit peu importante, et dont la ſincerité héroïque des barbares ne leur permettoit pas d'abuſer. Les rivières auront pu faciliter ſa marche. Il aura remonté le *Tanais* ou le *Volga* pour deſcendre le *Dina* juſqu'aux environs de Riga. Les ſources de ces rivières ſont peu éloignées les unes des autres, et dans un ſiecle où les terres avoient ſoixante dix

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the Cimbri, who were long anterior to that legiſlator; and among the Celtiberians, who probably never heard of his name. As to the country from which the author of the Edda came, I would adopt the common tradition which fixes his ancient ſeat in the neighbourhood of the Tanais and the Palus Mæotis. I am not frightened at the greatneſs of the diſtance. Great journies are accompliſhed by ſavage nations; and their ſcanty geographical knowledge is often extended by accident. A Scythian of the tribe of Aſæ, taken priſoner by his neighbours, may have paſſed through ſucceſſive maſters to the ſhore of the Baltic. At his return, he would deſcribe the advantageous ſituation of the country, and the facility with which its conqueſt might be effected. Odin (we muſt ſuppoſe him a man of genius) would perceive, that the nations bordering on the empire were leſs ignorant, and more warlike, than thoſe removed at a greater diſtance; and that the leader of a ſmall tribe, who wiſhed to found a great kingdom, muſt march againſt the northern extremity. The intermediate nations would gladly deliver themſelves from a dangerous invader by granting to him a free paſſage; a favour which, in an age little ſkilled in the art of fortification, is of ſmall importance; and which the heroical ſincerity of barbarians ſeldom permitted them to abuſe. The courſes of the great rivers muſt have much facilitated his journey. He would ſail up the Tanais and the Volga, to deſcend with the ſtream of the Dina to the neighbourhood of Riga. The ſources of theſe rivers are not widely diſtant from each other; and when

dix huit pieds d'élévation moins qu'à preſent, on a ſoupçonné que les mers avoient des communications qu'elles n'ont plus. Il a établi ſon culte dans la Scandinavie. Il s'eſt répandu parmi les peuples Septentrionaux de la Germanie, connus ſous le nom de Saxons, qui l'ont porté en Angleterre au cinquième ſiecle. Voila, ce me ſemble, les pays où il faut le chercher. M. Mallet s'en fait une idée un peu trop générale. Je ne vois point dans l'Edda que le conquérant du Nord, le prêtre du dieu Odin, nommé Odin comme lui, ait jamais voulu ſe faire paſſer pour dieu; ni que les Scandinaves ayent adoré des hommes déifiés, culte bien plus rare qu'on ne penſe. Odin le conquerant ſe vantoit d'être magicien, non pas dieu; l'une de ces prétenſions exclut l'autre.

Juillet 16.]—Je n'ai pas voulu m'engager dans la grande hiſtoire du Dannemarck de M. Mallet, qui ſuit l'introduction. Elle m'auroit trop écarté de mes vues actuelles; mais je n'ai pu me refuſer le plaiſir d'en lire un morceau détaché, qui regarde la converſion de la Scandinavie, et de voir la chute d'un culte dont j'avois vu l'établiſſement et les principes. Il me paroît ſéchement traité, et d'une très petite manière. C'eſt une queſtion intéreſſante, pourquoi les peuples du Nord ont rebuté le Chriſtianiſme avec tant d'opiniâtreté, pendant que leurs compatriotes établis dans l'empire, l'ont

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the land was leſs elevated by ſeventy-eight feet than it is at preſent, there may have been communications, now loſt, between neighbouring ſeas. Odin eſtabliſhed his worſhip in Scandinavia. Thence it ſpread among the northern nations of Germany called Saxons, by whom it was carried into England in the fifth century. In thoſe countries only, I think, we ought to look for it: Mr. Mallet's ſyſtem ſuppoſes it too extenſive. I do not find in the Edda that Odin the conqueror of the North, and the prieſt of a god alſo named Odin, wiſhed ever to paſs himſelf for a divinity; nor that the Scandinavians ever worſhipped deified men; a worſhip much rarer than is commonly imagined. Odin the conqueror boaſted of being a magician; a pretenſion altogether inconſiſtent with that of his divinity.

July 16.]—I did not wiſh to proceed with Mr. Mallet's large hiſtory, which followed his introduction; this would have diverted me too much from my preſent purſuits; but I could not deny myſelf the pleaſure of reading a detached part, relative to the converſion of Scandinavia, in order to ſee the downfall of Odin's ſuperſtition, of which I had beheld the eſtabliſhment, and examined the principles. This ſubject is treated dryly, and without taſte. An important queſtion occurs, why the inhabitants of the North ſhould have ſo obſtinately rejected Chriſtianity, while their countrymen eſtabliſhed in the empire embraced it with the utmoſt readineſs. Mr. Mallet will anſwer, that the latter

l'ont embraſſé avec une ſi grande facilité. M. Mallet nous répondra que ceux-ci n'étoient qu'une jeuneſſe inquiete, qui avoit quitté ſon pays avant que d'être affermie dans les préjuges de ſes peres. Cependant il ſait aſſez lui même, que la plus part de ces migrations ſe ſont faites en corps de nation, et que cette jeuneſſe trainoit avec elle des vieillards, dont le cœur et l'eſprit ne peuvent plus changer, des femmes dont le tempérament foible et craintif les porte à la dévotion, et des bardes, des propheteſſes et des prêtres, qui combattoient le nouveau culte par tous les moyens qu'ils empruntoient de la crainte, de l'habitude et du point d'honneur. Cette raiſon ne vaut rien. Je ne penſe pas non plus que les chefs des barbares ayent ſouvent embraſſé le Chriſtianiſme par politique, ni qu'ils ayent voulu riſquer d'aliéner les cœurs des vainqueurs, pour captiver ceux d'un peuple de vaincus qu'ils mépriſoient. Je vois d'ailleurs que les chefs des Burgundiens, et des Vandales, ont embraſſé l'Arianiſme. Un politique auroit il adopté les ſentimens du plus petit nombre de ſes ſujets ? Je trouve les vrais motifs de cette différence, dans la ſeule circonſtance que les uns ſont reſtés dans leurs pays, et que les autres en ſont ſortis. Je ne parle pas ici des Saxons, qui ne connoiſſent la religion que par le baptême et le ſupplice. Ces hommes libres repouſſoient une religion qui ne leur paroîſſoit qu'une partie des loix impérieuſes de Charlemagne. Je ne fais attention qu'à ces nations chez qui le Chriſtianiſme

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latter conſiſted only of unſteady young men who had left their native country before they were thoroughly confirmed in the prejudices of their anceſtors. Yet he well knows that ſeveral of thoſe migrations were made by communities at large ; and that the young men were accompanied by men far advanced in years, whoſe hearts and principles were no longer ſuſceptible of change ; by women whoſe weakneſs and timidity render them peculiarly prone to ſuperſtition ; as well as by bards, prieſts, and propheteſſes, who combated the new worſhip by every weapon that either cuſtom, fear, or honour could ſupply. This explanation, therefore, will not anſwer the purpoſe. Neither do I think it probable that the leaders of the Barbarians embraced Chriſtianity through policy, and ventured to provoke the conquerors, in order to ingratiate themſelves with the conquered, whom they deſpiſed. Beſides, thoſe leaders of the Vandals and Burgundians embraced Arianiſm. Policy would not have taught them to adopt the ſentiments of the ſmalleſt portion of their ſubjects. I believe the true reaſon for the difference aroſe merely from this circumſtance, that the one claſs left their country, whereas the other remained at home. I ſpeak not here of the Saxons, who knew Chriſtianity only by baptiſm and puniſhment ; and whoſe love of liberty rejected that religion as a badge of the imperious laws impoſed by Charlemagne. I have in view

Chriſtianiſme a paru en ſuppliant, non en vainqueur et en perſécuteur. Toutes les religions ſont locales juſqu'à un certain point. Le Chrétien le moins ſuperſtitieux, ſentiroit plus de dévotion ſur la montagne du Calvaire qu'à Londres. Mais chez les nations ſavantes, les livres et la reflexion, et chez les peuples de l'Orient, une imagination échauffée, ſuppléent à la préſence actuelle des objets, et les repréſentent à l'eſprit en tout tems et en tout lieu. Les idées, ou les images étoient trop ſubtiles pour ne pas échapper à la dureté tranquille et phlégmatique de nos Scandinaves. Un miſſionnaire combattoit avec beaucoup de déſavantages ſur leurs foyers. Ce temple d'Upſal, où ils avoient acheté le faveur d'Odin par des milliers de victimes humaines; ces rochers que les anciens Scaldes avoient couverts de caractères Runiques qu'ils redoutoient, parcequ'ils ne les entendoient pas; ces collines que la religion avoit élevé à la gloire de leurs ancêtres, et qui les attendoient eux mêmes;—tous ces objets frappoient leur eſprit, parcequ'ils avoient frappé leurs ſens. Ces habitans de la Germanie, tranſportés dans les pays du midi, avoient perdu dejà le fondement principal de leur culte. Les temples, les autels, les tombeaux et les lieux conſacrés par les miracles, appartenoient à une nouvelle religion, qui s'inſinuoit doucement dans le vuide qu'ils ſentoient dans leur ame. Aſſaillis par tous ces objets, ils paſſerent inſenſiblement à l'admiration et à la foi. Le changement que le nouveau climat produiſit

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only thoſe nations among whom Chriſtianity appeared not as a conqueror or perſecutor, but as a ſupplicant. All religions depend in ſome degree on local circumſtances. The leaſt ſuperſtitious Chriſtian would feel more devotion on Mount Calvary than in London. Among learned nations reading and reflection, and among the nations of the Eaſt a natural warmth of fancy, ſupply, in ſome meaſure, the real preſence of objects, and give to them in all times and in all places a mental exiſtence. But mental repreſentations are too ſubtile to make an impreſſion on the phlegmatic inſenſibility of Scandinavians; and a miſſionary muſt have combated their faith with great diſadvantage in their native country. The temple of Upſal in which they had purchaſed the favour of Odin by thouſands of human victims; thoſe rocks which the ancient Scaldi had covered with Runic characters, the more venerable becauſe unintelligible; thoſe mounts which religion had raiſed to the glory of their anceſtors, and by which they hoped that their own would be perpetuated:—all theſe objects kept poſſeſſion of their minds, becauſe they were continually ſtriking their ſenſes. But the nations of Germany, when tranſported into ſouthern countries, loſt hold of the firmeſt foundation of their faith. Temples, altars, tombs, and conſecrated places were all on the ſide of a new religion, which naturally inſinuated itſelf into the void of credulity left craving in their minds. They firſt wondered,

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produiſit bientôt dans la façon de vivre des vainqueurs, et dans le tempérament même de leurs enfans, les éloignoit encore d'une religion qui convenoit mieux aux bords de l'Elbe qu'à ceux du Tage, aux forêts qu'aux villes. Un barbare qui avoit gouté le vin de Falerne, ſe ſoucioit aſſez peu de s'enyvrer d'hydromel aux feſtins d'Odin, et quand il ſouffroit toute l'ardeur d'un ſoleil Africain, un enfer dont les fenêtres ſeroient ouvertes du côté du Nord, ne lui paroîſſoit plus bien redoutable. Son eſprit s'éclairoit, et ſon cœur s'adouciſſoit dans le commerce des vaincus, et tout contribuoit à le détacher d'un culte, qui n'eſt fondé que ſur la barbarie et ſur l'ignorance, pendant qu'il le diſpoſoit en faveur de celui qui contenoit toute la ſcience du ſiecle qu'il commencoit à goûter, et qui n'enſeignoit que cette humanité dont il ſentoit deja le prix. Il ſe trouvoit encore environné d'un peuple de miſſionnaires que l'intérêt auſſi bien que le zele, animoit dans le travail de convertir ſes maitres, et d'arrêter ces tigres féroces dans les liens de la religion. Les évêques, les prêtres, et juſqu'à leurs maitreſſes qui mêloient les careſſes et la controverſe, s'attachoient ſurtout aux princes, dont la nation, deja indifférente, ſuivoit ſans peine l'exemple. Quelle différence de l'entrepriſe d'une pareille converſion, à quelques Bénédictins qui vont dans les forêts de la Suede prêcher la patience, l'humilité et la foi, à des nations nombreuſes de pirates. Ces guerriers les maſſacrent, ou s'ils les épargnent, c'eſt

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and then believed. The changes produced by a new climate in their modes of life, and in the education of their children, tended to eſtrange them from a ſuperſtition better adapted to the banks of the Elbe than to thoſe of the Tagus, and to foreſts than to cities. A Barbarian, who had taſted the wine of Falernum, would not feel much deſire of intoxicating himſelf with hydromel at Odin's feſtival; and when he panted under an African ſun, a hell open to the north wind would not greatly excite his terror. His underſtanding would be improved, and his heart ſoftened, in his perpetual intercourſe with the vanquiſhed; and every cauſe would concur to make him quit a mode of worſhip founded on ignorance and barbariſm, and to ſubſtitute in its ſtead a religion connected with ſcience which he began to reliſh, and inculcating the virtues of humanity which he began to value. He was beſides ſurrounded by a nation of miſſionaries, whoſe zeal was animated by a perſonal intereſt in the converſion of their maſters, that thoſe fierce tigers might be confined in the chains of religion. Biſhops, prieſts, and women, who mingled careſſes with controverſy, were ſedulous to convert the princes and great men, whoſe example was eaſily followed by that of the careleſs multitude. Such means of converſion are far more efficacious than thoſe with which a few Benedictines are furniſhed, who travel into the woods of Sweden to preach patience, humility, and faith to numerous

c'eſt moins par bonté que par mépris. Une exception, qui ne fait que confirmer ma thèſe ; c'eſt celle de Saxons établis en Angleterre, et qui ne ſe convertirent qu'au bout de cent cinquante ans. Mais c'eſt parcequ'ils avoient chaſſé tous les anciens habitants dans la province de Galles, parceque le climat étoit moins différent du leur, et que cette province de l'empire étoit la plus inculte : les cauſes agirent néanmoins, quoiqu'avec plus de lenteur, et lorſqu'ils furent tranquillement établis, ils embraſſerent ſans difficulté le Chriſtianiſme que leur annoncerent les miſſionnaires Romains.

Un Proteſtant diroit encore que le Chriſtianiſme du dixième ſiecle étoit bien plus difficile à digérer que celui du cinquième : il l'eſt aſſurement pour un raiſonneur.

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rous bands of pirates. Theſe warriors either maſſacred the prieſts, or ſpared them through mere contempt. An apparent exception to this theory tends really to confirm it : the Saxons, who ſettled in England, were not converted till one hundred and fifty years after their eſtabliſhment in that country. This happened, becauſe they drove the ancient inhabitants into Wales ; becauſe the climate of England was not widely different from their own ; and becauſe this kingdom was the leaſt poliſhed of all the Roman provinces. But the ſame cauſes operated on the Saxons, though more ſlowly ; and when they began to enjoy tranquillity at home, they readily embraced Chriſtianity as taught them by the Roman miſſionaries.

A Proteſtant would alſo obſerve, that the Chriſtianity of the tenth century is of far more difficult digeſtion than that of the fifth. It certainly is ſo to a man who reaſons.

RECUEIL de mes OBSERVATIONS, et PIÈCES DÉTACHÉES, sur différens Sujets.

N° I.

Le 23 Décembre 1763.

Tous les poëtes épiques ont paru croire qu'un catalogue détaillé des armées qu'ils mettoient en campagne, et des héros qu'elles avoient à leur tête, faisoit un partie essentielle et nécessaire de leurs poëmes. Un commentateur est obligé de les justifier ; mais quel lecteur les a lus avec plaisir ? Ils refroidissent l'intérêt, ils ralentissent l'action au moment que l'attention est la plus attachée. Toutes les beautés de détails, tous les ornemens de la poësie, nous garantissent à peine de l'ennui. On le sent un peu cet ennui, lorsqu'on parcourt un pareil dénombrement dans un ouvrage historique : mais on le pardonne parcequ'il est nécessaire. Dans l'histoire, c'est ordinairement le nombre et la qualité des troupes, qui donnent la victoire, Dans l'épopée, c'est toujours la protection des dieux et la valeur merveilleuse d'un

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A COLLECTION of my REMARKS, and DETACHED PIECES, on different Subjects.

N° I.

23d December 1763.

All epic poets seem to consider an exact catalogue of the armies which they send into the field, and of the heroes by whom they are commanded, as a necessary and essential part of their poems. A commentator is obliged to justify this practice ; but to what reader did it ever give pleasure ? Such catalogues destroy the interest and retard the progress of the action, when our attention to it is most alive. All the beauties of detail, and all the ornaments of poetry, scarcely suffice to amuse our weariness ; a weariness produced by such enumerations even in historical works, but which are pardoned in them, because necessary. In history, the victory commonly depends on the number and quality of the troops ; but in epic poetry, it is always decided by the protection of the gods and the marvellous valour of the hero. Achilles is invincible ;

d'un héros. Achille eſt invincible; mais les Myrmidons ſont à peine connus. Homère a fait un catalogue des Grecs: je le ſais; mais Homère peut n'avoir pas eu raiſon. Il peut ne l'avoir eue que pour lui ſeul. Son exemple particulier fait il une loi générale? En ce cas tout poëme épique doit être un ſiége; il doit finir ſans que la place ſoit ni priſe, ni delivrée. Une preuve frappante que tous les poëtes ont ſenti eux mêmes qu'ils ſuivoient l'uſage, plutôt que la raiſon; c'eſt qu'ils ont toujours traité ces catalogues comme des hors d'œuvre, que les héros du catalogue ſont rarement ceux de l'hiſtoire, et que les premiers, après avoir brillé un inſtant à la revue, diſparoiſſoient pour faire place aux perſonnages plus eſſentiels. Le poëte n'a pas beſoin d'une reſſource auſſi froide et auſſi uſée, pour faire connoitre à ſes lecteurs les véritables héros de ſon épopée.

Un critique peut condamner ces catalogues poëtiques; mais malheur à ce critique, s'il eſt inſenſible à toutes les beautés que Virgile a ſu mettre dans le ſien, à la vivacité du coloris, au nombre et à la différence des tableaux, et à cette harmonie douce et ſoutenue qui ſatisfait toujours l'oreille et l'eſprit. L'armée des Etruſques n'eſt pas inférieure à celle de Turnus: comme elle, c'eſt l'élite de pluſieurs peuples belliqueux raſſemblés ſous les étandarts des héros et des demi-dieux. Mais elle a ſur les *Rutuli* un avantage, tel qu'il convenoit

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his myrmidons are ſcarcely known. Homer has indeed given a catalogue; yet this perhaps was not right in Homer, or right only in him. Ought his particular example to make a general law? In that caſe, the ſubject of every epic poem ought to be a ſiege, and the poem ought to conclude before either the place is taken or the ſiege raiſed. Poets themſelves afford a convincing proof that they were ſenſible of following cuſtom rather than reaſon, by treating thoſe catalogues merely as epiſodes, and by introducing into them heroes, who are rarely thoſe of hiſtory; and who, after ſhining a moment in thoſe reviews, totally diſappear, in order to make room for characters more eſſential to the action. An epic poet ſtands not in need of ſo dull and vulgar an expedient for making the reader acquainted with his true heroes.

A critic may condemn thoſe poetical catalogues; but woe to the critic, if he is inſenſible to all the beauties by which that of Virgil is adorned; the brightneſs of his colouring, the number and variety of his pictures, and that ſweet and well-ſuſtained harmony, which always charms the ear and the ſoul. The army of the Tuſcans is not inferior to that of Turnus; being alſo compoſed of the flower of many warlike nations aſſembled under the ſtandards of heroes and demigods. But it enjoys over the Rutuli an advantage which it was natural ſhould belong to the allies of Eneas; having juſtice and

convenoit aux amis d'Enée. Elle a pour elle la juſtice et les dieux. Chaque lecteur, en deteſtant les forfaits de Mezence, applaudit aux efforts d'un nation libre et généreuſe, qui a oſé détroner ſon tyran, et qui cherche à le punir. J'ai toujours été étonné que le courtiſan d'Auguſte ait ſongé à cet épiſode, qui auroit mieux convenu à l'ami de Brutus. Tout y reſpire les idées républicaines les plus fortes, et peut être le plus outrées. Mezence étoit ſouverain légitime et héréditaire d'un pays dont il devint le tyran. Son peuple auſſitôt le précipite du trône, et ſe regardant déſormais comme libre ; il ne ſonge pas un inſtant aux droits d'un fils infortuné et vertueux. Mezence trouve un aſyle chez les *Rutuli*, mais ſes ſujets furieux implorent les ſecours de leurs alliés. Toute l'Etrurie les armes à la main, veut enlever ſon roi à ſes defenſeurs, pour le conduire au ſupplice ; et cette fureur des Etruſques eſt approuvée des loix, des dieux et du poëte :

Ergo omnis furiis ſurrexit Etruria juſtis,
Regem ad ſupplicium præſenti Marte repoſcunt.

VIRGIL, Æneid viii. 494.

Si je voulois établir la thèſe générale et illimitée du droit qu'ont les ſujets de punir les crimes de leurs princes, je ne choiſirois que cet exemple qui ne permet plus de reſtriction ni de modification. Parmi les anciens eux mêmes

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the gods on its ſide. Every reader, while he deteſts the crimes of Mezentius, muſt applaud the exertions of a free and generous people, who have ventured to dethrone their tyrant, and are eager to puniſh him. I have always wondered that the courtier of Auguſtus ſhould have introduced an epiſode which would have been more properly treated by the friend of Brutus. Every line breathes republican ſentiments, the boldeſt, and perhaps the moſt extravagant. Mezentius was the lawful and hereditary ſovereign of a country, of which he rendered himſelf the tyrant. His ſubjects hurled him from the throne, and thenceforth regard themſelves as free, without once conſidering the rights of his unfortunate and virtuous ſon. Mezentius finds an aſylum among the Rutuli ; but his furious ſubjects implore the aſſiſtance of their allies. All Etruria in arms determine to tear their king from the hands of his defenders, in order to ſubject him to puniſhment ; and this fury of the Tuſcans is approved by the gods and the poet :

Ergo omnis furiis ſurrexit Etruria juſtis,
Regem ad ſupplicium præſenti Marte repoſcunt.

If I wiſhed to eſtabliſh it as a general and unlimited principle, that ſubjects have a right to puniſh the crimes of their ſovereigns, I would prefer this example, which admits of neither modification nor reſtriction. Among the ancients themſelves, it

mêmes je le crois unique dans la théorie, comme la mort d'Agis l'eſt dans la pratique. Auguſte devoit lire en tremblant l'un et l'autre ; et ſi Virgile avoit eu le tems de réciter le huitième livre de l'Eneide, je ne ſais pas ſi on l'auroit recompenſé comme l'éloge de Marcellus.

Ma ſurpriſe augmente, lorſque je penſe que l'hiſtoire de Mezence eſt de l'invention du poëte ; qu'il n'entroit point dans la première ordonnance de ſon poëme ; et qu'il l'ignoroit lui même quand il compoſoit le ſeptième livre. Il paroît que Virgile, après avoir conçu l'idée générale du but où il tendoit, s'abandonnoit à ſon génie pour lui fournir des moyens pour y arriver, et que revêtiſſant l'eſprit et la ſituation de ſon héros, il cherchoit des difficultés pour les ſurmonter, ſans ſavoir préciſement comment il les ſurmonteroit ; qu'en un mot dans le tems qu'il faiſoit débarquer Enée ſur les bords du Tybre, il ignoroit le détail des événemens qui conduiroient à la mort de Turnus. Je dis le détail des événemens : le perſonnage de Mezence dépend de celui d'Evandre et de Pallas, et la mort de celui-ci eſt eſſentiellement liée avec celle de Turnus. Cette méthode de travailler n'a-t-elle pas ſes avantages ? On a donné des applaudiſſemens à celle de Richardſon, qui n'en eſt que l'imitation. La vérité et la hardieſſe valent bien le timide embarras d'un poëte qui même en formant le nœud, ne s'occupe que du dénouement.

L'exemple

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appears to me to have been as ſingular in theory as the death of Agis was in practice. Auguſtus muſt have read both with terror ; and had Virgil continued to recite the eighth book of the Eneid, I ſuſpect that he would not have been ſo well rewarded for the ſtory of Mezentius as he was for the panegyric of Marcellus.

My ſurpriſe increaſes, when I conſider that the ſtory of Mezentius is entirely Virgil's invention ; that it entered not into the general plan of his poem ; and that he himſelf had not thought of it when he compoſed his ſeventh book. It appears that Virgil, after forming a general idea of his deſign, truſted to his genius for ſupplying him with the means of carrying it into execution ; and that entering into the character and ſituation of his hero, he prepared for him difficulties to encounter, without knowing exactly how he would ſurmount them : in one word, when he landed Eneas on the banks of the Tiber, that he knew not the whole ſeries of events which ſhould lead to the death of Turnus. I ſay the whole ſeries of events ; for the part of Mezentius depends on the introduction of Evander and Pallas, and the death of Pallas is intimately connected with that of Turnus. This manner of writing is not deſtitute of its advantages. It is applauded in Richardſon, who has only imitated Virgil. The truth and boldneſs by which it is characteriſed far ſurpaſs the timid perplexity of a writer, who, while he forms his plot, is at the ſame time conſidering how he ſhall unravel it. Virgil's

L'exemple de Virgile vaut bien celui de Chapelain, qui avoit écrit toute la Pucelle en proſe, avant de la traduire en vers. Je ſens que Virgile auroit revu ſon travail, s'il avoit vêçu, pour en former un tout ſimple et uniforme, et qu'il auroit effacé avec ſoin toutes les traces aux quelles un lecteur attentif pourroit reconnoitre des pièces détachées, qui n'étoient point faites les unes pour les autres. En voici deux or trois.

1. Mezence paroît à la tête des guerriers qui ſuivent Turnus : mais il y paroît en roi maître de ſes états. Il arrive des côtes Tyrrheniennes avec des troupes nombreuſes, et ſon fils, le vaillant Lauſaus, le ſuit avec mille guerriers de la ville de *Cære*. 2. Meſſapus, roi des *Faliſci*, eſt Toſcan. *Feſcennium*, *Soracte*, la forêt Ciminienne, ſont parmi les lieux les plus célebres de l'Etrurie. Ce prince Etruſque auroit il abandonné le corps de la nation entière, raſſemblée par les crimes de Mezence ? Se ſeroit il trouvé dans le camp des ennemis, auroit-il amené au ſecours de Turnus des peuples énervés par la moleſſe, et qui ne connoiſſoient plus la guerre que pour la déteſter ? Le poëte n'auroit-il pas donné à une démarche ſi ſingulière des motifs vraiſemblables ? Auroit-il dit que toute l'Etrurie s'étoit ſoulevée contre Mezence ? 3. Cet Aventinus du Mont Aventin, le fils d'Hercule, eſt un perſonnage pittoreſque dans le catalogue ; mais il ne peut ſubſiſter avec Evandre. L'un

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example is ſurely more worthy of imitation than that of Chapelain, who wrote the whole of his Pucelle in proſe, before he tranſlated it into poetry. I am ſenſible that had Virgil lived to reviſe his work, he would have given to it uniformity and unity ; and carefully effaced all thoſe marks by which an attentive reader may perceive in it detached parts, not originally written the one for the other. Of theſe take the following examples.

1. Mezentius appears at the head of the warriors who follow Turnus, but appears as a king completely maſter of his dominions. He arrives from the Tyrrhenian coaſts with numerous troops, and his ſon, the valiant Lauſus, follows him with a thouſand warriors from the city of Cære. 2. Meſſapus, king of the Faliſci, is a Tuſcan. Feſcennium, Soracte, the Ciminian foreſt, are among the moſt celebrated places of Etruria. This Tuſcan prince, would he have forſaken the whole body of his nation united by the crimes of Mezentius ? Is it to be expected that he ſhould be found in the camp of the enemy ; or that he would have brought, as auxiliaries to Turnus, a people ſunk in effeminacy, and who knew war only by their deteſtation of it ? The poet would have coloured ſo extraordinary a meaſure, by aſſuming for it ſome probable motive. Would he have ſaid that all Etruria was in inſurrection againſt Mezentius ? 3. Aventinus, of Mount Aventine, the ſon of Hercules, makes a ſtriking figure in the catalogue ; but

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et l'autre regnoient dans les mêmes lieux, et en même tems. On dira peut être que l'un de ces princes occupoit le Mont Palatin pendant que l'autre dominoit ſur l'Aventin. Non;—Evandre montre à Enée cet Aventin, qui n'étoit qu'un rocher déſert *, ſitué dans ſon petit royaume, qui n'étoit borné que par le Tybre et les *Rutuli* †.

Je crois que Virgile auroit encore corrigé quelques fautes qu'on apperçoit avec peine dans le catalogue de guerriers Toſcans. Il ſavoit bien que lorſqu'un poëte parle d'une ſcience, il doit en parler avec préciſion, et il ſe ſeroit rappellé, que la géographie ne nuit point à la poëſie. 1. Sur les douze cités de l'Etrurie, qui compoſoient le corps de la nation, il en auroit nommé plus de deux, *Cluſium* et *Cære*, et il ſe ſeroit moins appeſanti ſur une foule de lieux ſubalternes et obſcurs, dont les habitans ne pouvoient que ſuivre les étandarts de leurs maîtres. 2. Il auroit penſé peut-être que ſept ou huit beaux vers ne valoient pas la peine qu'il fit paroître les Liguriens, nation étrangère et ennemie, dans une guerre civile, qui ne pouvoit intéreſſer que le corps Etruſque. 3. Je vois le camp des Toſcans aſſis ſur les bords de la mer, aux environs de *Cære*; je vois leurs vaiſſeaux, et tous les préparatifs d'une expédition éloignée. Ils s'embarquent en effet, mais ce n'eſt que pour une navigation de trente milles. Ils la préferent cette navigation

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his part is inconſiſtent with that of Evander. They reigned at the ſame time, and over the ſame place. It will be ſaid that one of thoſe princes occupied the Palatine, while the other reigned over the Aventine Mount. This is impoſſible; for Evander ſhews the Aventine to Eneas, which was a barren rock *, ſituate in his little kingdom, which had no other boundaries than the Tiber, and the territory of the Rutuli †.

I believe that Virgil would alſo have corrected ſome faults, which it is painful to ſee in his enumeration of the Tuſcan warriors. He well knew that when a poet ſpeaks of a ſcience, he ought to do it with preciſion; and he could not forget that accurate geography is not incompatible with poetry. Of the twelve cities which compoſed the confederacy of Etruria, he would have named more than Cære and Cluſium, and he would not have dwelt on the crowd of ſecondary towns, which could not do otherwiſe than follow the ſtandards of their reſpective capitals. 2. He would not have thought that ſeven or eight beautiful verſes compenſated for introducing the Ligurians, a foreign and hoſtile nation, into the civil wars of the Tuſcans, which could only be intereſting to the members of their own confederacy. 3. I ſee the camp of the Tuſcans on the ſea-ſhore near to Cære; I ſee their veſſels, and all the preparations for a diſtant expedition. They embark, but it is only for a voyage of thirty miles. They prefer this navigation to an eaſy march of two days, which would have brought them to the

* Virgil, Æneid viii. 190. † Le même, 473.

country

gation à une marche aiſée de deux jours, qui les auroit conduit aux terres d'Evandre leur allié. Ils y auroient paſſé le Tybre, et ſe ſeroient vus ſur la frontière des *Rutuli*. 4. Cette expédition navale me ſurprend, mais celle des troupes de Mantoue ne ſe conçoit pas. Cinq cens guerriers, qui s'embarquent ſur le *Mincius*, ne peuvent ſe trouver dans les mers de l'Etrurie, ſans avoir fait le tour de l'Italie entière. Virgile aimoit ſa patrie, mais il auroit facilement trouvé le moyen de l'amener au ſecours d'Enée, ſans choquer la vraiſemblance ou la géographie.

N° II.

Le 24th Decembre 1763, à LAUSANNE.

JE vais dire quatre mots du catalogue de Silius Italicus. 1. Il me conviendroit mal de parler de l'ordonnance générale d'un poëme, dont je n'ai lu qu'un morceau détaché ; mais ce morceau me fait ſentir que Pline avoit très bien connu ſon contemporain, quand il a décidé qu'il devoit plus à l'art qu'à la nature. Cet art paroît moins dans le ſtyle qui eſt aiſé et coulant, que dans les idées qui ſont d'un homme qui ſe donne la torture pour être ſublime, et qui lutte contre ſon génie en faveur de ſon ſujet. Je croirois volontiers que Silius auroit mieux fait de prendre Ovide pour ſon modèle que Virgile.

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country of their ally Evander. There they would have paſſed the Tiber, and found themſelves on the frontiers of the Rutuli. 4. This naval expedition affords matter of ſurpriſe ; but that of the troops of Mantua is totally incredible. Five hundred warriors embarking on the Mincius, could not arrive in the Tuſcan ſea without making the circumnavigation of the whole Italian coaſt. Virgil loved the place of his birth ; but he might eaſily have diſcovered the means of bringing its ancient inhabitants to the aſſiſtance of Eneas, without offending againſt probability and geography.

N° II.

24th December 1763. LAUSANNE.

I PROCEED to ſay a few words on the catalogue of Silius Italicus. 1. It would ill become me to ſpeak of the general plan of a poem, of which I have read only a detached paſſage : yet this paſſage is ſufficient to convince me that Pliny well knew his contemporary, when he pronounced that Silius owed more to art than to nature. This art is leſs apparent in the ſtyle, which is eaſy and flowing, than in the thoughts, which are thoſe of a man who is continually ſtriving to be ſublime, and continually ſtruggling againſt his own genius in favour of his ſubject. I am perſuaded that Silius would have judged better in taking Ovid than Virgil for his model. Wherever he does

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Dans tous les endroits où il ne fait pas violence à ſon eſprit, je vois une imagination riche, aiſée, et naturelle. Avec ce caractère, je m'étonne qu'il ait préféré l'épopée à l'élégie. La plus part de ceux qui ont échoué dans la haute poëſie, avoient l'eſprit dur et l'imagination déréglée. Comme malheureuſement ils avoient auſſi peu de goût que de talent, il leur étoit facile de prendre ces qualités pour la force, l'élévation et un génie créateur. Ces défauts y avoient du moins quelques rapports. 2. Virgile étoit libre; Silius étoit eſclave. L'un pouvoit choiſir ſur tous les peuples de l'Italie, ceux qui lui convenoient le mieux; l'autre ne pouvoit en omettre aucun. Il ſe voyoit dans la dure néceſſité d'écrire une géographie poëtique de tout ce pays, depuis le Détroit de *Rhegium* juſqu'aux Alpes. Cette contrainte ne ſe fait que trop ſentir dans ſon ouvrage. 3. Silius a voulu ſuivre ſon grand modèle avec un reſpect trop ſuperſtitieux. L'Italie ne renfermoit plus dans ſon ſein, une multitude de nations différentes, dont les armes, les mœurs, et juſqu'à la langue, répandoient ſur le poëme une variété intéreſſante, pendant que leurs chefs et leurs fondateurs fourniſſoient au poëte des écarts agréables dans le pays des fictions. Toutes ces nations devenues Romaines ne connoiſſoient plus que les loix, les drapeaux et la diſcipline de la république, et ce grand corps préſentoit plus d'objets à la ſpéculation du philoſophe

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not offer violence to his genius, his fancy is rich, eaſy, and natural. With ſuch a character, it is ſurpriſing that he did not prefer the elegiac to the epic. The greateſt part of thoſe who have failed in this laſt ſpecies of poetry are diſtinguiſhed by a ſeverity of character, and a wild irregularity of fancy; and, as they had as little taſte as talent, they eaſily miſtook thoſe qualities for ſtrength, elevation, and originality of genius. Faults were confounded with excellencies, to which they bore ſome baſtard reſemblance. 2. Virgil was free, Silius in fetters. The former might chooſe among all the nations of Italy thoſe who moſt ſuited his deſign: the latter could not omit any of thoſe nations without being guilty of a fault. He was under the hard neceſſity of writing a poetical geography of the whole country between the Strait of Rhegium and the Alps; and this conſtraint is but too viſible in his performance. 3. Silius followed his model with a reſpect bordering on ſuperſtition. Italy no longer contained in her boſom a multitude of different nations, whoſe arms, manners, and even languages, diffuſed a pleaſing variety over the ſubject, while the ſtory of their chiefs and founders invited the writer to agreeable excurſions in the region of fancy. All thoſe nations were become ſtrictly Roman, and had exactly conformed to the laws, enſigns, and diſcipline of the republic; a vaſt but uniform object, which was better fitted for ſuggeſting reflections to a philoſopher, than for animating the deſcriptions of a poet. Silius, after ſeeking for characteriſtic

ſophe qu'aux déſcriptions du poëte. Le notre, après avoir cherché des traits charactériſtiques qui ne ſubſiſtoient, et qui ne convenoient plus aux nations qu'il décrit, ſe jette à tout inſtant ſur ceux des pays qu'ils habitoient. Ses tableaux ſont vifs et variés, mais ils ſont aſſez peu à leur place. La nation qui vient ſe mêler aux combats, peut influer ſur l'action du poëme. Le pays qu'elle a laiſſé, ne peut qu'être étranger à l'épopée. 4. Silius auroit du ſe ſouvenir qu'*Aquilina* ne ſubſiſtoit point dans la ſeconde guerre Punique *, et que nous ne la connoiſſons que depuis la colonie Latine que le ſénat y plaça contre les Gaulois, plus de trente ans après la bataille de Cannes †.

N° III.

Le 25 Decembre 1763, à LAUSANNE.

UN chapitre à faire dans l'Hiſtoire des grands Chemins de l'Empire, par Bergier, c'étoit l'uſage que les Romains en faiſoient. Il a bien parlé des poſtes qui n'étoient utiles qu'à un petit nombre de perſonnes; mais il reſtoit encore bien des choſes à dire. Une recherche critique ſur les journées ordinaires des voyageurs, auroit été intéreſſante par les lumières qu'elle auroit répandu ſur

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teriſtic differences which no longer prevailed among the nations whom he deſcribes, is continually introducing thoſe of the countries which they inhabited. His pictures have life and variety; but they are not in their proper place. The character of the people who were to fight was of importance in deciding the iſſue of the battle; the nature of the countries which they left behind them was entirely foreign to the ſubject. 4. Silius ought to have remembered that Aquilina was not in exiſtence during the ſecond Punic war *; and that we knew nothing of this place till it became the ſeat of a Latin colony, ſent thither to check the incurſions of the Gauls, thirty years after the battle of Cannæ †.

N° III.

25th December 1763. LAUSANNE.

AN uſeful chapter might be added to the Hiſtory of the great Roads of the Roman Empire, by Berger, explaining the uſes to which the Romans applied them. He has indeed mentioned poſts, which afforded conveniency to a ſmall number of perſons; but has omitted many important particulars that ſtill remain to be told. A critical examination of the ordinary journies of travellers would afford important information

* Silius, Ital. viii. 606. † Tit. Liv. xxxix. 55. Vell. Patercul. L. i. C. 15.

ſur la vie privée des Romains, et ſouvent même ſur la géographie et la chronologie. Je ſais que les différences d'age, de condition et de circonſtances, ne peuvent manquer d'y mettre de l'incertitude ; mais les moyens qui ſont les même, réduiront ces différences dans de certaines limites.

Auguſte voyageoit avec une lenteur ſingulière dans les environs de Rome ; une promenade à Tibur (20 milles Romains *), ou à Preneſte (25 milles †), étoit pour lui un voyage de deux jours, ou plutôt de deux nuits ‡. Mais la ſituation d'Auguſte étoit auſſi ſingulière que ſon goût. Une ſanté languiſſante depuis ſa jeuneſſe, l'obligeoit aux ménagemens les plus exceſſifs, et l'on peut ſoupçonner que l'inclination lui faiſoit encore outrer les conſeils de la raiſon. On voit par ſon fidele biographe, que ce prince s'étoit bientôt raſſaſié de la débauche, qu'il mépriſa toujours le luxe, mais qu'il conſervoit un grand penchant pour la moleſſe. Ajoutons encore qu'il voyageoit en litière, porté par des eſclaves, et qu'il marchoit avec beaucoup de lenteur pour ne pas dérober un inſtant au travail. La douceur de la voiture lui permettoit de lire, d'écrire, et de vaquer aux affaires, comme dans ſon cabinet §. Un pareil exemple ne tire point à conſéquence.

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concerning the private life of the Romans, and even throw light on geography and chronology. I am ſenſible that the differences of age, condition, and circumſtances, muſt render our general concluſions uncertain ; but as the means were univerſally the ſame, theſe uncertainties will be reduced within certain limits.

Auguſtus travelled with an extraordinary flowneſs in the neighbourhood of Rome. A journey to Tibur (20 Roman miles *), or to Preneſte (25 miles †), conſumed two days, or rather two nights ‡. But the ſituation of Auguſtus was as ſingular as his taſte. The weakneſs of his health from his youth upwards compelled him to the ſtricteſt regimen ; and by his own temper he would be inclined to carry the dictates of prudence to an extreme. It appears from his faithful biographer that this prince was ſoon tired of debauchery ; and that he always deſpiſed luxury, though much addicted to effeminacy. We may add to theſe circumſtances, that he travelled in a litter carried by ſlaves ; and proceeded with great flowneſs, that his attention might not be withdrawn a moment from his uſual occupations. The gentle motion of his carriage allowed him to read, write, and attend to the ſame affairs which employed him in his cabinet §. From ſuch an example, no general conſequence can be deduced.

* Itineraria Antiq. Edit. Weſſeling, p. 309. † Idem, p. 302.
‡ Sueton. in Auguſt. lxxviii. § Plin. Epiſt. iii. 5. Juvenal. Satir. iii. 239.

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Il en eſt de même de ces courſes rapides et ſurprenantes dont les anciens nous ont conſervé la mémoire. Quelle différence entre la marche d'Auguſte et celle de ſon fils Tibere, qui fit deux cens milles en vingt quatre heures, quand il alla fermer les yeux à ſon frere Druſus *; ou du Dictateur Céſar, qui couroit cent milles par jour avec des voitures de louage †! Stace nous parle d'une viteſſe auſſi extraordinaire, quand il dit qu'un voyageur pouvoit partir de Rome le matin, et coucher à *Baiæ* ou *Puteoli*; cette journée eſt bien forte, puiſqu'elle eſt de 141 milles Romains ‡, ou de 127 milles d'Angleterre.

Nil obſtat cupidis; nihil moratur
Qui primo Tiberim reliquit ortu
Primo veſpere naviget Lucrinum §.

Je ſens que le poëte veut faire l'éloge du beau chemin que Domitien avoit fait conſtruire de Sinueſſe à Cumes, qui avoit affermi les ſables de *Liternum* et contenu les débordemens du *Vulturnus*. Les trente milles qu'il parcouroit, et qui conſumoient un jour entier, étoient devenus l'affaire de deux petites heures. Peut être qu'il faut rabattre quelque choſe pour l'adulation d'un poëte qui vouloit faire ſa cour. Cependant la poſſibilité du voyage devoit être

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The ſame may be ſaid of thoſe rapid and extraordinary journies of which the ancients ſometimes make mention. How wide is the difference between the mode of travelling of Auguſtus and that of his ſon Tiberius, who accompliſhed a journey of two hundred miles in twenty-four hours, when he haſtened to cloſe the eyes of his brother Druſus *; or that of Cæſar the dictator, who poſted one hundred miles a-day with hired carriages †. Statius ſpeaks of a rapidity as extraordinary, when he ſays that a traveller might ſet out from Rome in the morning, and ſleep at Baiæ or Puteoli; an expeditious journey indeed, ſince the diſtance is 141 Roman ‡, or 127 Engliſh miles.

Nil obſtat cupidis; nihil moratur
Qui primo Tiberim reliquit ortu
Primo veſpere naviget Lucrinum §.

I know that the poet wiſhed to celebrate the fine road which Domitian had made from Sinueſſa to Cumæ; which had fixed the ſands of Liternum, and reſtrained the inundations of the Vulturnus. The thirty miles which he had paſſed, and which uſed to be the work of a day, now ſcarcely conſumed two hours. Perhaps we muſt make ſome allowance for the flattery of a poet, who wiſhed to pay his court. Yet the

* Plin. Hiſt. Nat. vii. 20.
† Sueton. in Cæſar, lvii.
‡ Vetera Itiner. p. 107, 108. 122.
§ Stat. Sylvar. 14. Carm. iii.

poſſibility

être reconnue. Ce n'eſt pas ſur des objets auſſi ſimples, auſſi publics et auſſi précis que l'on oſe mentir.

Je conçois juſqu'à quel point les chemins des Romains avoient facilité les voyages, quand je me rappelle la marche du courier qui apporta à Rome, la première nouvelle de la défaite de Perſée. Le jour de la bataille eſt fixé par une éclipſe de Lune, qui arriva le jour précedant le troiſième des Nones de Septembre, c'eſt à dire, le 21 de Juin de l'année Julienne Proleptique *. Ce courier arriva dans le Cirque, le ſecond jour des jeux Romains, et le treizième jour après la défaite †. Ces deux caractères montrent que pour avoir les treize jours, il faut compter l'un et l'autre, puiſqu'ils nous indiquent le ſeizième des calendes d'Octobre ‡, le 4 Juillet. On peut donc leur donner douze jours complets. La navigation de *Dyrrachium* à *Brunduſium* pouvoit lui en emporter deux, puiſqu'elle étoit de 1300 ſtades, ou 225 milles §; et que Ptolémée compte la navigation ordinaire d'un vaiſſeau à 1000 ſtades par jour ‖. Il reſte à diſtribuer dix jours ſur la route de *Pella* à *Dyrrachium*, qui étoit de 253 milles ¶, et ſur celle de *Brunduſium* à Rome, qui étoit de 368 milles **. Ce total de 621 milles, ne lui donne guères que ſoixante

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poſſibility of the journey muſt be admitted, ſince falſehoods are not to be riſked in matters ſo ſimple, public, and preciſe.

We may perceive how much the Roman roads muſt have facilitated travelling, when we call to mind the journey of the courier, who brought to Rome the firſt news of the defeat of Perſeus. The date of the battle is preciſely fixed by an eclipſe of the moon, which happened the day preceding the nones of September, that is, the 21ſt of June of the Julian year *. The courier arrived in the Circus the ſecond day of the Roman games, and the thirteenth after the defeat †. Theſe two circumſtances ſhew, that to get the thirteen days we muſt reckon both the day of his departure and that of his arrival, which will bring us to the 16th of the calends of October ‡, the 4th of July. We may therefore reckon twelve complete days; two of which might be employed in ſailing from Dyrrhachium to Brunduſium, ſince the diſtance is 1300 ſtadia, or 225 miles §; and Ptolemy eſtimates an ordinary ſhip's way at 1000 ſtadia each day ‖. The ten remaining days were conſumed in the journey from Pella to Dyrrhachium, 253 miles ¶; and in that from Brunduſium to Rome, 368 miles **; in all,

* Iſac. Bulliad. Epiſt. ad Calcem. Tom. iii. Tit. Liv. ex Edit. Gronov.
† Tit. Liv. xliv. 37. xlv. 1. ‡ Roſin. Antiq. L. iv. C. 13.
§ Itineraria, p. 317. et Not. Weſſeling. Plin. Hiſt. Nat. iii. 2.
‖ Ptolemæi Geog. C. ix. ¶ Itineraria, p. 319.
** Itineraria Ant. p. 307. iii. 117.

ſoixante milles par jour. C'étoit néanmoins un ſeul courier qui apportoit dans la plus belle ſaiſon de l'année, la nouvelle d'une grande victoire. Auſſi devanca-t-il de pluſieurs jours les députés du conſul, qui faiſoient eux mêmes toute la diligence poſſible. Mais la voye Egnatienne n'étoit pas encore faite: la voye Appienne ne s'étendoit que juſqu'à Capoue, et les Grecs ne ſe ſont jamais occupés de la conſtruction des grands chemins *.

Parmi les voyages plus ordinaires des Romains, qui n'alloient ni en courier, ni en malade, j'en trouve deux que nous connoiſſons avec quelque détail: le voyage d'Horace à *Brunduſium* par *Canuſium*, et celui de Ciceron au même endroit, par le route de *Venuſia* et *Tarentum*. L'un et l'autre m'arrêterons quelques inſtans. Commencons par le Journal d'Horace.

1. Horace ne penſoit point à nous inſtruire, mais à nous amuſer; il marque aſſez confuſément ſes journées, et on les devine plutôt qu'on ne les connoit. Il s'attache aux lieux qu'il a trouvés en chemin, à proportion des objets qu'il y a vus, plutôt que du tems qu'il s'y eſt arrêté. Les commentateurs veulent qu'Horace ait été quinze, ou dix ſept jours en chemin †; mais le principe ſur lequel ils ſe fondent, qu'Horace a couché dans tous les endroits dont il fait mention, me paroît des plus foibles. Il eſt bien plus naturel de ne

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621; which gives no more than ſixty miles a-day. We are to remember that this journey was performed by one courier, in the fineſt ſeaſon of the year, and bringing the news of a great victory. He therefore anticipated, by ſeveral days, the deputies of the conſul, although they likewiſe travelled with the greateſt expedition. The Egnatian road was not yet made; the Appian extended no further than to Capua; and the Greeks never applied themſelves to the making of highways *.

Among the ordinary journies of the Romans, who travelled neither like invalids nor couriers, there are two which we know with ſome degree of accuracy: the journey of Horace to Brunduſium, by the way of Canuſium; and that of Cicero to the ſame place, by the way of Venuſia and Tarentum: I ſhall ſpeak of both, beginning with that of Horace.

1. Horace's aim was not to inform, but to amuſe us: his day's journies are deſcribed confuſedly, and we rather gueſs at, than aſcertain them. He dwells on the places in his route, in proportion to the objects which they preſented to his fancy, rather than to the time during which he remained in them. Commentators would perſuade us that Horace was fifteen or ſeventeen days on the road †; but the foundation of this opinion, namely, that the poet ſlept at all the places of which he makes mention, appears

* Strabon. Geog. v, p. 162. † Horat. L. i. Sat. 5. v. 134. Edit. ad uſum Delphini.

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ne faire attention qu'aux circonſtances caractériſtiques de ſoir, de matin, de repas, &c. qui ſe trouvent diſperſées dans la ſatire. Voici le journal que j'en voudrois tirer. Premier jour, Horace partit de Rome avec le rhéteur Heliodore, pour aller coucher à Aricie, *ſeize milles*;

Egreſſum magnâ me accepit Aricia Româ,
Hoſpitio modico *.

Deuxième jour, il arriva à *Forum Appii*, à l'entrée de la nuit; *vingt ſept milles.*

——— *Jam nox inducere terris*
Umbras, et cœlo diffundere ſigna parabat.

Il voyageoit ſur le canal pendant la nuit, et prit terre vers la quatrième heure (dix heures du matin du troiſième jour). Après avoir pris un répas leger à *Feronia*, il marcha *trois milles* pour gagner Terracine, qui étoit à dix huit milles de *Forum Appî*. Je ne voit point qu'il ſe ſoit arrêté à Terracine, ni à *Fundi*. Auſſi étoit-il bien fatigue lorſqu'il arriva à *Formiæ*, qui étoit à trente deux milles de *Feronia*.

In Mamurrarum laſſi deinde urbe manemus,
Murenâ præbente domum, Capitone culinam.

* Pour tout le voyage, la cinquième Satyre du premier livre d'Horace.

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to me to be an exceedingly weak one. Our conjectures will be more natural, if we attend to the characteriſtic circumſtances of the evening, morning, the hour of repaſt, &c. circumſtances which are ſcattered through the ſatire. The following is the journal, with which this conſideration will furniſh us. The firſt day Horace left Rome, with the rhetorician Heliodorus, to take up his night's abode at Aricia, ſixteen miles diſtant.

Egreſſum magnâ me accepit Aricia Româ,
Hoſpitio modico †.

The ſecond day he arrived at the Forum Appii, towards the evening; twenty-ſeven miles.

——— *Jam nox inducere terris*
Umbras, et cœlo diffundere ſigna parabat.

He ſailed along the canal in the night, and landed at the fourth hour (ten o'clock A.M. of the third day). After a light breakfaſt at Feronia, he travelled three miles towards Terracina, which is eighteen miles diſtant from the Forum Appii. I do not perceive that he halted either at Terracina or at Fundi; ſo that he was much fatigued when he arrived at Formiæ, which is thirty-two miles from Feronia.

In Mamurrarum laſſi deinde urbe manemus,
Murenâ præbente domum, Capitone culinam.

† The whole journey is deſcribed in the fifth Satire of the firſt book of Horace.

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Le quatrième jour, Mecène et ſa ſuite arriverent de bonne heure à Sinueſſe, éloignée de *Formiæ* ; *dix huit milles.*

Poſtera lux oritur multo gratiſſima : namque
Plotius et Varius Sinueſſæ Virgiliúſque
Occurrunt.

Les commentateurs ont ſenti eux mêmes que nos voyageurs ne firent que manger un morceau à Sinueſſe, et qu'ils pouſſerent juſqu'au pont de la Campanie, *Pons Campanius*, ſur le *Savo*, à huit milles de Sinueſſe, et à ſeize de Capoue *.

Proxima Campano ponti quæ villula, tectum
Præbuit ; et parochi quæ debent ligna ſalemque.

Le cinquième jour, leurs mulets les menerent à Capoue de très bonne heure.

Hinc muli Capuæ clitellas tempore ponunt.

Je vois que les poëtes ſe coucherent, et que Mecene alla jouer à la paume, ce qui annonce l'heure des exercices, qui finiſſoient avant deux heures après midi ; mais Horace ne parle, ni du bain, ni du ſouper qui les ſuivoient à l'ordinaire. Je penſe qu'au lieu de ſe mettre à table, ils remonterent en voiture, et firent encore vingt un milles pour aller ſouper et coucher chez Cocceius,

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The fourth day, Mecenas and his ſuite arrive early at Sinueſſa, eighteen miles from Formiæ.

Poſtera lux oritur multo gratiſſima : namque
Plotius et Varius Sinueſſæ Virgiliúſque
Occurrunt.

The commentators have themſelves obſerved that our travellers only dined at Sinueſſa, and then proceeded to the bridge of Campania, Pons Campanius, on the Savo, eighteen miles from Sinueſſa, and ſixteen from Capua *.

Proxima Campano ponti quæ villula tectum
Præbuit ; et parochi quæ debent ligna ſalemque.

The fifth day, the mules brought them early to Capua.

Hinc muli Capuæ clitellas tempore ponunt.

The poets went to ſleep, while Mecenas diverted himſelf at tennis ; which ſhews that it was the time for exerciſe, which ended before two o'clock P. M. Horace ſays nothing of the bath and ſupper which commonly followed. I conclude, therefore, that inſtead of ſitting down to table, they again entered into their carriage, and proceeded

* Cluvier. Ital. Antiq. L. iv. C. v. p. 1077. Itiner. Hieroſolytanum. Edit. Weſſel. p. 611.

Cocceius, l'un de la compagnie, qui avoit une maiſon ſur les hauteurs au deſſus de Caudium.

Hinc nos Cocceii recipit pleniſſima villa,
Quæ ſuper eſt Caudi cauponas.——
* * * * * * * * * * *
Prorſus jucundè cœnam produximus illam.

Le ſixième jour, ils ne firent qu'une très petite journée du château de Cocceius à *Beneventum:* elle n'étoit que de *onze milles.* On peut ſoupçonner que la gaieté et la bonne chère les fit veiller un peu tard chez Cocceius, et qu'il ne les laiſſa partir qu'après le diner du lendemain; c'eſt pourquoi je ne comprerai ici qu'une demi-journée. Nous avons donc 164 milles Romains à répartir ſur cinq jours et demi, ce qui donne environ 30 milles Romains, ou 27 milles d'Angleterre, par jour. Mais je crois qu'il ne faudroit compter que quatre jours et demi. Horace voyagea avec la pareſſe d'un homme de lettres, juſqu'à la rencontre des ambaſſadeurs à Terracine. Il mit deux jours pour aller de Rome à *Forum Appî,* mais il avoue en même tems, que des voyageurs plus actifs n'en auroient fait qu'une ſeule journée.

Hoc iter ignavi diviſimus, altius ac nos
Præcinctis unum. Minùs eſt gravis Appia tardis.

Les

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twenty-one miles, to ſup and ſleep at the houſe of Cocceius, one of the company, which was ſituate on the heights of Caudium.

Hinc nos Cocceii recipit pleniſſima villa,
Quæ ſuper eſt Caudi cauponas.——
* * * * * * * * * * *
Prorſus jucundè cœnam produximus illam.

The ſixth day, they performed only a very ſhort journey from the caſtle of Cocceius to Beneventum: it was no more than eight miles. It is probable that the gaiety and good cheer of the houſe of Cocceius made them ſit up late, and that he did not allow them to depart next day till after dinner; for which reaſon I ſhall reckon this but half a day's journey. In the whole, therefore, we have 164 Roman miles to divide by five days and a half, which gives 30 Roman, or 27 Engliſh miles, a-day. But I am of opinion that we ought to divide by four days and an half. Horace travelled with the lazineſs of a man of letters, until he met the ambaſſadors at Terracina. He employed two days between Rome and the Forum Appii; but he confeſſes that more expeditious travellers would have performed that journey in one day.

Hoc iter ignavi diviſimus, altius ac nos
Præcinctis unum. Minùs eſt gravis Appia tardis.

The

Les ambaſſadeurs voyagerent avec beaucoup plus d'embarras, mais en même tems avec plus d'aiſances et de diligence. Mais il faudroit être mieux inſtruits que nous ne le ſommes de leur négociation, pour déterminer s'ils avoient envie d'arriver au plutôt à *Brunduſium*. Quelquefois un négociateur veut gagner du tems; il lui convient quelquefois d'en perdre. Ces quatre jours et demi auxquels j'ai reduit le voyage d'Horace de Rome à *Beneventum*, donneront par jour 36½ milles Romains, ou près de 33 milles d'Angleterre.

Juſqu'à *Beneventum* nous voyageons en pays de connoiſſance: mais en ſortant de cette ville, Horace va ſe perdre dans les montagnes de l'Apulie, pour ne reparoître qu'à *Canuſium*. Tout eſt obſcur dans cette partie de ſa route, et ſi nous avons quelques lueurs, elles ſont ſi propres à nous tromper, qu'elles ont fait ſoupçonner au Pere Sanadon qu'Horace s'étoit égaré dans les montagnes de ſon pays *. Mais pourquoi veut on que la *Villa Trivici* ſoit *Tricicum*; et qu'*Equotutium* ſoit le nom qu'on ne pouvoit pas exprimer en vers? La géographie de ces lieux s'y oppoſe. Pourquoi s'obſtine-t-on a vouloir déterminer une maiſon de campagne et une bourgade *(oppidulum)*, ſituées dans le Canton de l'Italie le plus déſert et le moins connu. Contentons nous de la connoiſſance générale que ces deux endroits, ignorés d'ailleurs,

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The ambaſſadors were embarraſſed with a more numerous ſuite, but they travelled with more conveniencies and greater expedition. Yet we ought to be better informed than we are of the object of their negotiation, to determine whether they were bent on reaching Brunduſium with all poſſible haſte. An ambaſſador wiſhes to accelerate or retard his journey as the buſineſs of his miſſion may require. Theſe four days and an half to which I would reduce the journey of Horace from Rome to Beneventum will give 36½ Roman, near 33 Engliſh miles, for the progreſs of each day.

While we travel to Beneventum, we traverſe a well-known country. But, after quitting this city, Horace is loſt among the mountains of Apulia, until he re-appear at Canuſium. We meet with little but obſcurity in this part of his route; and the glimmerings of light are ſo well fitted to deceive us, that Father Sanadon ſuſpects Horace of having loſt his way among his native mountains *. Yet why ſhould we ſuppoſe that the villa Trivici muſt mean Tricicum, or that Equotutium muſt be the name of the place that cannot be introduced into an hexameter verſe? Theſe conjectures are inconſiſtent with geography. Why ſhould we perſiſt in fixing with accuracy the ſituation of a country-houſe, and of a village *(oppidulum)*, belonging to the moſt deſert and leaſt known diſtrict of all Italy? Let us be contented with knowing that

* Horace de Sanadon, tom. v. p. 138.

d'ailleurs, étoient ſur le grand chemin de *Beneventum* à *Canuſium*, et il n'y a plus de difficulté. Mais cette connoiſſance générale ne nous permet plus de compter les journées d'Horace comme auparavant. Cependant notre poëte, tout obſcur qu'il eſt ſur les lieux, eſt encore aſſez exact ſur le tems. Continuons ſon journal, qu'on peut enſuite comparer avec la diſtance connue de *Beneventum* à *Brunduſium*. Le ſeptième jour il partit de *Beneventum*, grimpa avec peine les montagnes qui ſeparent le pays des *Hirpini* de l'Apulie, et ſe repoſa dans le chateau de *Trivicus*.

——— *Quos*
Nunquam erepſemus ; niſi nos vicina Trivici
Villa recepiſſet, lacrymoſo non ſine fumo.

Le huitième jour ils firent une traite de vingt quatre milles, et coucherent dans un petit endroit, dont le nom baroque ne ſe pliat point à la méſure des vers.

Manſuri oppidulo quod verſu dicere non eſt.

Le neuvième jour je les retrouve à *Canuſium*; mais je penſe qu'ils pouſſerent juſqu'à *Rubi*. Ils y arriverent du moins très fatigués d'avoir fait une grande journée. Auroient ils donné ce nom à une traite de vingt trois milles.

Inde Rubos feſſi pervenimus, utpote longum
Carpentes iter.———

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theſe two undiſcovered places ſtood on the high road from Beneventum to Canuſium; and all difficulties will be removed. Yet this general knowledge will not allow us to aſcertain the days' journies as above. Our poet, however, though he ſpeak in obſcure terms of the places, is exact with reſpect to time. We may continue, therefore, his journal, and then compare it with the well-known diſtance between Beneventum and Brunduſium. The ſeventh day, he left Beneventum, clambered with difficulty over the mountains which ſeparate the territory of the Hirpini from Apulia, and reſted in the caſtle of Trivicus.

——— *Quos*
Nunquam erepſemus ; niſi nos vicina Trivici
Villa recepiſſet, lacrymoſo non ſine fumo.

The eighth, our travellers proceeded twenty-four miles, and ſlept at a ſmall village, whoſe groteſque name could not enter into a verſe.

Manſuri oppidulo quod verſu dicere non eſt.

The ninth day, I find them at Canuſium, but I imagine they proceeded to Rubi; at leaſt they arrived there much fatigued with a long journey. This appellation could not have been given to twenty-three miles.

Inde Rubos feſſi pervenimus, utpote longum
Carpentes iter.———

The

Le dixième jour ils ont du aller à *Bari*; l'onzième à *Gnatia*; et le douzième enfin à *Brundusium*. Je conviens que ces trois derniers jours sont mal exprimés; mais il est clair qu'il n'y en avoit pas davantage; et à moins de faire faire sans raison à nos voyageurs, soixante milles dans un jour, il n'y a pas moyen d'en rien rabattre. De *Beneventum* à *Brundusium* nous avons 205 milles. C'est à raison de 34 milles Romains (près de 31 milles d'Angleterre) par jour. Ils voyagerent plus vite les premiers jours; mais ils ne trouvoient point alors les montagnes de l'Apulie, et des chemins difficiles en eux mêmes, et gâtés par la mauvaise saison. Ces plaintes réitérées me feroient soupçonner que la voye Appienne ne s'étendoit encore que jusqu'à Capoue, et que ce ne fut point Jules César qui la poussa jusqu'à *Brundusium* *. Ces chaussées élevées, formées de trois couches de matériaux, et pavées de cailloux, ont bravé l'effort des tems. Vingt ans après leurs construction auroient elles cédé à un peu de pluie!

Si j'avois des yeux de commentateur, je dirois que cette satyre est excellente, et je l'appellerois, avec le Pere Sanadon, un modèle achevé de narration †. Il est vrai que je vois avec plaisir les deux traits du sot orgueil du préteur de *Fundi*, et de la superstition plus sotte encore du peuple de *Gnatia*; mais

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The tenth day, they proceeded to Bari; the eleventh, to Gnatia; and the twelfth at length brought them to Brundusium. It is true that these three last days are not accurately distinguished; but it is certain there were no more: and without obliging our travellers to make one day's journey of sixty miles, it is impossible to reduce their number. From Beneventum to Brundusium we have 205 miles; which gives the rate of 34 Roman, nearly 31 English, each day. They travelled faster the first days, not being then retarded by the Apulian mountains, and by roads, bad in themselves, and then rendered worse by the rain. Their repeated complaints on this subject give reason for suspecting that the Appian way then reached only to Capua, and that it was not Julius Cæsar that carried it to Brundusium *. Raised causeways, formed of three layers of materials, and paved with flint stones, have resisted the impressions of time. Is it credible, that in twenty years after they were made, they should have been spoiled by a shower of rain?

With the eyes of a commentator, I should see nothing but excellence in this satire, and call it, with Father Sanadon, a model of the narrative style †. It is true that I observe in it with pleasure two well-applied strokes of satire; one against the stupid pride of the pretor of Fundi, and another against the more stupid superstition of the

* Berg. Grands Chemins, L. ii. C. xxvi. p. 226.
† Horace de Sanadon, tom. v. p. 119. Paris, 1756.

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mais je ne crains pas de dire que le voyage preſque inconnu de Rutilius me paroît très ſupérieur à celui d'Horace pour les déſcriptions, la poëſie, et ſurtout, pour le choix des objets. Les propos d'un batelier, et les injures que ſe diſent deux bouffons, ſont au moins du plus bas comique. Ils pouvoient réjouir des voyageurs en humeur de s'amuſer de tout; mais comment un homme de goût pouvoit il s'en ſouvenir le lendemain ? Ils valent cependant encore mieux que les infirmités du poëte, qui reviennent plus d'une fois, les emplatres qu'il ſe mettoit aux yeux, et le ſale accident qui lui arriva pendant la nuit. Si tout ce qui regarde les grands hommes peut intéreſſer, c'eſt de leur eſprit, et non pas de leurs corps, qu'il faut entendre cette maxime. Quels objets pour Horace, pendant que la face du pays et les mœurs des habitans, lui offroient une riche moiſſon, et d'inſtruction, et de plaiſanterie ! Peut être que ce voyage d'Horace à la ſuite de Mécene, avoit fait cauſer ſes envieux *, et qu'il fit cette piece pour les convaincre que ſes idées et ſes occupations en route, n'avoient rien eu de ſérieux, ni de politique.

2. Ce fut l'an de Rome 702 qu'un décret du ſénat chargea Cicéron du gouvernement de la Cilicie. Il fallut obeïr ; il quitta la ville, le théâtre de ſa gloire, pour aller cueillir des lauriers ſur le Mont *Amanus*. Atticus et tous

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people of Gnatia : but I would not heſitate to pronounce that the almoſt unknown journey of Rutilius is ſuperior to that of Horace in point of deſcription, poetry, and eſpecially in the choice of incidents. The groſs language of a boatman, and the ribaldry of two buffoons, ſurely belong only to the loweſt ſpecies of comedy. They might divert travellers in a humour to be pleaſed with every thing ; but how could a man of taſte reflect on them the day after ? They are leſs offenſive, however, than the infirmities of the poet, which occur more than once ; the plaſters which he applies to his eyes, and the naſty accident which befel him in the night. The maxim, that every thing in great men is intereſting, applies only to their minds, and ought not to be extended to their bodies. What unworthy objects for the attention of Horace, when the face of the country and the manners of its inhabitants in vain offered to him a field of inſtruction and pleaſure ! Perhaps this journey, which our poet made in company with Mecenas, creating much envy againſt him *, he wrote this piece to convince his enemies, that his thoughts and occupations on the road were far from being of a ſerious or political nature.

2. In the year of Rome 702, a decree of the ſenate entruſted Cicero with the government of Cilicia. In compliance with the decree, he quitted a city the theatre of his glory, and went to gather laurels on Mount Amanus. Atticus and his other friends

* V. Horat. Serm. ii. 6. v. 20—60.

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tous ſes amis étoient chargés de veiller à ſes intérêts, et d'abréger autant qu'ils pourroient, le terme de ſon exil. Il eut de la peine à s'arracher des environs délicieux de la capitale. Il ſe promena de maiſon en maiſon, avant que de ſe mettre ſérieuſement en route. Il partit de Rome le premier de Mai *; le dix du même mois, je le retrouve à ſon chateau de *Pompeii*. Voici le partage le plus naturel qu'on pourroit faire de ces neuf jours. 1 *Mai*, Cicéron n'alla que juſqu'à la maiſon qu'il avoit auprès de *Tuſculum*. Il parle de la conférence qu'il y eut avec Atticus, qui l'accompagna peut être juſqu'à cet endroit charmant. Il s'y ſera aſſurément repoſé ce ſoir-la. 2 *Mai*, de *Tuſculum* à *Arpinum*, il y a environ 63 milles. La journée ſeroit trop forte pour un homme qui n'alloit pas en courier. J'aime mieux la couper en deux, et ſuppoſer que Cicéron s'arrêta à *Terentinum*. 3 *Mai* : en ce cas-la il n'avoit plus qu'une vingtaine de milles juſqu'à ſon chateau d'*Arpinum*. Le plaiſir de revoir ſes concitoyens, et de recevoir les complimens d'un peuple qui regardoit ſa gloire comme la ſienne propre, devoit l'occuper le reſte du jour. 4 *Mai* : ce jour, moins agreable que le précedent, eſt marqué très diſtinctement. Il dîna au château de ſon frere Quintus à *Arca-*

* Pour le détail de ce voyage il faut conſulter les épitres à Atticus, L. v. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, et 10. L'Hiſtoire de Cicéron, et par Fabricus, et par M. Middleton, à l'an de Rome 702.

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were requeſted to attend to his intereſts, and to ſhorten as much as poſſible the term of his baniſhment. It was with difficulty that he could tear himſelf from the delightful neighbourhood of the capital. He travelled from one villa to another, before he could ſeriouſly ſet out on his journey. He left Rome the firſt of May †; the tenth of the ſame month, I find him at his villa near Pompeii. The following is the moſt natural diviſion of theſe nine days. The 1ſt: Cicero went no further than to his houſe near Tuſculum. He mentions the converſation he had there with Atticus, who probably accompanied him to that charming villa; where he would certainly ſleep that night. The 2d May: Tuſculum is ſixty-three miles from Arpinum. This would have been too great a journey for a man who did not travel with the ſpeed of a courier. I therefore divide it into two, and ſuppoſe that Cicero ſtopt ſhort at Terentinum. 3d May: in that caſe he had but twenty miles to travel to his villa at Arpinum. The pleaſure of ſeeing his fellow-citizens, and receiving the compliments of a people who conſidered his glory as their own, would detain him there the remainder of that day. The 4th May: this day, which was leſs agreeable than the preceding, is marked very diſ-

† For the detail of this voyage it is proper to peruſe the epiſtles to Atticus, L. v. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, and 10. The Hiſtory of Cicero, by Fabricus, and by Middleton, the year of Rome 702.

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num, peu éloigné d'*Arpinum*. Il y vit une ſcene domeſtique, où la mauvaiſe humeur de la femme de Quintus troubla les plaiſirs d'une fête, et laſſa la patience de ſon mari et de ſon beau-frere. Cicéron coucha ce ſoir à *Aquinum*, à 15 milles ſeulement d'*Arpinum*. *5 et 6 Mai :* d'*Aquinum* à *Cumæ* il y a 65 milles *. La traite ſeroit un peu longue. D'ailleurs pour paſſer d'*Aquinum* ſur la voye Latine à *Minturnæ* ſur la voye Appienne, il falloit prendre un chemin de traverſe. Encore ne ſuivoit on la grande route que pendant neuf milles. Il falloit la quitter de nouveau à Sinueſſe pour s'enfoncer dans les marais du *Vulturnus*, et dans les ſables de *Liturnum*. Je penſe que Cicéron aura couché à l'un de ces endroits pour ne ſe rendre que le lendemain à ſa maiſon auprès de Cumes. *Le 7 Mai*, Cicéron a du le paſſer tout entier à Cumes, pour y reçevoir les viſites du voiſinage. Je ſais que toute la Baye de Naples étoit ornée de maiſons de plaiſance qui ſe touchoient ; mais il falloit bien un jour pour raſſembler *une petite Rome* dans celle de Cicéron. *Le 8 Mai*, il alla à ſon chateau de *Pompeii*. Il y avoit 39 milles par terre par Puteoli, Naples, et Herculaneum. Mail il pouvoit l'abréger de beaucoup en traverſant la Baye. Cependant on peut toujours lui donner une

* Toutes les diſtances dont il n'eſt pas fait mention dans les Itineraires, je les ai méſurées ſur la carte de M. Deliſle.

journée

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tinctly. Cicero dined at the villa of his brother Quintus at Arcanum, not far from Arpinum ; and witneſſed a domeſtic ſcene, in which the bad humour of Quintus's wife diſturbed the pleaſure of the entertainment, and tired the patience of her huſband and brother-in-law. Cicero ſlept that night at Aquinum, only fifteen miles from Arpinum. The 5th and 6th of May : from Aquinum to Cumæ the diſtance is ſixty-five miles †. The journey would have been rather too long. Beſides, in paſſing from Aquinum, which is on the Latin way, to Minturnæ, which is on the Appian, it was neceſſary to croſs the country ; ſince the highway extended in that direction only nine miles. It was neceſſary to quit it again at Sinueſſa, to wade through the marſhes of Vulturnus and the ſands of Liturnum. I imagine that Cicero ſlept at one of theſe places, and proceeded next day to his houſe at Cumæ. The 7th of May muſt have been ſpent entirely at Cumæ. I know that the whole bay of Naples was adorned by country-houſes contiguous to each other ; but it muſt have required at leaſt one day to aſſemble a little Rome in the houſe of Cicero. The 8th of May, he went to his villa at Pompeii. The diſtance was thirty-nine miles by land, through Puteoli, Naples, and Herculaneum.

† All the diſtances not noticed in the Itineraries, I have meaſured on the chart of M. Deliſle.

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journée pour cette promenade. *Le 9 Mai*, il le paſſa ſurement à *Pompeii*. Il lui falloit quelque motif, ou de plaiſir, ou d'affaires, pour l'engager à s'écarter autant de ſa route.

On reconnoit dans cette promenade un grand ſeigneur qui voyage dans les environs d'une capitale, qui fait de grandes journées ſans ſe preſſer, et qui jouit partout de ſes aiſances. Parmi les anciens, ces commodités n'étoient que pour les grands, parcequ'il falloit ſe les procurer par ſoi même, ſuppléer aux poſtes par des relais, et aux bonnes auberges par ſes propres maiſons. Aujourd'hui que l'intérêt a établi pour le public toutes ces commodités, chacun peut ſe les approprier, dèſqu'il en a beſoin. *Le 10 Mai*, Cicéron partit de *Pompeii* pour aller coucher dans une maiſon de campagne, qu'un de ſes amis avoit auprès de *Trebula* ; 30 *milles*. Il commençoit à ſe mettre ſérieuſement en route, et comme il le dit lui même à Atticus, il ne veut plus faire que des bonnes journées, *juſta itinera*. *Le 11 Mai*, il arriva à *Beneventum* ; 30 *milles*. *Le 12 Mai*, il me paroît qu'il s'y arrêta. Il parle d'une lettre qu'il y reçut de très bonne heure, et d'une autre qui ne lui parvint que plus tard. *Le 15 Mai*, il partit de *Venuſia* pour grimper le Mont *Vultur*, pour deſcendre dans la pleine de le Lucanie, et pour arriver à *Tarentum le 18 Mai*. Cette ville eſt éloignée de *Beneventum* de 155 milles. Il paſſa trois jours avec le grand Pompée, occupé à affermir les bons principes

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He might have much ſhortened it by croſſing the bay: yet one day muſt be allowed for this journey. The 9th day was ſurely ſpent at Pompeii. Some motive of buſineſs or pleaſure muſt have carried Cicero ſo far out of his road.

In this journey, we ſee a great man travelling in the neighbourhood of the capital, making great journies without being in haſte, and every where enjoying his conveniencies. Among the aneients, theſe conveniencies could only be enjoyed by the great; becauſe it was neceſſary to procure them for one's ſelf, to ſupply the want of poſts by relays, and the want of good inns by private houſes. In modern times, the intereſt of individuals ſupplies to the public all theſe conveniencies, which each man may purchaſe whenever he ſtands in need of them. On the 10th of May, Cicero left Pompeii ; and went to ſleep in a country-houſe which one of his friends had at Trebula ; thirty miles. He began to travel ſeriouſly ; and writes to Atticus that he purpoſed in future to make good journies, *juſta itinera*. The 11th of May brought him to Beneventum, thirty miles. The 12th of May, he ſeems to have ſtopped there, ſince he ſpeaks of a letter received early, and one which came later. The 15th of May, he left Venuſia to climb Mount Vultur, and thence deſcend into the plain of Lucania. He arrived at Tarentum on the 18th of May: this place is 155 miles from Beneventum. He ſpent three days with the great

cipes dans le cœur d'un citoyen qui tenoit encore, ou du moins qui croyoit tenir la balance de la république. *Le* 22 *Mai*, Cicéron alla à *Brandusium*, qui étoit à 43 milles de *Tarentum* *. Les vents contraires et ses affaires le retinrent plusieurs jours dans ce port. Ce ne fut que le 15 *Juin* qu'ayant mis à la voile il arriva à *Actium*. Il se remit de nouveau en chemin; traversa l'*Achelous* et l'*Evenus*; et ayant passé par les villes de *Delphi*, *Thespiæ*, *Megara*, et *Eleusis*, il se trouva à Athenes le 25 *Juin*, après un voyage de 205 *milles* depuis Actium ‡. Je ne le pousserai pas plus loin (ce voyage de Cicéron). Je remarquerai seulement que depuis *Pompeii* jusqu'à Athenes il fit 463 MILLES ROMAINS (environ 417 milles d'Angleterre) dans dix neuf jours de marche. C'est à raison de $24\frac{1}{2}$ milles Romains par jour.

Je m'étonne un peu de la lenteur de ce voyage de Cicéron, dont les journées ne surpassoient guères la marche qu'un fantasin Romain, chargé de ses armes et de tant d'autres fardeaux, pouvoit faire dans cinq heures d'été (environ six heures équinoctiales). Ma surprise n'est diminuée que par les réflexions suivantes. 1. Cicéron s'expatrioit sans savoir le terme précis de son exil. Combien de préparatifs de toutes espèces étoient nécessaires pour

* Itinerar. p. 119. Pline Hist. Nat. iii. 16. ne compte que 35 milles.

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great Pompey, employed in fortifying the good principles of a man who yet held, or believed that he held, the balance of the republic. On the 22d of May, Cicero proceeded to Brundusium, forty-three miles from Tarentum †. Contrary winds and business detained him several days in that harbour. He at length sailed the 15th of June, and arrived at Actium. He again set out, crossed the Achelous and the Evenus, passed through the cities of Delphi, Thespiæ, Megara, and Eleusis, and arrived at Athens on the 25th of June, after travelling 205 miles from Actium ‡. I shall not dwell longer on this journey of Cicero; but only remark, that from Pompeii to Athens he travelled 463 Roman, about 417 English miles, in nineteen days: which gives $24\frac{1}{2}$ Roman miles for each day's journey.

This slowness is surprising, since Cicero did not travel in a day farther than a Roman soldier, loaded with his arms and so many other burdens, advanced in five hours of summer (about six equinoctial hours). My surprise is however diminished by the following considerations. Cicero left his country without knowing precisely how long his absence from it was to continue. A multitude of preparations were necessary for a governor,

† Itinerar. p. 119. Pliny says 35 miles. Nat. Hist. iii. 16.
‡ Itinerar. p. 325—326.

un gouverneur qui alloit établir une grande maiſon dans une province éloignée et barbare. Cicéron dépendoit d'un nombre de choſes qui ſe raſſembloient pour lui à *Beneventum*, à *Tarentum*, à *Brunduſium*, et dont le retard influoit néceſſairement ſur le voyage. Je ne ſais ſi je me trompe, mais je crois voir dans toutes les lettres de notre orateur, qu'il n'avoit pas un génie merveilleux pour ſes arrangemens économiques. 2. La maiſon d'un proconſul étoit trop nombreuſe pour lui permettre de précipiter ſa marche. Un queſteur, quatre lieutenans, douze tribuns accompagnoient Cicéron, pour remplir leurs fonctions reſpectives dans ſon gouvernement. Une foule de jeunes Romains de condition, le ſuivoit, pour apprendre ſous ſes auſpices l'art de la guerre, dirai-je, ou celui de la politique. A cette troupe illuſtre, il en faut ajouter une autre bien plus nombreuſe d'officiers, de licteurs, de commis, d'affranchis, et d'eſclaves, tant du proconſul lui même, que de ſes compagnons. Ce petit corps d'armée marchoit avec lenteur; il avoit trop d'embarras et trop de beſoins, pour ſuivre la route d'un voyageur ordinaire. Cicéron auroit mieux aimé aller par mer d'*Actium* à *Patras*. Mais il auroit fallu ſe ſervir des petites barques du pays, et ce trajet ne ſe feroit pas fait avec la dignité d'un miniſtre public, qui vouloit en impoſer aux Grecs, autant par la magnificence de ſon équipage, que par la modération de ſa conduite. 3. Il a du trouver de mauvais chemins d'*Actium* à Athènes. Le principe de la

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who was going to eſtabliſh a great houſehold in a diſtant and barbarous province. He had to wait for a number of conveniencies which were collecting for him at Beneventum, Tarentum, and Brunduſium, and which could not but retard his journey. It is poſſible that I may be miſtaken; but I think it apparent in all our orator's letters, that ſuch œconomical arrangements were by no means ſuited to his genius. 2. The family of a proconſul was too numerous to admit of diſpatch in travelling. A queſtor, four lieutenants, twelve tribunes, accompanied Cicero to execute their reſpective functions under his government. A crowd of young Romans of high rank followed the proconſul, to learn under his auſpices the art of war, or rather that of politics. To this illuſtrious band we muſt add one, far more numerous, of officers, lictors, clerks, freed men, and ſlaves, belonging to the proconſul himſelf, or to the companions of his journey. This little army was embarraſſed with too many wants to allow him to proceed with the expedition of an ordinary traveller. He would have preferred going by ſea from Actium to Patras: but in that caſe he muſt have made uſe of the little barks of the country; and the paſſage would not have been performed with the dignity of a public miniſter, who wiſhed to ſurpriſe the Greeks as much by the magnificence of his equipage, as by the moderation of his conduct. 3. The roads muſt have been very bad

la conſtruction des chemins, n'étoit ni la commodité des provinces que les vainqueurs Romains ont toujours mépriſées, ni le commerce, dont ils n'ont jamais connu le prix; mais les troupes dont ils vouloient faciliter la marche. La Grece, devenue de très bonne heure une province intérieure et ſoumiſe, ne ſe trouvoit pas même ſur ces grandes routes qui uniſſoient Rome et les frontières. Pendant que les autres parties de l'empire étoient coupées par les voyes militaires dans tous les ſens poſſibles, la Grece n'en a jamais eu qu'une ſeule. Elle a pu ſervir au voyage du proconſul, ſi elle étoit déjà conſtruite; mais dans l'ignorance où nous ſommes de cette époque, nous devons croire qu'elle ne l'étoit pas. La plus part des chemins provinciaux ſont l'ouvrage des empereurs *. 4. La Grece attira peu l'attention du gouvernement Romain; mais qu'elle étoit digne de celle de Cicéron! Le moyen de parcourir rapidement un pays dont chaque bourgade étoit célebre dans l'hiſtoire, ou dans la fable? L'homme de lettres, qui admiroit d'autant plus les Grecs qu'il cherchoit à les ſurpaſſer, l'antiquaire curieux, qui avoit déterré le tombeau d'Archimède, le philoſophe éclairé, qui dévoila les fourberies de *Delphi*, devoit s'arrêter par tout, pour y voir cent objets inconnus, ou indifférents aux yeux vulgaires. Que je voudrois ſuivre un pareil guide dans un tel voyage!

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bad between Actium and Athens. The motive of the Romans in making roads was neither the benefit of the provinces, which thoſe conquerors always deſpiſed, nor the conveniency of commercial intercourſe, of which they never knew how to eſtimate the value; but merely to facilitate the marches of their troops. Greece, which early became an interior and ſubmiſſive province, was not in any of the direct lines which united Rome with the frontiers; and had but one only road, while the other parts of the empire were interſected by military ways, in all poſſible directions. The proconſul might have followed this road, if it was then made; but as we are ignorant of its æra, we ought rather to think that it was not ſo early. Moſt of the Roman roads are works of the emperors *. 4. Greece attracted but weakly the attention of the Roman government; but how well did it deſerve that of Cicero! How could he rapidly traverſe a country, each village of which was illuſtrious in hiſtory or fable? The man of letters, who admired the Grecks in proportion as he was eager to ſurpaſs them; the curious antiquary, who had diſcovered with ſuch tranſports the tomb of Archimedes; the enlightened philoſopher, who had unveiled the frauds of Delphi; muſt have been arreſted at every ſtep by an hundred objects unknown and indifferent to vulgar eyes. With what pleaſure would I follow ſuch a guide in ſuch a journey!

* Bergier Hiſt. des Grands Chemins de l'Empire, L. i. C. ix. p. 27.

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A raſſembler les 369 milles Romains qu'Horace auroit pu faire en dix jours et demi, et les 463 milles que Cicéron fit en dix neuf jours, nous aurons le terme moyen de 30 milles Romains poure une journée ordinaire. J'aime cependant mieux la pouſſer à 33 milles (30 milles d'Angleterre). La lenteur de Cicéron eſt mieux conſtatée que la précipitation qu'on pourroit ſoupçonner à Horace.

Je ne m'étendrai point ici ſur les poſtes des Romains, ſur leurs auberges, ni ſur leurs voitures. A en juger par les monumens qui nous reſtent, celles-ci étoient petites, ouvertes, et aſſez peu commodes; poſées ſur deux, ou ſur quatre roues, ſans être ſuſpendues, elles devoient fatiguer les voyageurs ſur le pavé des voyes militaires. Il y en avoit de pluſieurs eſpeces, et ce qui paroît ſingulier, les Romains les avoient preſque toutes empruntées des Gaulois. Ils les ornoient quelquefois d'argent, d'or, et mêmes de pierres précieuſes; faſte barbare et déplacé, qui annoncoit plus de richeſſe que de goût. Mais il étoit réſervé aux modernes d'inventer ces machines douces et élégantes, qui ſatisfont à la fois, à la moleſſe du voyageur, à ſa pareſſe et à ſon impatience *.

Je parlerai peu d'un autre genre de voyage, des marches des troupes. Des idées générales, et les exercices dont je viens de faire mention, me perſuadent

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In uniting the 369 Roman miles which Horace travelled in ten days, with the 463 which Cicero travelled in nineteen, we ſhall have the middle term of 30 Roman miles for an ordinary day's journey. I ſhould prefer, however, extending it to 33 Roman, or 30 Engliſh miles; the ſlowneſs of Cicero being better aſcertained than the ſuppoſed rapidity of Horace.

I ſhall not expatiate on the poſts, the inns, or the carriages of the Romans. The laſt, if we may judge of them by ſubſiſting monuments, were ſmall, open, and inconvenient. They had two or four wheels; but, not being ſuſpended, muſt have been very fatiguing to travellers on the paved military roads. Theſe carriages were of various kinds; and what is extraordinary, almoſt all the different kinds had been borrowed from the Gauls. The Romans adorned them with ſilver, gold, and ſometimes with precious ſtones; a barbarous and miſplaced luxury, indicating more riches than taſte. It was reſerved for modern times to invent thoſe ſoft and elegant machines which gratify at once the effeminacy, lazineſs, and impatience of travellers *.

I ſhall ſpeak briefly of another kind of travelling, the march of troops. Theſe marches, I am inclined to think, both by the exerciſes (of which I have made mention)

* V. l'Antiquité expliquée du P. Monfaucon.

ſuadent qu'elles étoient plus fortes que les notres. En attendant que j'aye fait les recherches néceſſaires pour les déterminer avec plus de préciſion, je jetterai un coup d'œil ſur la marche la plus hardie et la plus forte que je connoiſſe dans l'hiſtoire ancienne ou moderne.

Les affaires des Carthaginois ne ſe ſoutenoient plus en Italie que par la conduite d'Annibal, lorſque Aſdrubal paſſa les Alpes avec une armée nombreuſe. La république craignoit de ſuccomber ſous leurs efforts réunis. Le Conſul Néron obſervoit tous les movemens d'Annibal, qui épuiſoit en vain toute la ſcience des marches, et des contremarches. Le général Romain comprit qu'il falloit prévenir par un coup hardi, tant de dangers qui ménacoient ſa patrie. Avec un corps choiſi de mille cavaliers, et de ſix mille fantaſſins, il s'échappe de ſon camp, trompe la vigilance du Carthaginois, exécute ſa junction avec ſon collegue en Ombrie, ſauve la republique à la bataille du Metaurus, et revient avec la même rapidité, annoncer la mort de ſon frere à Annibal, qu'il retrouve toujours dans l'étonnement et dans l'inaction *. Il avoit laiſſé Annibal dans les environs de *Canuſium*. Il trouva le conſul Livius dans ceux de *Sena Gallica*. La route qu'il prit par les pays des *Larinates*, *Frentani*, *Marrucini*, *Prætutii*, et par le *Picenum*, dans l'Ombrie, étoit

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and by my general opinion on the ſubject, were longer than ours; but, previouſly to making the reſearches neceſſary for determining this matter with preciſion, I ſhall caſt a glance on the longeſt and boldeſt march which I have ever met with in hiſtory, either ancient or modern.

The fortune of the Carthaginians was ſuſtained in Italy by the exertions of Hannibal, when Aſdrubal croſſed the Alps with a numerous army. The republic was in danger of ſinking under their united efforts. Nero the conſul obſerved the motions of Hannibal, who exhauſted the whole ſcience of marching and countermarching. The Roman general perceived that a bold ſtroke only could ward off the dangers which threatened his country. With a choſen body of a thouſand horſe, and ſix thouſand foot, he marched from his camp, deceived the vigilance of the Carthaginians, effected a junction with his colleague in Umbria, ſaved the republic at the battle of Metaurus, and returned with the ſame celerity, announcing to Hannibal the death of his brother, and finding that general himſelf ſtill aſtoniſhed and inactive *. He had left Hannibal in the neighbourhood of Canuſium; he found the conſul Livius in that of Sena Gallica. His route through the territories of the Larinates, Frentani, Marrucini, Prætutii, and

* Tit. Liv. xxvii. 43—51.

Picenum,

étoit d'environ 270 milles Romains *. J'ignore le tems qu'il y mit, mais je fais que dans ſon retour, il n'employa que ſix jours ‡. La neceſſité de la diligence devenoit plus grande tous les jours, et ce n'eſt pas une petite tache à la gloire d'Annibal d'avoir ignoré pendant une douzaine de jours, qu'il n'avoit plus un conſul en tête. Je crois qu'Aſdrubal s'en ſeroit apperçu à ſa place, et qu'il auroit détruit une armée deja affoiblie par la perte de ſon général, et d'un gros détachement §: 270 milles dans ſix jours nous donnent par jour 45 milles Romains (40½ d'Angleterre). Le fait eſt preſque incroyable. Je ſens que le corps de Néron étoit choiſi ſur toute l'armée, qu'il marchoit jour et nuit, et que les ſoins du général et le zele des allies, lui prodiguoient les ſoulagemens et les ſecours propres à adoucir ſes fatigues, et à ranimer ſes forces. Avec tout cela, cette marche ſeroit impoſſible à nos troupes. Il falloit des Romains du tems de Scipion. Legionnaires, leurs corps étoient endurcis à la peine et au travail; citoyens, ils avoient une patrie, ils combattoient pour elle. Leurs efforts étoient bien différens de ceux d'une troupe de mercenaires, qui n'eſpere que ſa paye, et qui ne craint que les chatimens.

C'eſt ici une ébauche du chapitre dont j'ai parlé, mais quelle eſt encore imparfaite!

* Itineraria Auton, p. 312, 313, 314, 315. J'ai meſuré ſur la carte de Deliſle la diſtance de Canuſium à Larinum.

Picenum, into Umbria, was about 270 Roman miles †. I know not how many days he employed in marching thither; but I know that only ſix were ſpent in his return ‡. Expedition became daily more neceſſary; and it is not a ſmall ſtain on the glory of Hannibal that he remained ignorant for twelve days of the departure of the Roman general. I think this would not have eſcaped the vigilance of Aſdrubal; and that he would have deſtroyed an army weakened by the abſence of its general, and by a powerful detachment §. 270 Roman miles in ſix days give 45 Roman, or 40½ Engliſh miles for each daily march. The fact is ſcarcely credible. Nero's forces, indeed, were ſelected from the whole army; he marched night and day; and the zeal of the allies co-operated with the attentions of the general in procuring for them in abundance every comfort and aſſiſtance proper for ſoftening their fatigues and reviving their ſtrength. With all theſe advantages, it would be impoſſible for modern troops to make ſuch a march. To accompliſh it required Romans, and Romans of the age of Scipio. As ſoldiers, their bodies were patient of fatigue and toil; as citizens, they had a country for which to fight. Their exertions were quite different from thoſe of a herd of mercenaries, whoſe only hope is that of pay, and whoſe only fear is that of puniſhment.

This is a ſketch of the chapter which I ſaid was wanting;—but ſtill, how imperfect have I left it!

† Itineraria Auton, p. 312, 313, 314, 315. I have meaſured on the chart of Deliſle the diſtance from Canuſium to Larinum.

‡ Tit. Liv. xxvii. 50. xxviii. 9.

§ Tit. Liv. xxvii. 46.

N° IV.

à LAUSANNE.

IL y auroit bien des connoiſſances philoſophiques et théologiques à tirer des *Faſtes d'Ovide*. La religion des Romains, ſes rapports et ſes différences d'avec celle des Grecs, ſont un ſujet auſſi curieux qu'il eſt neuf. Je ne compte pour rien les recherches d'un *Coyer*.

Quant à la poëſie des Faſtes, j'y trouve bien plus à reprendre qu'à louer. Je reconnois avec plaiſir tout le mérite d'Ovide ; une imagination étonnante, une élégance ſoutenue, et beaucoup d'aménité dans l'eſprit. Je ſuis frappé ſurtout de la variété, de la ſoupleſſe, et, pour ainſi dire, de la flexibilité de ſon génie, qui paſſe avec rapidité aux ſujets les plus oppoſés, qui s'y livre avec aiſance, et qui les préſente avec tout l'agrément dont ils ſont ſuſceptibles. La penſée convient preſque toujours à ſon objet, et rarement ſon expreſſion manque à bien rendre ſa penſée. Dans les Faſtes l'idée du *lendemain* revient à chaque inſtant ; mais l'image du poëte eſt toujours différente. Les endroits des Faſtes qui m'ont fait le plus de plaiſir, ſont : 1. L'origine des ſacrifices des animaux. 2. L'avanture de Lucrece. 3. La fête d'Anna Perenna,

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N° IV.

LAUSANNE.

MUCH philoſophical and much theological knowledge may be derived from Ovid's Faſti. The religion of the Romans, the points in which it agrees with or differs from that of the Greeks, is a ſubject as curious as it is new. I reckon for nothing the reſearches of a Coyer.

The poetry of the Faſti appears to me more liable to blame than worthy of praiſe. I acknowledge with pleaſure all the merit of Ovid ; his aſtoniſhing fancy, a perpetual elegance, and the moſt agreeable turn of mind. I principally admire his variety, ſuppleneſs, and (if I may ſay ſo) his flexibility of genius, which rapidly embraces the moſt oppoſite ſubjects, aſſumes the true ſtyle of each, and preſents them all under the moſt pleaſing forms of which they are ſuſceptible. The thought almoſt always ſuits the ſubject ; and the expreſſion rarely fails in being ſuitable to the thought. In the Faſti, the ſame ideas are perpetually recurring ; but the images under which they are repreſented are continually different. The paſſages of the Faſti which have given me moſt pleaſure are, 1. The origin of ſacrifices : 2. The adventure of Lucretia : 3. The feſtival

renna. 4. L'origine du nom de Mai. 5. La diſpute des déeſſes pour celui de Juin.

Voici d'un autre coté quelques défauts dans le caractère du poëte, ou dans celui de ſon ſujet, que je n'ai appercu qu'avec peine. 1. Ovide me paroît ſans nerf, et ſans élévation. Son eſprit perd en profondeur ce qu'il a gagné en ſuperficie. S'agit-il d'un tableau de la nature? ſes traits ſont vagues et rarement caractériſtiques. Dans ceux des paſſions, il eſt rarement juſte, trop foible, ou trop outré, et preſque toujours trop diffus; il cherche toujours le chemin du cœur, mais il ne le trouve preſque jamais. Son caractère tendre et leger, amolli par les plaiſirs, et rendu plus touchant par le malheur, lui avoit un peu fait connoître le ton de la triſteſſe, et celui de la joye. Il ſait gémir ſur le ſort d'une amante abandonnée, ou célébrer la victoire d'un amant heureux. Mais les grandes paſſions, la fureur, la vengeance, la force, ou la férocité d'une ame qui ſubjuge ſes movements impétueux, ou qui leur laiſſe un libre cours, lui ſont aſſez inconnues. Ses perſonnages ſont plus occupés des lecteurs que d'eux mêmes; et le poëte, qui doit être caché, paroît à tout inſtant, pour les louer, pour les blamer, ou pour les plaindre. Ovide avoit fait une tragédie; quoiqu'en diſe Quintilien, je ne ſaurois la regretter beaucoup. 2. Il connoiſſoit peu l'art des proportions, cet art ſi néceſſaire

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feſtival of Anna Perenna: 4. The origin of the name of May: 5. The diſpute of the goddeſſes for that of June.

The following are ſome of the faults in the character either of the poet or of his ſubject; which it is painful to perceive. Ovid appears to me defective in point of ſtrength and elevation; and his genius loſes in depth what it gains in ſurface. In painting nature, his ſtrokes are vague, and without character. His expreſſion of the paſſions is rarely juſt; he is ſometimes weak, ſometimes extravagant, always too diffuſe; and though he continually ſeeks the road to the heart, is ſeldom fortunate enough to find it. His light and tender character, ſoftened by pleaſure, and rendered more intereſting by misfortune, made him acquainted with the tones of ſadneſs and joy. He knows how to lament the miſery of a forſaken miſtreſs, or to celebrate the triumphs of a ſucceſsful lover. But the great paſſions are above his reach; fury, vengeance, the fortitude or ferocity of the ſoul, which either ſubdues its moſt impetuous movements, or precipitates their unbridled career. His heroes think more of the reader than of themſelves; and the poet, who ought to remain concealed, is always ready to come forward, and to praiſe, blame, or pity them. Ovid wrote a tragedy; but, notwithſtanding the judgment of Quintilian, I cannot much regret its loſs.

néceſſaire à un écrivain qui marque à chaque idée ſa place et ſon étendue, ſelon ſa nature, et le but de celui qui l'employe. Chez Ovide je vois des penſées eſſentielles, des récits qui tiennent au fond de l'ouvrage, paſſer légèrement ſans laiſſer de traces, pendant qu'il s'appeſantit ſur des ornemens frivoles et peu néceſſaires. Croiroit on que l'enlevement de Proſerpine eſt décrit en deux vers, mais que le dénombrement des fleurs qu'elle alloit cueillir dans les campagnes d'*Enna*, en avoit occupé ſeize *. Je conviens que le ſujet des Faſtes, l'expoſoit à ſe tromper ſouvent ſur les proportions. Il eſt lié avec toute la mythologie des Grecs, il y entre beaucoup d'hiſtoire Romaine. Quelquefois il falloit raconter toute une fable ; dans d'autres occaſions il ſuffiſoit de la rappeller, ou même de la ſuppoſer. Il s'agiſſoit de décider juſqu'à quel point elle devoit être deja connue d'un lecteur un peu inſtruit, et combien cette connoiſſance étoit eſſentielle à celle de l'ouvrage. Cette déciſion étoit des plus délicates. 3. Quelques critiques ont loué dans Ovide, la fineſſe et l'art de ſes liaiſons dans un ſujet auſſi varié que les métamorphoſes. Mais ce ſujet, ſans avoir l'unité de l'épopée, lui fourniſſoit des rapports très naturels. Celui des Faſtes eſt entièrement découſu. Une

2 He was ignorant of the rules of proportion, rules ſo neceſſary to a writer who would give to each ſentiment its due extent, and arrange it in its proper place, agreeably to its own nature, and the end for which he employs it. In Ovid, you may perceive thoughts the moſt intereſting, and narratives cloſely connected with the very eſſence of his ſubject, paſs away lightly without leaving a trace behind; while he dwells with complacence on parts merely ornamental, frivolous, or ſuperfluous. Can it be believed that the rape of Proſerpine ſhould be deſcribed in two verſes, when the enumeration of the flowers which ſhe gathered in the garden of Eden had juſt filled ſixteen *? I acknowledge that the ſubject of the Faſti expoſed him to faults in proportioning the parts of his work. That ſubject is connected with the whole of the Greek mythology ; it contains, alſo, much of the Roman hiſtory. It was ſometimes neceſſary to relate the whole fable ; at other times, to hint at or even to ſuppoſe it, was ſufficient. It was requiſite for him to decide how far each ſtory was likely to be known by an ordinary reader, and how much the knowledge of it contributed to that of his ſubject: but the principles of ſuch deciſions are extremely delicate. 3. Some writers have praiſed Ovid for the artfulneſs of his tranſitions in a work ſo various as that of the Metamorphoſes. Yet this ſubject, without poſſeſſing the unity of epic poetry, ſupplied him with very natural principles of connection. But the Faſti is a ſubject

* Ovid Faſt. L. iv. p. 583.

totally

Une cérémonie, une fête, eſt tout à fait iſolée de celle qui la ſuit; encore ne la ſuit elle que par une chronologie imaginaire. L'époque de leur inſtitution, que le poëte recherche toujours, tombe, ſi l'on veut, au mois de Janvier; mais ce ſont ſouvent des mois de Janvier d'une année, ou même d'un ſiecle différent. Ovide a ſi bien ſenti ce défaut, qu'il a voulu lier en quelque ſorte, les fêtes de la terre avec les phénomènes du ciel, qui ont donné une liaiſon plus réelle, mais très peu intéreſſante, à ſon calendrier. 4. Ovide a reçu de la bouche des dieux toute la ſcience de leur culte, la raiſon et l'origine de chaque fable, et de chaque cérémonie. Tel eſt l'eſprit humain. Dans la fiction il faut une apparence de vérité. L'invention du poëte ne doit jamais travailler ſous nos yeux. Mais le notre laiſſe trop entrevoir que toutes ſes converſations ingénieuſes avec les dieux, n'ont eu lieu que dans ſon eſprit. S'il en parle ſérieuſement une fois, à l'occaſion de Veſta, c'eſt pour renverſer l'édifice entier d'un ſeul trait. Je conviens que le mélange de ſérieux et d'imaginaire, confondu avec la religion poëtique qui étoit en même tems celle de l'état, devoit embarraſſer un poëte Romain. Chez les premiers Grecs, l'inſpiration d'Homère ne différoit point de celle de Calchas; ſes ouvrages et ceux de ſes ſucceſſeurs, étoient les livres ſaints de la nation. Chez nous au contraire ce n'eſt qu'une illuſion volontaire et paſſagère,

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totally disjointed. Each ceremony, and each feſtival, is altogether diſtinct from that which follows it, and which follows it only by an imaginary chronology. The poet always traces the æra of their inſtitution, which falls, if you will, on the month of January; but they are Januaries of different years, or rather of different centuries. Ovid was ſo ſenſible of this defect in his ſubject, that he endeavours to aſſociate feſtivals on the earth with the phenomena of the heavens, in order to give a connection more real, but extremely unintereſting, to his calendar. 4. Ovid heard from the mouth of the gods the laws of their worſhip, the origin and principle of each fable, and of each ceremony. Such is the nature of the human mind; even in fiction we require the appearance of truth. We cannot bear to ſee the poet's invention at work. But Ovid ſhews to us too plainly, that all his ingenious converſations with the gods are the work of his own brain. When he ſpeaks ſeriouſly, as he once does in mentioning Veſta, it is to overturn the whole fanciful fabric at one blow. I acknowledge, that a Roman poet muſt have been perplexed by the perpetual mixture of the ſerious with the fantaſtic, and by a poëtical religion which was alſo that of the ſtate. Among the early Greeks, the inſpiration of Homer did not differ from that of Calchas. His works and thoſe of his ſucceſſors were the ſcriptures of the nation. With us, on the other hand, the inſpiration of poets is merely a tranſient and voluntary

ſagère, un langage de convention. Mais parmi les Romains qui croyoient un peu à leurs dieux, quoiqu'ils s'en moquaſſent très ſouvent, mais qui n'avoient nulle foi à leurs poëtes, le rôle de ceux-ci étoit très difficile à ſoutenir. 5. Je ne dois pas compter la meſure des vers élégiaques pour un défaut particulier, quoique le caractère des Faſtes eût fort bien comporté la meſure héroïque. Quoiqu'il en ſoit, la première m'a toujours ennuyé. Elle eſt obligée de placer régulièrement le repos du pentametre ſur le milieu du troiſième pied, et de renfermer un ſens complet dans les deux vers. Cette monotonie fatigue bientot l'oreille, et des bornes auſſi étroites produiſſent bien des chevilles. Il y a tout autrement de variété, de liberté et de vraie harmonie, dans la marche des vers héroïques.

N° V.

à Lausanne.

A l'occaſion du traité d'Addiſon, je ferai deux ou trois remarques ſur les êtres allégoriques qu'on voit ſur les revers des médailles. Que l'eſprit humain eſt borné ! ſes inventions les plus hardies ne ſont que des copies.

1. On a voulu donner à tous ces êtres une figure humaine. Nos yeux, accoutumés à ne voir la raiſon que ſous cette forme, exigeoient ce ſacrifice. Mais

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illuſion to which we ſubmit ourſelves. But among the Romans, who alternately believed in and laughed at their gods, but who had no faith whatever in their poets, the part of theſe laſt was very difficult to act. 5. I ought not to reckon the employment of elegiac verſe as a particular fault, though heroic meaſure would have been well adapted to the ſubject of the Faſti. Elegiac verſe has always tired me. The pauſe conſtantly recurs on the middle of the third foot of the pentameter; and the ſenſe muſt always be included in a couplet. This monotony fatigues the ear; and cauſes the introduction of many uſeleſs words merely for the ſake of the meaſure. There is far more variety, liberty, and true harmony in the flow of heroic verſe.

N° V.

Lausanne.

In conſequence of reading Addiſon's treatiſe, the following remarks have occurred to me on the allegorical beings which we find on the reverſes of medals. How limited is the human mind! its boldeſt inventions are mere copies.

1. All thoſe beings are repreſented under the human figure. Our eyes, accuſtomed to behold the exerciſe of reaſon, only under this ſhape, required ſuch a ſacrifice. Yet, by

Mais notre eſprit incapable d'une abſtraction néceſſaire, hors d'état de ſéparer de la figure humaine, des idées qui l'accompagnent ordinairement, demandoit encore que le ſexe fut déterminé. Ce ſexe renfermoit cependant des images groſſières, qui convenoient mal à la pureté des vertus et à la ſpiritualité des êtres métaphyſiques. Après avoir fait ces deux ſacrifices aux yeux et à l'imagination, il en falloit un troiſième pour l'oreille. Pour diſtinguer le ſexe, on ne rechercha point des caractères, des attributs qui pouvoient avoir quelque rapport avec ceux de la femelle ou du mâle. Cette méthode auroit fourni quelques allégories paſſables. On ſuivit ſans réflexion les genres de leurs noms, qui n'ont été reglés dans toutes les langues que par le caprice et l'ignorance des premiers hommes. En Grec auſſi bien qu'en Latin, la plus part de ces noms ſont feminins. La plus part de ces êtres ſont par conſequent repréſentés en femmes. Je dis la plus part, car malheureuſement encore il y en a de maſculins. Quelquefois il y a deux ſynonymes de genres oppoſés, et le même être ſe voit traveſti en homme ou en femme, ſelon le mot par lequel on le déſigne. Je ne citerai que l'exemple de *Gloria* et d'*Honos*. Par la ſuite néceſſaire d'un arrangement auſſi mal imaginé, le caractère du ſexe et celui de l'être, ſont ſouvent compromis. Les vertus ne peuvent ſe contrarier, et l'on ne peut imaginer la vérité, la juſtice,

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by our inability of ſeparating from the idea of the human figure the circumſtances which commonly accompany it, our fancy requires, alſo, that the ſex ſhould be determined. The circumſtance of ſex, however, implies groſs images, which ill correſpond with the purity of the virtues, or the ſpirituality of metaphyſical beings. After having made thoſe two ſacrifices to the mind and the eyes, a third was ſtill required by the ear. The diſtinction of ſex was not marked by characteriſtic attributes appropriated to the male and female. This method might have furniſhed ſome tolerable allegories. But the genders of their names was injudiciouſly choſen as the only foundation of diſtinction, ſince in all languages thoſe genders have been determined by the caprice and ignorance of the firſt perſons who ſpoke them. In Greek and Latin, moſt of thoſe names are feminine. The beings whom they expreſs are therefore, for the moſt part, repreſented by female figures. I ſay for the moſt part, for they are ſometimes unfortunately maſculine: and at other times we have two ſynonymous words of different genders; and the ſame being aſſumes the male or female form, according to the word employed as its name. I ſhall mention only the example of *Gloria* and *Honos*. In conſequence of ſo faulty an arrangement, the character of the being is often at variance with that of its ſex. True virtue is conſiſtent; and we cannot conceive the truth, juſtice, or humanity of a woman exerciſed at the expence of chaſtity and decency. Yet

tice, ou l'humanité d'une femme qui ſe déploye aux dépens de la chaſteté, ou de la décence de ſon ſexe. Dèſque la nudité cependant paroît convenir aux attributs d'un être moral, on fait paroître la Valeur, l'Equité, ou l'Eſpérance, dans un état à faire rougir une femme modeſte. On a beau me dire que ce ne ſont pas des femmes, mais des figures feminines. Ma raiſon ſaiſit la différence, mais c'eſt à l'imagination qu'il faut parler ici.

2. On a beau inventer des ſymboles, on ne peut repréſenter que des qualités humaines, ſous une figure humaine. La piété n'eſt qu'une femme pieuſe, le courage n'eſt qu'une femme intrepide, &c. C'eſt dejà beaucoup que de purger l'ame humaine de toutes les paſſions, à l'exception d'une ſeule qui l'occupe toute entière, et qui ſe montre à découvert dans ſes actions, dans ſon air, dans ſon maintien, et juſque dans ſa parure. Mais cette abſtraction a exiſté, quoique bien rarement. On peut au moins en concevoir la poſſibilité, et dès lors elle peut être repréſentée. Encore ces ſymboles ne ſont ils jamais ſi frappans, que lorſqu'ils ſortent du pays des chimères, pour nous ramener à des idées préciſes, et à la vérité des choſes. Je ne connois point de ſymbole plus frappant que celui de la piété en Veſtale Romaine. Le ſénat a outré ce principe un peu, lorſqu'il a fait graver les vertus ſous les traits de ſes princes. Parmi les qualités humaines, celles qui ſon permanentes et déterminées, ſe marquent avec plus de force, que celles qui ſont vagues

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when the attributes of an allegorical being require that it ſhould be repreſented naked, we ſee Valour, Juſtice, and Hope exhibited, in a manner in which a modeſt woman would bluſh to appear. It is uſeleſs to tell me, theſe are not women, but female figures. My underſtanding perceives the difference; but the imitative arts muſt ſpeak to the fancy.

2. Whatever ſymbols we invent, human qualities alone can be repreſented under human figures. Piety is only a pious woman; and Courage, a courageous one, &c. Much is done when the ſoul is purged of all paſſions but one, which occupies it entirely, and ſhews itſelf manifeſtly in air, action, demeanour, and even dreſs. This abſtraction has been realized, though rarely; it may be conceived by the fancy, and may therefore be repreſented. But thoſe ſymbols are always moſt ſtriking which quit the region of chimeras, and give us ideas that are preciſe and conformable to the nature of things. One of the moſt intereſting is that of Piety under the form of a Roman veſtal. The ſenate carried this principle too far, when it repreſented the virtues under the portraits of its princes. Of human qualities, thoſe that are fixed and permanent are marked with more force than thoſe that are uncertain and tranſient. The latter are expreſſed

vagues et paſſagères. Les dernieres ne s'expriment que par l'attitude et l'air ; les premières peuvent y ajouter les traits, la figure, et l'habillement. Les ſymboles de la Chaſteté ou de la Vertu, ſont bien plus ſenſibles que ceux de l'Eſpérance ou de la Crainte.

Toutes les autres idées abſtraites dont on a voulu faire des perſonnes réelles, la Victoire, l'Eternité, l'Abondance, &c. ne ſe ſont connoître que par quelqu'uns de leurs effets ſenſibles, ou par quelque objet réel dont l'idée eſt liée avec la leur. Encore ſeroit on fort embarraſſé à les trouver au beſoin, ſi la fable et les inſtitutions des hommes, ne fourniſſoient beaucoup de ſignes arbitraires, qui n'ont leur valeur que par une convention tacite. Pour la femme dans le ſymbole, elle n'eſt qu'un hors d'œuvre. L'éternité eſt aſſez bien repréſentée par un globe et un *phœnix*. Dans la treizième médaille de la première ſuite, une femme aſſiſe les ſoutient dans la main. Dans la cinquième médaille on ne voit point de femme, mais l'idée eſt toujours la même. Elle y a ſi peu de part, que ſa preſence ou ſon abſence n'y apportent pas le moindre changement. Qu'on réitere l'expérience ſur toutes ces médailles, la femme n'y eſt que pour figurer. Elle n'eſt jamais *ſymbole* elle même. Les provinces ſont d'un genre moyen. Comme pays, elles ne ſont point ſymboliques, mais elles le ſont très ſouvent pour repréſenter le génie et les mœurs de leurs habitans.

3. M.

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expreſſed alone by the air and attitude; in the repreſentation of the former, one may add to theſe characteriſtics, the features, figure, and dreſs. The ſymbols of Virtue or Chaſtity may be far more diſtinctly characteriſed than thoſe of Hope or Fear.

The other abſtractions which have been repreſented by human figures, Victory, Eternity, Abundance, &c. are recogniſed only by ſome of their perceptible effects, or by ſome real object whoſe idea is aſſociated with their own. We ſhould have much difficulty in inventing them, when wanted, if hiſtory and fable did not ſupply a number of arbitrary ſigns, which receive their meaning merely from convention. In the ſymbolic repreſentation, the woman is merely an acceſſory. Eternity is very well repreſented by a globe and a phœnix: in the thirteenth medal of the firſt ſeries, a woman ſitting holds them in her hand. In the fifteenth medal there is no woman, though the idea is ſtill the ſame; and if we examine all the other medals, we ſhall find that women are there merely to make a figure, but never anſwer the purpoſe of ſymbols. The provinces are of a middle kind; they are never ſymbols of countries, but are often ſo of the genius and manners of their inhabitants.

3. Mr.

3. M. Addiſon propoſe une explication de l'ode trente cinquième du premier livre d'Horace, à l'occaſion d'une médaille qui repréſente la *Sécurité* qui s'appuye ſur une colonne *.

Regumque matres barbarorum, et
Purpurei metuunt tyranni
Injurioſo ne pede proruas
Stantem columnam.———

Ils craignoient que la Fortune ne renverſât la colonne de leur confiance. Mais la crainte et la ſécurité ſubſiſtent mal enſemble. D'ailleurs Horace ſe ſeroit il ſervi d'unealluſion auſſi fine, et auſſi éloignée, ſans en avertir le lecteur, au moins par une ſeule épithete? Pourquoi ne pas rapporter tout uniment ces paroles à toutes ces ſtatues, ces colonnes, que l'adulation érigeoit aux tyrans, et qui devenoient les premières victimes de la fureur populaire dans une révolution? Je ſoupçonne même que le poëte pouvoit avoir en vue le roi des Parthes, le plus puiſſant monarque de l'Orient. Le meurtrier de ſon pere et de toute ſa famille, avoit raiſon de craindre la Fortune. Son inquiétude étoit ſous les yeux des Romains; il avoit donné à Auguſte pluſieurs

3. Mr. Addiſon propoſes an explanation of the thirty-fifth ode of the firſt book of Horace, in ſpeaking of a medal which repreſents Security reſting on a pillar *.

Regumque matres barbarorum, et
Purpurei metuunt tyranni
Injurioſo ne pede proruas
Stantem columnam.———

They feared leſt Fortune might overturn the pillar of their ſecurity. But fear and ſecurity are inconſiſtent. Beſides, Horace would not probably have made uſe of ſo ſubtile and far-fetched an alluſion without giving warning of it, at leaſt, by ſome epithet. Why may not theſe words be applied literally to thoſe ſtatues and pillars which flattery erects to tyrants, and which are commonly the firſt victims of popular fury at the time of a revolution? I conjecture that the poet might allude to the king of the Parthians, the moſt powerful monarch of the Eaſt. Fortune might juſtly be dreaded by the murderer of his father, and of his whole family. The Romans had ſeen proofs of his anxiety. He had given to Auguſtus ſeveral of his neareſt relations as hoſtages,

* Dialogues upon Medals, Dial. ii. p. 47.

whom

ſieurs ôtages, de ſes proches parens, que ce prince faiſoit élever à Rome. Le ſuperbe Phrahate cherchoit moins à flatter les Romains par cette démarche humiliante, qu'à priver les mécontens de chefs d'une révolte *.

N° VI.

à FLORENCE, le 5 Aout 1764.

J'AI lu un petit ouvrage intitulé, *Littera Critica del Cavaliere Lorenzo Guazzeſi Aretino, all'Illuſtriſs. Sig. Dottore Antonio Cocchi, Medico Antiquario de S. M. C. intoruo ad Alcuni fatti della Guerra Gallica Ciſalpina, ſeguiti l'Anno di Roma* 529, *in Arezzo* 1752, *in* 12*mo. pp.* 103. J'y trouve du ſavoir et de l'eſprit, une bonne critique, et une très grande connoiſſance du local. Son défaut principal eſt celui de ſa nation; un ſtyle Aſiatique, ennemi de la force, de la préciſion et de la briéveté. Je vais raſſembler ſur ce ſujet ce que M. Guazzeſi m'a appris, et les idées que ma propre réflexion y a ajoutées. Cette ébauche ſeroit moins imparfaite, ſi j'avois un Polybe ſous les yeux.

1. Je ne ſaurois concevoir un événement plus dangereux pour la grandeur Romaine, que ne l'auroit été la réunion des Gaulois et des Carthaginois dans la

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whom that emperor cauſed to be educated at Rome. The haughty Phrahates intended leſs to flatter the Romans by this humiliating meaſure, than to deprive his diſcontented ſubjects of men fit to head their revolt*.

N° VI.

FLORENCE, 5th Auguſt 1764.

I HAVE been reading a little work, intitled, *A Critical Letter of the Chevalier Lorenzo Guazzeſi Aretino, to Doctor Anthony Cocchi, Phyſician and Antiquary of his Catholic Majeſty; reſpecting ſome Tranſactions in the Ciſalpine Gallic War, in the Year of Rome* 529: *Arezzo*, 1752; *in* 12*mo. pp.* 103. I find in this little work, erudition, good ſenſe, ſound criticiſm, with much local knowledge. Its chief fault is that of the Chevalier's country, an Aſiatic ſtyle, prejudicial to ſtrength, preciſion, and brevity. I ſhall unite, under one point of view, what I have learned from him on the ſubject, and the additions which my own reflections have made to it. This ſketch would be leſs imperfect, had I a Polybius at hand.

1. I cannot imagine any event that would have more endangered the greatneſs of Rome than the union of the Gauls and Carthaginians in the firſt Punic war. Both

* Tacit. Annal. ii. 1.

la première guerre Punique. Ils étoient redoutables les uns et les autres à ce peuple ambitieux; la politique la mieux entendue joignoit ſes conſeils à ceux de la haine. Chacun auroit mis dans l'alliance ce qui manquoit à ſon ami. Carthage ſe faiſoit craindre par ſes tréſors, ſa marine, et ſa diſcipline militaire. Le nombre, la valeur, et la ſituation avantageuſe des Gaulois, faiſoient toujours regarder une guerre Gauloiſe comme une criſe très dangéreuſe pour la république. Si les allies avoient réuſſi, la différence de leurs vues et de leurs caractères, auroit facilité les partages, et cimenté leur amitié. Mais la politique timide et bornée des Carthaginois, et l'inſenſibilité pareſſeuſe, ſi naturelle à une nation de barbares, qui ne prevoit jamais les dangers, épargnerent aux Romains tous les perils de cette alliance. Je penſe que cette république qui ſavoit diſſimuler et ſon ambition et ſa vengeance, ménageoit les barbares avec ſoin, et qu'elle attendoit tranquillement pour les irriter, le moment où ils n'auroient de reſſource qu'en eux-mêmes.

L'an de Rome 470 les Gaulois *Senones* furent preſqu'exterminés. On envoya les colonies de *Caſtrum* et *Sena*, dans leurs pays qui s'étendoit de l'*Æſis* à l'*Ufens*; et tout leur territoire, l'*Ager Gallicus*, fut ajouté au domaine de l'état. Au bout de cinquante huit ans, un tribun avide de popularité, fit paſſer une loi, pour diviſer parmi les citoyens ces terres de la république.

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theſe nations were formidable to that ambitious republic; and in both the projects of vengeance would have been directed by the wiſeſt policy. Each would have brought with it the advantages in which its ally was deficient. Carthage was powerful in wealth, ſhipping, and military diſcipline. The populouſneſs, valour, and advantageous ſituation of the Gauls made the Romans always conſider a Gallic war as an event big with alarm and danger. Had the allies ſucceeded, the difference of their views and character would have facilitated the friendly diviſion of their conqueſts, and cemented their union. But the cautious and narrow policy of the Carthaginians, and the lazy inſenſibility natural to improvident Barbarians, delivered the Romans from the danger of this alliance. The republic, I imagine, who knew how to diſſemble her hatred as well as her ambition, was careful to keep on good terms with the Gauls; and, before provoking their reſentment, patiently waited until they ſhould have no other reſource than in themſelves.

In the year of Rome 470, the Galli Senones were almoſt extirpated. The colonies of Caſtrum and Sena were ſent into the country extending from the Æſis to the Ufens; and the whole of their territory, the Ager Gallicus, was added to the dominions of the ſtate. Fifty-eight years afterwards, a tribune, ambitious of popularity, obtained a law for dividing this public property among the citizens. It is difficult to perceive why

lique. On a de la peine à voir comment cette nouvelle diſtribution d'un bien qui n'étoit plus aux Gaulois, a pu allumer ſur la champ une guerre auſſi vive qu'elle fut générale. Je comprends ſeulement que les *Boii* limitrophes jouiſſoient de l'avantage du paturage public, moyennant cette redevance légère qu'on nommoit *Scriptura*, et que des particuliers étoient intéreſſés peut être dans les ſousfermes de ces domaines. L'avidité des nouveaux habitans, aura chaſſé de leurs azyles, quelque foibles reſtes des *Senones*, que la ſage modération du gouvernement avoit oubliés. Le voiſinage des Romains devenoit plus dangereux aux Gaulois, à méſure que cette frontière ſe fortifioit et ſe peuploit d'une colonie rivale et guerrière. Quoiqu'il en ſoit, cette loi répandit la crainte et la fureur dans toute la Gaule Ciſalpine. Ces nations prirent les armes, et ils appellerent encore en Italie, un corps nombreux de mercenaires tirés des peuples Tranſalpins. Les Romains ſe preparerent à ſoutenir l'orage. Par le dénombrement qu'ils firent de toute l'Italie, ils virent bientôt qu'ils pouvoient y oppoſer 700,000 fantaſſins, et 70,000 cavaliers. Le conſul Æmilius, avec un nombreuſe armée, ſe poſta à *Ariminum* pour couvrir l'*Ager Gallicus*, l'objet de la guerre; et un des préteurs fut chargé de la défenſe de l'Etrurie. L'autre conſul, Atilius, étoit deja paſſé en Sardaigne, occupé à ſoumettre les barbares de cette îſle.

2. Il

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this diſtribution of lands, which had ceaſed to belong to the Gauls, ſhould at once proroke a war as fierce as it was general: all that I underſtand is, that the neighbouring Boii enjoyed the right of public paſturage, on paying a ſmall quit-rent called *Scriptura*; and that the lands were perhaps ſubfarmed by individuals. The avarice of the new proprietors may be ſuppoſed to have expelled the feeble remnant of the Senones, which the wiſe moderation of government had left unmoleſted. The neighbourhood of the Romans would grow more formidable to the Gauls, in proportion as that frontier was fortified and peopled by a rival and warlike colony. Whatever were the reaſons, it is certain that this law ſpread diſmay and fury through the whole of Ciſalpine Gaul. Theſe nations flew to arms, and invited into Italy numerous mercenaries from beyond the Alps. The Romans prepared for reſiſting the ſtorm. By an enumeration of their forces in Italy, they found they could ſend into the field 700,000 foot and 70,000 horſe. The conſul Æmilius, at the head of a numerous army, took poſt at Ariminum, to defend the Ager Gallicus, the object of the war; and one of the prætors was entruſted with the defence of Tuſcany. Atilius, the other conſul, had ſailed to Sardinia, with a view of conquering the barbarians of that iſland.

2. Il importe peu de ſavoir par quelle route les barbares vinrent fondre ſur l'Etrurie, qu'ils avoient choiſie pour le premier théâtre de la guerre. Le préteur étoit naturellement poſté auprès d'Arezzo, la grande place d'armes des Romains dans la Toſcane. Si les Gaulois ont ſuivi la route de la mer, ils peuvent avoir trompé ſa vigilance ; s'ils prirent celle de Bologne et du Valdimugello *, ce commandant, trop foible pour les attaquer, ſe ſera vu obligé de les laiſſer ravager et piller impunément les riches paturages de la Toſcane †. Ils y firent un butin immenſe en troupeaux et en eſclaves. Fiers de marcher ſur les traces de leur ancêtres, ils oſerent pouſſer juſqu'à *Cluſium*, ſur la grande route de la capitale. Ce fut là qu'ils apprirent la nouvelle que le préteur, qui avoit peut être reçu des renforts, les pourſuivoit à grandes journées. Ils firent volte face pour aller à ſa rencontre, et dejà le ſoir du premier jour de marche, les deux armées ſe trouverent en preſence. Chacun y fortifia ſon camp. Si nous ſuivons la route de *Cluſium* à *Arezzo*, dans la Valdichiana, nous trouverons les villages de Lucignano et de Sinalunga à une diſtance aſſez convenable ‡. Les Romains avoient pris un poſte excellent ; et ces barbares, malgré leur impétuoſité, ſongerent plutôt à le leur faire abandonner qu'à les y attaquer. Ils partirent avec toute l'infanterie,

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2. It is not material to determine by what route the barbarians penetrated into Etruria, which they thought fit to render the firſt theatre of the war. The prætor had naturally poſted himſelf near to Arezzo, the principal fortreſs of the Romans in Tuſcany. If they marched by the ſea-ſide, the Gauls might have deceived his vigilance ; if they purſued the road of Bologna and Valdimugello *, the general muſt have been too weak to reſiſt them, and therefore felt the neceſſity of allowing them to ravage with impunity the rich Tuſcan paſtures †. They got poſſeſſion of an immenſe booty in cattle and ſlaves. Proud of following the footſteps of their anceſtors, they advanced to Cluſium, on the ſtraight road to the capital. There they heard that the prætor, who had perhaps received a reinforcement, purſued them by forced marches. They changed their direction, in order to meet him ; and on the evening of the firſt day's march, the two armies were in ſight of each other. Both ſides fortified their camp. If we examine the road by Cluſium to Arezzo in the Valdichiana, we ſhall find the villages of Lucignana and Sinalunga ſituated at a convenient diſtance ‡. The Romans had occupied an excellent camp ; and the barbarians, notwithſtanding their impetuoſity, thought it wiſer to withdraw them from it by ſtratagem, than to diſlodge them by force. They

* Littera Crit. p. 37. † Id. p. 39. ‡ Id. 54.

marched

rie, laiſſerent des feux allumés pour tromper les Romains, et leur cavalerie pour les harceler, et les attirer inſenſiblement à l'endroit où ils les attendoient. Le préteur donna dans le piége, et paya ſa crédulité d'une défaite ſanglante. Il ſe retira avec difficulté ſur une hauteur, où il ſe défendit juſqu'à l'arrivée du conſul Emilius, qui avoit forcé de marches et paſſé l'Apennin. Sa préſence ſauva le préteur, et les Gaulois ne ſongerent plus qu'à mettre leur butin en ſureté, et à faire leur retraite le long de la mer. Ce récit eſt clair, et ſi Caſaubon avoit auſſi bien pris le ſens de Polybe que M. Gauzzeſi, le texte de ce grand hiſtorien n'offriroit plus de difficultés géographiques. Il avoit dit de la retraite de Gaulois, Ποιησαμενοι την υποχωρησιν ὡς επι πολιν φαισολαν. Si on le traduit *Fæſulas tendunt*, on fait faire aux Gaulois une marche preſque incroyable, et une manœuvre ridicule, puiſqu'elle ſuppoſe que les Romains pourſuivirent leur cavalerie ſoixante milles, ſans la mettre en déroute. Ces embarras augmentent, lorſqu'on a conduit les Gaulois juſqu'à *Fæſulæ*, et au pied de l'Apennin ; et comme on ne conçoit point comment ils ont pu rétrograder juſqu'à Telamon, on prend le parti avec Cluvier, de préférer l'autorité d'Oroſe à celle de Polybe, et de ſuppoſer que la dernière bataille s'eſt donnée auprès d'Arezzo. Pourquoi ne pas rendre ως επι φαισυλαν *verſus Fæſulas, du côté de Fæſula*, ſelon la ſignification

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marched with their whole infantry, left their fires burning to deceive the Romans, as well as their cavalry, who might continually haraſs them until they were drawn to the place to which they wiſhed to decoy them. The prætor fell into the ſnare, and was puniſhed for his credulity by a bloody defeat. He with much difficulty retired to an eminence, and defended himſelf till the arrival of the conſul Emilius, who by forced marches had paſſed the Apennines. His arrival ſaved the prætor; and the Gauls now thought only of ſecuring their booty, and making their retreat along the ſea coaſt. The narrative of Polybius is clear; and if Caſaubon had taken the ſenſe of the paſſage as well as Mr. Guazzeſi, the text of this great hiſtorian would no longer contain any geographical difficulties. He ſays of the retreat of the Gauls, Ποιησαμενοι την υποχωρησιν ὡς επι πολιν φαισολαν. If we tranſlate the words *Fæſulas tendunt* we ſuppoſe the Gauls to perform a march almoſt incredible, and to make a movement altogether abſurd, ſince it implies that the Romans purſued their cavalry ſixty miles without putting them to the route. Theſe difficulties are increaſed when we follow the Gauls to Fæſulæ and the foot of the Apennines; and as it is impoſſible to underſtand how they can retreat to Telamon, we adopt the opinion of Cluverius, in preferring on this occaſion the authority of Oroſius to that of Polybius, and ſuppoſing that the laſt battle was fought near to Arezzo. Why ſhould not the words ὡς επι φαισολαν *verſus Fæſulas* be tranſlated *in the direction of*

nification la plus naturelle, et la conſtruction la plus facile ? Les Gaulois ſuivîrent donc la route de *Cluſium* à *Fæſulæ*, mais on peut penſer qu'ils s'étoient à peine maſqués derrière cette chaine de collines, qui ſépare la Seigneurie de Florence, du territoire de Sienne, lorſque l'affaire s'engagea. Grace à cette idée heureuſe de M. Guazzeſi, le ſyſtême entier de cette campagne, ſe devoile à nos yeux *. Les Romains ſe retirerent ſur une de ces collines ; et ce fut en faiſant paſſer quelques coureurs à travers les bois qui les couvroient, qu'ils communiquerent au conſul leur ſituation.

Pourquoi les barbares préferent ils le chemin des côtes, à celui du Valdimugello, qui étoit beaucoup plus court ? Pourquoi n'ont ils pas traverſé le pays en droiture, pour arriver à l'embouchure de l'Arne, et pour cotoyer en ſuite juſqu'aux gorges de la *Valdimagra* ? Il eſt toujours certain que le Port de Telamon eſt plus près de Rome que les montagnes de Sienne. M. Guazzeſi repond très bien à ces difficultés, par les changemens que le tems a apportés au pays, et par l'ignorance où nous ſommes, ſi cette route n'étoit pas la ſeule praticable pour une armée, par la préférence que les Gaulois donnoient à la plaine, où ils pouvoient faire agir leur cavalerie nombreuſe, et par l'eſpérance de ſe ſervir des vaiſſeaux corſaires Liguriens et Gaulois, pour tranſporter

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Fæſulæ, according to the moſt natural ſignification and the eaſieſt conſtruction ? The Gauls then purſued the road from Cluſium to Fæſulæ, but had ſcarcely concealed themſelves behind the chain of hills which ſeparates the Duchy of Tuſcany from the diſtrict of Sienna, when they were obliged to come to an engagement. Thanks to the happy diſcovery of Mr. Guazzeſi, the whole plan of the campaign is unravelled *. The Romans retired to one of thoſe hills ; and by diſpatching couriers acroſs the thick woods by which they were covered, communicated the news of their ſituation to the conſul.

Why did the Barbarians prefer the road by the coaſt to that of Valdimugello, which is far ſhorter ? Why did they not traverſe the country in a right line, in order to arrive at the mouth of the Arno, and then follow the coaſt to the openings of the hills of Valdimagra ? We are ſure that Port Telamon is nearer than the mountains of Sienna to Rome. Mr. Guazzeſi well explains theſe difficulties, by the changes which time has effected in the nature of the country, and by our ignorance whether this route was not the only one practicable for an army ; by the preference given by the Gauls to the plain country, where they could avail themſelves of their numerous cavalry, and by the hope of meeting with piratical veſſels belonging to their own nation or the

* V. Surtout Littera Crit. p. 41—58.

Liguriens,

tranſporter tout leur butin, ſans danger et ſans difficulté. Mais je crois qu'il faut pénétrer juſqu'aux reſſorts qui ont fait mouvoir les conſeils Gaulois, pour bien apprécier une conduite qui paſſe de la fureur au découragement, qui menace la capitale, et qui ne cherche ſes ennemis que pour ſe retirer de devant eux, après avoir goûté les prémices de la victoire. Les Gaulois étoient gouvernés en effet par deux eſprits très différens. Les peuples Ciſalpins ne ſentoient que trop, qu'une pareille guerre ne pouvoit finir que par leur deſtruction, ou celle de Romains. Ils combattoient avec cette ardeur qu'inſpirent les plus grands intérêts; mais ils ne trouvoient point la même façon de penſer dans les *Geſatæ* leurs alliés. Ces troupes, qui étoient moins une nation, qu'un corps d'avanturiers raſſemblés de pluſieurs peuples différens, n'avoient d'autre motif pour paſſer les Alpes, que l'eſpérance du butin, et ne ſongeoient qu'à conſerver ce butin par une prompte retraite, ſans s'expoſer davantage dans une guerre qui leur étoit étrangère. Ce fut Anocreſte leur chef, qui ouvrit le premier cet avis; et dans l'ignorance générale où l'on étoit de la géographie ſpéculative, des barbares qui ne connoiſſoient ni le pays, ni la langue du pays, ne pouvoient ſe guider que par le cours des rivières dont les torrens ſe frayent ordinairement un chemin dans les vallons les moins difficiles. Ils ſe trouvoient alors vers le ſource de l'Ombro, et comme cette rivière coule du côté du Sud-Oueſt, ils s'étoient rap-

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Ligurians, in which they might tranſport their booty without difficulty or danger. But I believe it will be neceſſary to penetrate into the motives by which the Barbarians were actuated, before we can fairly appreciate their conduct in paſſing from fury to diſmay; and in marching up to their enemies, merely that they might fly before them, eſpecially after they had juſt taſted the ſweets of victory. The Gallic army was governed by two principles extremely different. The Ciſalpine nations perceived that ſuch a war could only terminate in their own deſtruction or that of the Romans. They fought like men, who had their deareſt intereſts at ſtake; but their allies the Geſatæ were not animated by a ſimilar ſpirit. Theſe troops were not a nation, but rather an aſſemblage from different nations, who had paſſed the Alps merely for the ſake of plunder, and who wiſhed to ſecure their booty by a ſpeedy retreat, without longer expoſing their perſons in a war which did not concern them. Their leader Anocreſtes was the firſt who propoſed this meaſure; and as the age was ignorant of the principles of geography, and the Barbarians were unacquainted both with the country and the language, hey could only ſhape their route by the courſe of thoſe rivers which, ſwelled to torrents, had forced their paſſage through the leaſt obſtructed vallies. They were then near the ſource of the Umbro; and as that river flows from the ſouth-weſt, they muſt

rapprochés de Rome; lorſqu'ils étoient parvenus à ſon embouchure auprès du Port de Telamon. Si les Ciſalpins, qui connoiſſoient le mieux ce pays, ne le quittoient qu'avec peine ; on peut ſoupçonner qu'ils profiterent avec plaiſir de cette circonſtance.

J'ai dit qu'ils ſuiverent l'Ombro juſqu'à ſon embouchure, quoique le Port de Telamon ſoit à dix huit milles plus près de Rome. Mais on ſait par un paſſage des ſtratagèmes de Frontin, que ce fut auprès de Colonia qu'ils deſcendirent dans la plaine, et que les Boii jetterent dix milles hommes dans un bois auprès de cet endroit. Le conſul Æmilius découvrit l'embuſcade, et les tailla en pieces. Les critiques qui ne connoiſſoient point cette *Colonia*, ont voulu l'expliquer, ou la corriger à leur manière. Colonia, nommée *Columnata* dans le moyen age, et la *Colonna* à preſent, n'eſt qu'un village du territoire de Groſſetto entre l'embouchure de l'Ombro et le lac Caſtiglione ou Aprilis*. Voila le lieu de la bataille. Le Port Telamon, endroit bien plus connu, lui a donné ſon nom.

On ſait que le conſul Æmilius ſuivit toujours l'armée des barbares, ſans vouloir engager une bataille, et que par un hazard ſingulier, ſon collegue Atilius, qui avoit debarqué ſon armée à Piſe, et qui revenoit à Rome par la voye Aurelienne, rencontra ſans s'en douter, l'avant garde des Gaulois ; que le

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have approached Rome, as they came to its mouth near Port Telamon. If the Ciſalpine Gauls, who were better acquainted with the country, were loath to leave it ; there is reaſon to think that they would with pleaſure avail themſelves of this circumſtance.

I ſay that they followed the courſe of the Umbro till they came to its mouth, although Port Telamon be eighteen miles nearer to Rome. But we learn from a paſſage of Frontinus's Stratagems, that they entered the plain at Colonia ; and that the Boii poſted ten thouſand men in a wood in that neighbourhood. The conſul Æmilius diſcovered the ambuſh, and cut the enemy in pieces. Critics, to whom the name of Colonia was unknown, have endeavoured in their uſual way to explain or correct it. This place, now Colonna, was called Columnata in the middle ages ; it is a village in the territory of Groſſetto, between the mouth of the Umbro and Lake Caſtiglione, or Aprilis* ; and was the ſcene of the battle, which derives its name from Port Telamon, a place far better known.

Hiſtory informs us, that the conſul Æmilius continued to follow the army of the Barbarians without venturing to provoke them to a battle ; and that, by a ſingular chance, his colleague Atilius, who had diſembarked his army at Piſa, unexpectedly

* Littera Crit. p. 77—87.

fell

le combat s'engagea, et que le conſul y fut tué, mais qu'Æmilius, qui les attaquoit de ſon côté, remporta une victoire complette, et que l'armée entière des barbares perit dans cette bataille, qui porta le coup mortel à la liberté des Gaulois en deça des Alpes. De toutes ces circonſtances, il n'y a que la ſurpriſe d'Atilius qui me paroît inconcevable. Il n'avoit pu quitter la Sardaigne ſa province, ſans les ordres du ſénat, et parmi ſes inſtructions, il avoit certainement celui de s'informer des mouvemens de l'ennemi, et de ceux de ſon collegue, pour agir de concert avec lui. Cette tâche s'exécutoit d'elle même dans un pays ami, où la déſolation du peuple et la fuite des payſans, lui annoncoient aſſez l'approche des barbares. Quoiqu'il en ſoit, quand je vois les Gaulois pris en front et par derrière, par deux armées Romaines qui arrivent de deux côtés oppoſés, cette marche m'a plutôt l'air d'un projet très bien entendu, que d'une négligence à peine concevable.

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M. Guazzeſi croit qu'anciennement la Toſcane avoit beaucoup de forêts, que le territoires de Cortone, d'Arezzo, et de Feſule en étoient couverts. On connoit l'étendue de la forêt Ciminienne. Il y en avoit auprès de *Cluſium*,

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fell in with their vanguard; that a battle enſued, in which that conſul was ſlain; while Æmilius, on his ſide, having alſo attacked the enemy, obtained a complete victory, deſtroyed the whole Barbarian army, and gave the mortal wound to the liberty of the Ciſalpine Gauls. Of all thoſe circumſtances, I find moſt difficulty in underſtanding the ſurpriſe of Atilius. He could not have left his province of Sardinia without the orders of the ſenate. His inſtructions muſt have required him to gain information, both of the motions of the enemy and of thoſe of his colleagues, in concert with whom he was to act. This duty was eaſily performed in a friendly country, where the conſternation of the people and the flight of the peaſants loudly proclaimed the approach of the Barbarians. In whatever manner this may be explained, the Gallic army, attacked in front and rear by two Roman conſuls, advancing in contrary directions, will always, in my opinion, wear the aſpect of a well-combined project, rather than of a military neglect, hardly conceivable. *.

Mr. Guazzeſi is of opinion that Tuſcany formerly abounded in foreſts; and that the diſtricts of Cortona, Arezzo, and Fæſulæ were entirely covered with them. The extent of the Ciminian wood is well known. In the year of the city 444, Livy tells us,

* Littera Crit. p. 59 - 64.

ſium, A. U. C. 444, ſelon Tite Live. Dans les guerres Puniques les Romains tiroient leurs bois de conſtruction, des pays de *Ruſellæ*, de *Perugia* et de *Cluſium*; et on ſait que les territoires de Sienne, de Volaterra, et celui de *Populonium*, où l'on travailloit le fer de l'île d'*Elba* avoient beaucoup de bois. Flavius Vopiſcus marque que du tems d'Aurelien, ley en avoit beaucoup auprès de la voye Aurelienne, et Strabon l'affirme de toute la Toſcane. Pour peu qu'on creuſe dans la Valdichiana, on trouve des arbres d'une grandeur démeſurée, qui ſont devenus foſſiles. Faut il encore en appeller aux anciens noms de ce pays, la *Farneta*, *Alberoſo*, *Fraſſineto*, *Cereto*, la *Selve*, et à l'obligation que ces communautés retinrent juſqu'à l'onzième ſiecle, de livrer les ſangliers tous les ans à leurs ſeigneurs ?

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that there was a foreſt near Cluſium. During the Punic wars, the Romans brought their timber for ſhip-building from Ruſellæ, Perugia, and Cluſium; and wood abounded in the territories of Sienna, Volaterra, and Populonium, whoſe inhabitants wrought the iron from the iſland of Elba. Flavius Vopiſcus obſerves, that in the time of Aurelian there was a great quantity of wood near the Aurelian way; and Strabo extends the remark to all Tuſcany. By digging into the Valdichiana, even near the ſurface, the workmen ſtill find trees of a prodigious ſize, which are now petrified. Need we appeal to the ancient names and epithets of the country, *la Farneta*, *Alberoſo*, *Fraſſinetto*, *Cereto*, *la Selve*; or to the obligations impoſed on the communities in thoſe parts, as late as the eleventh century, of furniſhing yearly to their lords a certain number of wild boars?

N° VII.

Sur les TRIOMPHES des ROMAINS.

à ROME, le 28 Novembre 1764.

ROMULUS ſe vit bientôt forcé de prendre les armes contre les petites cités des Sabins, que l'enlévement de leurs filles n'avoit que trop juſtement irrités contre ſon état naiſſant. Acron, roi des Cininiens, fut la première victime des armes Romaines. Il tomba ſous les coups de Romulus, et ſon peuple fut trop heureux de ſe perdre dans la nouvelle colonie. Le vainqueur voulut jouir des prémices de ſa gloire. Chaſſant devant lui des troupeaux et des priſonniers, ſuivi des compagnons de ſa victoire, et entouré de l'allégreſſe publique, il rentra dans ſa ville, et monta ſur le Mont Capitolin, pour dépoſer dans un temple qu'il y avoit dedié à Jupiter Feretius, ſa reconnoiſſance et ſes trophées. Par cette cérémonie, il aſſocia pour jamais dans l'eſprit de ſes Romains la religion et la vertu militaire. Ce fut là l'origine des triomphes, *inſtitution qui devint dans la ſuite, la cauſe principale de la grandeur de Rome* *. Trois cens vingt de ces triomphes ‡ la conduiſirent à ce faîte de la

* Monteſquieu Grandeur et Décadence des Romains, C. i. p. 2.

‡ Onuphr. Panvin. de Triumphis. Il a pris ce nombre dans Oroſe.

grandeur,

N° VII.

Upon the TRIUMPHS of the ROMANS.

ROME, 28th November 1764.

ROMULUS was ſoon obliged to take arms againſt the little cities of the Sabines, whom the rape of their daughters had juſtly provoked againſt his riſing ſtate. Acron, king of the Cininians, was the firſt victim of Roman valour. He fell by the hand of Romulus; and his ſubjects had the good fortune to be allowed to unite with the new colony. The conqueror was eager to reap the firſt fruits of his glory. Driving before him herds and priſoners, and attended by the companions of his victory, he entered the city amidſt public acclamation, and aſcended the Capitoline hill, in order to depoſit his trophies and his gratitude in the temple which he had dedicated to Jupiter Feretrius. By this ceremony, military virtue was for ever aſſociated with religion in the imagination of the Romans. Such was the origin of the triumph, *an inſtitution which proved the principal cauſe of the greatneſs of Rome* †. Three hundred and twenty triumphs §

† Monteſquieu on the Greatneſs and Decline of the Romans.

§ Onuphr. Panvin. on Triumphs. The number is taken from Oroſius.

grandeur, où elle ſe trouva ſous l'empire de Veſpaſien. Je vais hazarder quelques réflexions ſur le droit de triomphe, ſur le chemin que ſuivoient les triomphateurs, et ſur le ſpectacle lui même.

Le droit de triomphe peut s'enviſager de trois manières différentes. 1. L'autorité qui l'accordoit: 2. les perſonnes à qui on l'accordoit; et, 3. les raiſons pour leſquelles on l'accordoit.

1. Je penſe que les rois, dont l'autorité étoit auſſi indépendante ſur le militaire, qu'elle étoit bornée dans le civil, rentroient dans la ville en triomphe, toutes les fois qu'ils s'en croyoient dignes, et qu'ils ſe décernoient eux mêmes cet honneur que leur prédéceſſeur avoit inſtitué. Après l'expulſion de Tarquin, le ſénat, deja le conſeil du prince et de la nation, devint encore l'arbitre des recompenſes militaires*. Il accorde à Valerius Publicola l'honneur du triomphe pour cette victoire remportée ſur les Tarquins, dans laquelle Brutus perdit la vie. Depuis cette époque, le triomphe acquit un prix réel aux yeux de quiconque connoiſſoit la véritable gloire. Cette cérémonie n'étoit plus une vaine pompe qui éblouiſſoit la populace: un conſul y trouvoit déſormais le plus beau de tous les éloges, l'approbation de nos égaux, et de nos émules. Quelques uns des ſénateurs avoient eux mêmes obtenu

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raiſed her to that exaltation, which ſhe had attained under the reign of Veſpaſian. I venture to ſubmit the following reflections on the right of triumph, the road through which it proceeded, and the ſhow itſelf.

The right of triumph may be conſidered under three aſpects. 1. The authority by which it was conferred; 2. the perſons upon whom; and, 3. the reaſons for which it was granted.

1. Under the royal government, I ſhould ſuppoſe that the kings, whoſe authority was as independent in military as it was limited in civil affairs, entered the city in triumph, whenever they thought themſelves entitled to that honour; and thus diſpenſed in their own favour the benefits of an inſtitution which had been eſtabliſhed by their predeceſſor. After the expulſion of Tarquin, the ſenate, which had been the council of the prince, and was now that of the nation, naturally aſſumed the power of diſpenſing military rewards *. The ſenate conferred on Valerius Publicola the honour of a triumph for having defeated the Tarquins in that battle in which Brutus was ſlain. From this æra, the triumph poſſeſſed a real value in the opinion of all acquainted with true glory. This ceremony was no longer a vain ſhow, fitted merely to dazzle the populace; but a ſolemnity in which a meritorious conſul found the beſt of all panegyrics; the praiſe of his equals and of his rivals. Some ſenators had attained, many

* Tit. Liv. L. ii. Dionyſ. Halicarn. L. v.

of

obtenu cette gloire, il y en avoit peu qui n'y aſpiraſſent. Tous intéreſſés à ne point avilir un honneur qui étoit le leur, ils jugeoient le candidat avec une ſévérité ſalutaire pour l'état, et glorieuſe pour lui même. Le ſénat regardoit ce droit comme la plus belle de ſes prérogatives : il le conſerva juſqu'aux derniers jours de la république, et parut le conſerver juſqu'au plus bas tems de l'empire. Il eut une fois la douleur de s'en voir privé, et de ſentir encore qu'il méritoit de le perdre. L'an de Rome 305, Valerius et Horatius, ces deux conſuls qui avoient chaſſé les Décemvirs, remporterent deux victoires complettes ſur les Volſques, les Eques, et les Sabins ; mais leur conduite trop populaire, et leur ardeur à pourſuivre les Décemvirs, leur avoient attiré la haine des chefs du ſénat, qui plaignoient leurs coupables parens, quoiqu'ils déteſtaſſent leurs forfaits. Le ſénat refuſa aux conſuls le triomphe qu'ils demandoient *, et donna cet exemple ſi pernicieux dans un état libre, celui de diſtribuer les graces militaires ſelon le parti que ſuivent les Généraux dans les affaires politiques. Un tribun appella au peuple de cette injuſtice, et ce peuple fut charmé d'étendre ſes droits en récompenſant ſes favoris. Valerius et Horatius triompherent ſans le conſentement du ſénat : mais le peuple, content de ſa victoire, rendit au ſénat le droit qu'il s'étoit arrogé

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of them aſpired to, the triumph ; and as all of them felt an intereſt in keeping untarniſhed an honour which was in ſome meaſure their own, they judged the candidate with a ſeverity as ſalutary for the ſtate as glorious for himſelf. The ſenate conſidered this right as its moſt precious prerogative ; preſerved it in reality to the laſt days of the republic ; and affected to preſerve it to the lateſt times of the empire. It once had the pain to ſee itſelf diveſted of this right, and to feel that it juſtly merited the puniſhment. In the year of Rome 305, Valerius and Horatius, the two conſuls who had aboliſhed the Decemvirate, gained two complete victories over the Volſci, the Equi, and the Sabines ; but their conduct too partial to the populace, and their eagerneſs in proſecuting the Decemvirs, drew on them the hatred of the leaders of the ſenate, who pitied their unfortunate kinſmen, at the ſame time that they deteſted their crimes. The ſenate refuſed to theſe conſuls the honour of a triumph * ; affording therein an example highly pernicious in a free ſtate, of being influenced in the diſtribution of military favours by the party which the generals take in politics. In conſequence of this injuſtice, a tribune appealed to the people, who ſeized with pleaſure the opportunity of at once rewarding their favourites, and of extending their own power. Valerius and Horatius triumphed without the conſent of the ſenate ; to which, however, the people reſtored a prerogative, which they themſelves had uſurped on this particular occaſion.

* Tit. Liv. L. iii. Dionyſ. Harlicarn. L. xi.

arrogé dans cette occaſion. Je crois que ce corps habile, qui a eu des ſiecles de ſageſſe et des momens de paſſion, chercha dans l'impartialité et la prudence de ſes décrets, l'affermiſſement d'une autorité auſſi précaire, et que l'état profita de ſes craintes. Il devoit craindre en effet la déciſion d'une queſtion délicate ſur la conſtitution. Puiſque les arrêts du peuple pouvoient déroger aux droits les mieux reconnus du ſénat, ce ſénat qu'étoit-il, ſi non une commiſſion établie par le peuple, à laquelle il avoit délégué l'exercice de ſes droits, qu'il étoit toujours le maître de reprendre ? Le parti patricien en auroit voulu faire les repréſentans de ſon ordre, comme les comices des tribus l'étoient de celui des plébéiens. Selon ces principes, ces deux corps ſe réuniſſoient pour former la république ; mais chacun y avoit ſes droits ſacrés et inviolables. Le conſentement du ſénat ouvroit les portes au char du triomphateur ; mais il dépendoit encore du peuple de l'arrêter. Tout commandement militaire ſe perdoit en paſſant le *Pomœrium*. Généraux au dehors, les conſuls n'étoient que magiſtrats dans une ville, qui ne connoiſſoit de force que celle des loix. Cependant le triomphateur rentroit à la tête de ſes légions, revêtu de ſon caractère militaire. Pour concilier la gloire du chef, et le reſpect qu'on devoit aux loix, le ſénat propoſoit toujours au peuple de lui continuer le commandement militaire, pendant le jour de

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I am not ignorant that this politic council, which had ages of wiſdom and only moments of paſſion, endeavoured, by the impartiality and prudence of its decrees, to confirm its precarious authority ; and that the public at large profited by its fears. It could not indeed but fear the deciſion of a delicate queſtion reſpecting its own conſtitution. Since the decrees of the people ſuperſeded the beſt eſtabliſhed rights of the ſenate, in what other light could that ſenate be regarded, but as a commiſſion delegated by the people, for the purpoſe of exerciſing rights, which thoſe who had conferred them might at pleaſure reſume ? The patrician party were glad to have the ſenate conſidered as the repreſentatives of their own order, as the comitia tributa repreſented the plebeians. Agreeably to this principle, theſe two bodies united compoſed the commonwealth ; but each of them apart enjoyed its ſacred and inviolable rights. The conſent of the ſenate opened the gates to the triumphal car ; but the people were entitled to ſtop its carcer. Upon entering the Pomœrium, all military command ceaſed ; and the conſuls, who were generals abroad, became ſimple magiſtrates in Rome ; which acknowledged no other authority than that of the laws. Yet the triumphant general returned at the head of his legions, and continued to appear in a military character. To reconcile reſpect for the laws with the glory due to conquerors, the ſenate always propoſed continuing the general in his command during the day of

de ſon triomphe. L'aſſemblée déféroit preſque toujours à l'autorité des peres, mais elle pouvoit la rejetter; et on l'a vu prête à uſer de ſon droit pour arrêter le triomphe de Paul Emile.

2. Pour oſer demander le triomphe il falloit avoir eu le commandement. La diſcipline des Romains n'auroit jamais permis qu'un tribun, ou qu'un lieutenant, ſe preſentât au ſénat pour y demander le prix qu'il avoit mérité par ſes ſervices; qu'avoit il pu mériter ce ſubalterne, lui dont les vertus n'étoient que la valeur et l'obeiſſance? C'étoit à ſon chef à les récompenſer. Cette idée de la ſubordination étoit portée ſi loin, que le général jouiſſoit de la gloire de ſes lieutenants les plus éloignés *, et qu'ils étoient cenſés ne vaincre que par les ordres qu'il avoit donnés †. C'eſt ainſi que les empereurs, ſeuls chefs de la milice, ſe réſerverent ſeuls les honneurs du triomphe pour les victoires que leur génie remportoit à la fois ſur le Rhin et ſur l'Euphrate. On s'apperçoit encore ici de l'aſſociation conſtante parmi les Romains, de la religion et de la politique. Le peuple en confiant à ſes magiſtrats le commandement ſuprême, lui confioit le droit de prendre les auſpices, et d'interroger la fortune publique de la nation. Ce caractère ſacré les mettoit (pour m'exprimer ainſi) en liaiſon avec les dieux de la république.

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his triumph. The people uſually acceded to this propoſal; which they were entitled, however, to reject; and which they had nearly rejected, in order to hinder the triumph of Paulus Emilius.

2. Thoſe only could demand a triumph who had been inveſted with ſupreme command. The diſcipline of the Romans would never have allowed a tribune or a lieutenant, to apply to the ſenate for the reward of his ſervices. What reward could a ſubaltern deſerve, whoſe only virtues were thoſe of valour and obedience; virtues which it was the duty of his general to remunerate. The principle of military ſubordination was carried ſo far, that a commander in chief appropriated the glory of his moſt diſtant lieutenants *, who were conſidered as indebted for their ſucceſs merely to the orders which he had given to them †. The emperors therefore, as ſole heads of the army, were alone entitled to triumph for the victories which their genius had obtained, at the ſame time on the Rhine and the Euphrates. On this occaſion, alſo, we may perceive the perpetual connection, among the Romans, of religion and policy. The people, in conferring the ſupreme command, conferred with it the right of taking the auſpices, and of interrogating the gods, concerning the fortune of the ſtate. This

* Cicér. in Piſon, C. xxiii.

† See the Abbé Bleterie's Diſſertation on the title Imperator. Mém. de l'Academ. des Belles Lettres, tome xxi.

ſacred

république. Eux, et eux ſeuls, pouvoient les interroger, et les ſolliciter par des vœux, que l'état étoit obligé de remplir. Il n'y avoit donc qu'eux, à qui il convenoit de leur offrir des actions de graces, lorſque ces dieux avoient exaucé leurs prières, et d'apporter à leurs pieds les dépouilles des ennemis et les trophées de leurs victoires. Dans la théologie toute martiale des Romains, on ne pouvoit leur préſenter des offrandes plus agréables.

Dans les premiers ſiecles, les conſuls et les préteurs réuniſſoient facilement des campagnes qui ne conſiſtoient qu'en quelques jours de marche, ſuivis d'un combat, avec l'adminiſtration politique. Mais lorſque la république étoit forcée de ſe defendre et d'attaquer tout à la fois dans toutes les provinces de l'Italie, dans la Sicile, dans l'Eſpagne et dans l'Afrique, il falloit multiplier ſes chefs, et continuer aux conſuls et aux préteurs le même commandement, lorſque le terme de leur magiſtrature étoit expiré. Ces proconſuls et propréteurs devinrent à la fin les ſeuls généraux de l'état; et quoique les mêmes perſonnes exerçaſſent les fonctions civiles et militaires, elles ne les exercoient plus en même tems, effet naturel de l'étendue de l'empire, et de la grandeur des affaires. Ces magiſtrats extraordinaires, qui jouiſſoient des mêmes droits et des mêmes auſpices, que lorſqu'ils étoient conſuls ou préteurs, obtenoient toujours le triomphe, quand ils l'avoient mérité. Pouvoit on

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ſacred prerogative eſtabliſhed a peculiar connection between the general and the gods of his country. He alone could interrogate them, and ſolicit their favour by vows, which the ſtate was bound to perform. When his prayers were heard, it belonged, therefore, to him in particular, to demonſtrate the public gratitude to the gods; and to lay at their feet hoſtile ſpoils and victorious trophies. To the martial ſuperſtition of the Romans, no offerings could appear more acceptable.

In the firſt ages of the republic, it was eaſy for the conſuls and prætors to unite with their civil functions the management of campaigns, which conſiſted only in marches of a few days, immediately followed by a battle. But when Rome was obliged to act, both offenſively and defenſively, in all the provinces of Italy; in Sicily, Spain, and Africa; it became neceſſary to increaſe the number of generals, and to extend the military command of the conſuls and prætors beyond the term aſſigned for their civil authority. Theſe proconſuls and proprætors finally became the only generals of the ſtate; and in conſequence of the weight of affairs which increaſed with the extent of the empire, although the ſame perſons continued to exerciſe both civil and military functions, yet they ceaſed to exerciſe them ſimultaneouſly. Theſe extraordinary magiſtrates, who enjoyed the ſame ſacred prerogatives as when they were conſuls and prætors, were entitled alſo to demand a triumph, when their exploits merited that honour.

on en effet flétrir leurs lauriers, parceque la diſtance des lieux et la difficulté de la guerre, ne leur avoient pas permis de la terminer dans une ſeule campagne. Mais pendant la ſeconde guerre Punique, le jeune Scipion vint demander ce triomphe qu'il avoit ſi bien mérité, en vengeant la mort de ſes oncles, et en rendant à la république la grande province d'Eſpagne. Sa ſituation étoit ſingulière comme ſes exploits. Sa propre hardieſſe et la faveur du peuple, l'avoient élevé au commandement à l'age de vingt quatre ans. Il étoit général ſans avoir été magiſtrat. Il paroiſſoit dangereux d'accoutumer les favoris du peuple à mépriſer les emplois de l'état, et à s'ouvrir des voyes plus abrégées. En lui refuſant le triomphe, on proteſtoit en faveur des maximes même qu'on avoit violées; on faiſoit ſentir au peuple combien étoient différentes ſes loix et ſon autorité, et l'on refroidiſſoit les déſirs téméraires que le ſuccès de Scipion auroit excités, en ſeparant le prix de la gloire de celui de l'ambition. Le ſénat prit le parti de la ſageſſe et de la diſcipline; et le vainqueur ſe ſoumit à ſon refus. Ce décret fondé ſur des raiſons qu'on ſentit plutôt qu'on ne les énonça, s'introduiſit dans la juriſprudence des triomphes; et il parut conſtant que le ſénat n'en avoit jamais accordé à ceux qui n'étoient point magiſtrats: l'exemple de Scipion ſembloit décider de l'avenir. Dans le ſens propre, ce décret n'ouvroit le triomphe qu'à

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honour. It would have been unjuſt indeed to debar them from this reward, and to blaſt their laurels, becauſe the diſtance of the province and the difficulty of the war had prevented them from terminating it in a ſingle campaign. During the ſecond Punic war, young Scipio demanded a triumph, which he had fairly earned, by avenging the death of his uncles, and by recovering for the republic the great province of Spain. His ſituation was as ſingular as his ſervices. His own boldneſs and the favour of the people had raiſed him to ſupreme command at the age of twenty-four. He became a general without having ever been a magiſtrate. It appeared dangerous to accuſtom the favourites of the people to deſpiſe civil employments, and to open for themſelves ſhorter roads to power. By refuſing a triumph to Scipio, the Romans proteſted in favour of maxims which themſelves had violated: the people were taught to underſtand that their authority was ſubordinate to the laws; and that raſh ambition was ſuppreſſed, which might too probably have been inflamed by the ſucceſs of Scipio in ſeparating the reward of military glory from the honours of civil magiſtracy. The ſenate maintained the cauſe of wiſdom and of diſcipline; and the conqueror ſubmitted to their refuſal. This decree, which was founded on reaſons of ſtate, rather felt than expreſſed, came to be conſidered as the law of triumphs; which the people never granted to any but magiſtrates: the precedent in the caſe of Scipio was thenceforth

qu'à ceux d'entre les conſuls et les préteurs, à qui le ſénat continuoit l'exercice de cette magiſtrature qu'il leur avoit confiée; mais je vois que l'uſage et la raiſon l'étendirent ſans difficulté à ces citoyens à qui l'autorité publique accordoit le pouvoir de ces magiſtratures *, qu'ils avoient une fois exercées, et que l'indulgence du ſénat ſupprimoit, pour ainſi dire, les années qui s'étoient écoulées depuis l'expiration de leurs charges, et les conſideroit toujours comme revêtus du caractère qu'ils avoient une fois porté. J'ignore juſqu'à quel point le ſénat auroit pouſſé ſon indulgence, et s'il eût accordé le triomphe aux exploits d'un ancien préteur, par exemple, revêtu de l'autorité proconſulaire. Je crois que ce ſage conſeil ne décida point d'avance un cas qui n'étoit pas arrivé; et qu'il auroit jugé ſelon les circonſtances juſqu'à un proconſul, qui n'auroit jamais joui que de la dernière des magiſtratures, l'édilité. Cet édile, agé au moins de trente huit ans, devoit être connu depuis vingt ans dans les troupes et dans la ville. Il devoit avoir fait connoître ſes talens et ſon caractère dans la *queſture*, et ſes principes de politique dans le ſénat. Mais le ſens et la lettre de ce décret excluoient de l'honneur du triomphe, tout particulier, tout chevalier Romain, qui auroit donné l'exem-

* Je ne puis renvoyer qu'à Tite Live et aux Faſtes du ſixième et ſeptième ſiecles de Rome.

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deciſive. The ſtrict ſenſe of this decree allowed a triumph only to thoſe conſuls and prætors whoſe magiſtracies had been prolonged by the people; but both reaſon and cuſtom extended this honour to citizens inveſted by public authority with the power belonging to offices † which they had formerly filled; the indulgence of the ſenate obliterating, as it were, the years which had elapſed ſince the term of their employment, and conſidering them as ſtill bearing a character which they had once honourably ſuſtained. I know not how far the ſenate extended this indulgence; and whether it allowed, for example, the triumph to a prætor of a former year, when inveſted with proconſular authority. I am inclined to think that this wiſe council never anticipated the deciſions of caſes which had not actually happened; and that according to circumſtances it would have extended the right of triumph even to a proconſul, who had never held any other magiſtracy than the ædileſhip. The ædile having attained at leaſt the age of thirty-eight, muſt have been known for twenty years in the army and in the city. His talents and his character might have been appreciated by his behaviour in the quæſtorſhip, and his political principles could not fail of being diſcovered in the ſenate. But both the letter and the ſpirit of this decree excluded from triumphal honours the ſimple citizen or knight, that the laws might not be ſuſpended even in favour of

* I can only cite the authority of Livy and the Faſti of the ſixth and ſeventh centuries of Rome.

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ple pernicieux de faire déroger aux loix, en faveur même du mérite le plus diſtingué. Il établit ſi bien l'honneur de ces loix et du triomphe, que le peuple ne diſtribua plus ſes graces, que ſelon l'ordre établi. Je ſais que le jeune Pompée, encore chevalier, arracha au dictateur Sylla les honneurs du triomphe, dans ces tems malheureux où les loix ſe taiſoient devant les particuliers trop puiſſans *. Si le ſénat lui accorda enſuite une grace pareille, l'autorité de Pompée et la faveur du peuple juſtifioient aſſez une indulgence qui étoit ſans conſéquence pour lui.

3. On ſait aſſez que le Général victorieux à ſon retour à Rome, faiſoit aſſembler le ſénat dans un temple hors de l'enceinte des murs, et qu'il lui expoſoit ſes prétenſions au triomphe, en lui fourniſſant en même tems des mémoires exacts de ſa victoire, dont il étoit obligé de conſtater la vérité par ſon ſerment ſolemnel. La manière dont Claudius Néron et Livius Salinator demanderent le triomphe pour leur victoire de Metaurus, étoit ſelon Tite Live la forme uſitée de tous les Généraux. Il ſupplierent qu'on rendît graces aux dieux, et qu'il leur fût permis d'entrer en ville en triomphe, pour avoir adminiſtré la république avec courage et avec fidélité †. Je penſe que cette condition, dont l'interprétation ſe prêtoit facilement à la prudence et à l'équité des juges, étoit ſeule eſſentielle, quoique pluſieurs

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the moſt diſtinguiſhed merit. The authority of theſe laws became ſo thoroughly eſtabliſhed, that the people no longer ſought to diſpenſe their favours, but agreeably to the order which they preſcribed. I know that young Pompey, while yet a ſimple knight, forced the dictator Sylla to grant him a triumph, at that unhappy criſis when the laws were overwhelmed by the power of individuals *. Although the ſenate afterwards beſtowed on him a ſimilar power, the authority of Pompey, and the enthuſiaſtic admiration of the multitude, juſtified an indulgence which would not be conſtrued into a precedent.

3. It is well known that the victorious general, at his return to Rome, aſſembled the ſenators in a temple without the walls, and explained to them his juſt pretenſions to a triumph, by ſupplying them with a written narrative of his victory, confirmed by a ſolemn oath. The form by which Claudius Nero and Livius Salinator demanded a triumph for their victory at Metaurus was that employed by the ſubſequent generals. They requeſted that thanks might be rendered to the gods; and that they themſelves might be allowed to enter the city in triumph, for their faithful and courageous management of the affairs of the republic †. I am of opinion that this condition, which admitted of great latitude of interpretation from the prudence and equity

* Appian de Bell. Civil. L. i. Cicér. pro leg. Marcil. † Tit. Liv. xxviii.

ſieurs écrivains y ayent ſubſtitué une multitude de petites loix, qui arrêtoient les délibérations du ſénat, et le mettoient à chaque inſtant dans l'impuiſſance, ou dans la néceſſité d'accorder l'honneur du triomphe à ceux qui le ſolicitoient *. Eux mêmes n'ont point pu découvrir des loix dignes de ce nom ſacré. Celles qu'ils nous ont données, ne ſont appuyées que ſur quelques exemples particuliers, qui ſont détruits à leur tour par des exemples oppoſés ; et l'on doit ſentir que celui qui nie, détruit, d'un ſeul fait, toutes les vraiſemblances qu'on peut accumuler contre lui.

C'eſt ainſi qu'ils ont ſtatué qu'un Général ne pouvoit prétendre au triomphe, à moins que dans une ſeule bataille rangée, il n'eut fait périr cinq mille des ennemis ; et à les entendre, cette ſeule condition remplie l'autoriſoit à le demander comme une récompenſe qui lui étoit due. J'ai cependant de la peine à me perſuader que le ſénat eut voulu s'aſſujettir à juger du mérite, ſur une règle auſſi incertaine que le nombre des morts. Dans combien d'occaſions un Général pouvoit-il rendre à la république des ſervices, qui méritoient toute ſa reconnoiſſance, ſans avoir ſatisfait à ces calculateurs ſcrupuleux, qui meſurent le ſang humain avec taut d'exactitude ? S'il avoit affaire aux peuples efféminés de l'Orient, qui oſoient à peine ſoutenir

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of the judges, was the only one eſſential, although ſeveral writers ſuppoſe a variety of particular laws, which controlled the deliberations of the ſenate, and compelled them either to admit or to reject the pretenſions of thoſe who demanded a triumph *. Yet thoſe writers have not been able to bring forward, on this ſubject, any thing deſerving the ſacred name of a law. The particulars which they mention are inferred from a few examples, the force of which is deſtroyed by others directly oppoſite ; and they cannot but perceive that he who maintains the negative againſt them, overturns, by a ſingle fact, all the probabilities which they can accumulate.

They lay it down as a law of the triumph, that a general could not claim that honour, who had not in a pitched battle killed five thouſand of the enemy ; and ſuppoſe that he was entitled to demand it, upon fulfilling this ſingle condition, as the due recompenſe of his merit. Yet it is not eaſy to believe that in appreciating military ſervices, the ſenate ſhould have been guided by a circumſtance ſo exceedingly uncertain as the number of the ſlain. On how many occaſions might a general deſerve the warmeſt gratitude of the republic, without contenting thoſe nice arithmeticians who calculated the quantity of human blood with ſuch ſcrupulous accuracy ? If he carried on war againſt the effeminate nations of the Eaſt, whoſe cowardice was alarmed even by

* V. Onuphr. Panvin. de Triumphis, et Appian in Lybicis.

tenir le cri de guerre des légions, une victoire très peu ſanglante, pouvoit lui livrer un royaume entier. Un Général ſagement avare du ſang des citoyens, pouvoit penſer qu'une campagne ſavante et heureuſe déployoit bien mieux les talens militaires, que l'aveugle fortune d'un jour de combat. Ses manœuvres bien concertées et bien ſoutenues, pouvoient enlever à l'ennemi toutes ſes reſſources, ſans lui laiſſer même celles d'une bataille, et le reduire à la néceſſité de mettre bas les armes, et de ſe rendre avec une armée encore entière, et que les combats n'avoient point diminuée. Des places fortifiées par l'art ou par leur ſituation, et défendues par une garniſon intrépide plutôt que nombreuſe, pouvoient offrir de toutes parts des obſtacles dignes de toute la conſtance des troupes, et de toute la ſcience du Général, qui aura achevé par cette conquête, des guerres auſſi onéreuſes pour la république, qu'elles étoient pernicieuſes aux provinces. Je ne citerai que le dernier de ces cas, et je ne rappellerai que l'exemple du ſecond des Scipions qui égala la réputation de ſon oncle, ſans avoir jamais vaincu Annibal, et qui triompha deux fois, ſans avoir livré une ſeule bataille rangée. Les ſiéges de Carthage et de Numance lui valurent ces deux triomphes, et deux ſurnoms encore plus glorieux. Il ne ſeroit cependant pas poſſible d'y trouver un combat où il ait pu périr cinq mille hommes. Il y a même des auteurs qui nous aſſurent que ces Numantins qui oſerent lutter avec tant de ſuccès et de

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the war-ſhouts of the legions, a victory almoſt bloodleſs might put him in poſſeſſion of a whole kingdom. A commander, ſparing of the blood of his fellow-citizens, might think military talents more honourably diſplayed in the ſkill and ſucceſs of a campaign, than in the blind fortune and havock of a day of battle. His well-contrived and well-executed movements might deprive the enemy of every reſource, without excepting that of an engagement; and compel them to ſurrender their arms and their perſons, a prize undiminiſhed by any loſs in the field. Towns ſtrongly fortified by art or nature, and defended by garriſons more obſtinate than numerous, might oppoſe obſtacles worthy of exerciſing all the ſkill and perſeverance of a general; who, by carrying ſuch places, might often terminate wars as burdenſome to the republic as pernicious to the provinces. I ſhall exemplify only the ſecond of thoſe caſes; and my example ſhall be that of the younger Scipio, whoſe glory equalled that of his uncle, though he had never conquered an Hannibal; and who triumphed twice, without having ever fought a ſingle pitched battle. By taking Carthage and Numantium, he obtained thoſe triumphs, and two ſurnames, ſtill more glorious. Yet, in the courſe of thoſe ſieges, it is impoſſible to find an action in which five thouſand of the enemy periſhed; and there are authors who affirm, that thoſe brave Numantines who reſiſted

de conſtance contre les forces de la république, ne monterent jamais à plus de quatre mille hommes, qui ne multiplierent leur nombre que par leur valeur *.

Nous devons à ces mêmes écrivains un autre réglement auſſi ſage, et par bonheur auſſi bien fondé que le premier. Pour obtenir, diſent-ils, l'honneur du triomphe, il falloit avoir ſoumis quelque peuple qui n'avoit jamais reconnu l'autorité des Romains ; il n'auroit pas ſuffi de réduire une province révoltée ; le ſénat ne comptoit que ces victoires qui reculoient les frontières de l'empire. Il me ſemble qu'on a voulu faire honneur à une certaine grandeur d'ame un peu romaneſque, aux dépens de la prudence et du véritable honneur. En effet la poſſeſſion d'une province importoit elle moins à la république, parcequ'elle l'avoit dejà poſſedée, et qu'elle l'avoit rendue d'un prix bien plus conſidérable, en verſant dans ſon ſein des colonies nombreuſes, et en faiſant valoir tous les avantages naturels ou artificiels du pays ? Son honneur étoit-il plus intéreſſé à ſoumettre des nations libres, qui connoiſſoient à peine le nom de Rome, qu'à réduire des rebelles dont la révolte accuſoit la juſtice de la république, bravoit ſa puiſſance, et donnoit aux autres ſujets un exemple dangereux et ſéduiſſant ? Trouvoit-on une réſiſtance moins opiniâtre parmi ces peuples réduits à opter entre la victoire et la mort, et dont les chefs, et même les troupes, avoient appris l'art de la guerre

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with ſuch perſeverance and ſucceſs the forces of the republic, never exceeded four thouſand men, whoſe numbers were multiplied only by their valour *.

Another regulation is mentioned, not leſs wiſe, and juſt as well founded as that already ſtated. A triumph, it is ſaid, could be obtained only by the conquerors of nations, who had never previouſly acknowledged the authority of the Romans ; the reduction of a revolted province did not ſuffice ; the ſenate made no account of victories which did not extend the frontiers of the empire. In this ſuppoſed regulation, it ſeems to me as if the heroiſm of romance were ſubſtituted inſtead of the dictates of prudence and true honour. Was a province the leſs valuable to the Romans becauſe it had been long in their poſſeſſion, peopled by their numerous colonies, and enriched by their attention in improving its natural and artificial advantages ? Was the honour of the republic more concerned in ſubduing free nations, who had ſcarcely ever heard of the name of Rome, than in ſuppreſſing the rebellion of a revolted province, which upbraided her injuſtice, defied her power, and ſeduced by a dangerous example the allegiance of her other ſubjects ? Was a leſs obſtinate reſiſtance to be expected from a people who had no other choice than victory or death, whoſe generals and even ſol-

* V. Flori Epitom. Oroſium, T. Liv. lv. Auctor de Vir. illuſtriſſ.

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guerre ſous les drapeaux Romains, que parmi des nations de barbares dont le ſénat accepta avec plaiſir les ſoumiſſions les plus légères, content d'impoſer d'abord le joug, pour ne l'appeſantir que dans la ſuite ? En un mot, ces guerres étoient-elles d'une ſi petite importance, qu'on dût en dégoûter les bons Généraux, en refuſant à leurs exploits, la ſeule récompenſe qui en étoit digne ? Pour me perſuader que le ſénat eût établi un pareil réglement, il faudroit des faits auſſi déciſifs en ſa faveur, qu'ils lui ſont oppoſés. Je ne veux pas me prévaloir de tous ces triomphes ſur des peuples déjà cent fois vaincus, auxquels les Romains avoient accordé la paix à des conditions très inégales, et dignes plutôt de ſujets que d'allies *; mais lorſque Titus et ſon pere triompherent des Juifs, et que le ſénat éterniſa leurs victoires par des médailles et par cet arc de triomphe que nous voyons encore, ils ne triompherent que de la réduction d'une province révoltée, jadis ſoumiſe par Pompée, et gouvernée par des magiſtrats Romains depuis cinquante ans. Je conviens avec Onuphrius Panvinius, que Fulvius ne triompha point de l'importante conquête de Capoue. J'ignore les raiſons du ſénat, et ſi la juſtice ou les intrigues ont fait échouer ce proconſul ; mais je ſais que vers le même tems, Fabius Maximus obtint cet honneur, pour avoir pris *Tarentum* †, ville qui reconnoiſſoit la domination Romaine depuis la fin de la guerre de Pyrrhus.

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diers had learned war under the Roman ſtandard, than from thoſe barbarous nations, whoſe ſlighteſt ſubmiſſions were readily accepted by a ſenate, always content with merely impoſing the yoke at firſt, that its weight might afterwards be more ſeverely felt ? In one word ; were the wars againſt revolted provinces regarded as too unimportant to merit the only reward worthy of a victorious general ? The exiſtence of ſuch a regulation could be proved only by the moſt deciſive facts ; but the facts on record are directly againſt it. I will not avail myſelf of the numerous triumphs over communities, an hundred times conquered, to which the Romans granted very unequal conditions of peace, and treated rather as ſubjects than allies *; but when Titus and his father triumphed over the Jews, and when the ſenate commemorated their victories by medals and that triumphal arch which has ſubſiſted to the preſent day, they did nothing more than triumph over a revolted province, which had been ſubdued by the arms of Pompey, and governed by Roman magiſtrates for the ſpace of fifty years. I agree with Onuphrius Panvinius, that Fulvius did not obtain a triumph for the important conqueſt of Capua. Of the reaſons which made the ſenate refuſe it to him, I am ignorant ; it is uncertain whether juſtice or intrigue defeated the proſpects of this proconſul ; but I know that nearly about the ſame time, Fabius Maximus triumphed for the conqueſt of Tarentum †, a city which had acknowledged the ſovereignty of Rome ever ſince the war againſt

* V. Joſeph. Antiq. Judaic. et de Bell. Judaico.

† Tit. Liv. xxvii.

Pyrrhus.

Je dis plus ; Rome s'eſt trouvée dans des ſituations malheureuſes, où elle a du prodiguer toute ſa reconnoiſſance à ces Généraux qui avoient protégé la patrie, ſans ajouter ni rendre à ſa domination un pouce de terrein. Ce ne ſont pas Scipion ou Pompée, mais Camille et Marius, que la reconnoiſſance publique a aſſociés avec Romulus dans le titre de fondateur de Rome. Ces grands hommes ont repouſſé les débordemens des barbares ; ils en ont exterminé les armées, mais ils n'ont jamais ſongé à les pourſuivre, pour les attaquer dans leurs pays dont ils connoiſſoient à peine la ſituation. Que pourroit-on penſer d'une loi, dont la conſéquence immédiate et naturelle auroit refuſé des triomphes à de pareils hommes, pour les accorder à des propréteurs qui ne doivent leur ſouvenir qu'aux faſtes Capitolins ?

Hic *tamen et Cimbros, et ſumma pericula rerum*
Excipit, et ſolus trepidantem protegit urbem.
Atque ideo poſtquam ad Cimbros, ſtragemque volabant
Qui nunquam attigerant majora cadavera corvi,
Nobilis ornatur lauro *collega* ſecundâ*.

On demanderoit avec plus de vraiſemblance, ſi le ſénat ſe contentoit d'une victoire, et s'il ne falloit pas achever la guerre par la ſoumiſſion de l'ennemi,

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Pyrrhus. I go farther ; and obſerve, that Rome more than once experienced thoſe diſaſters, which made it her duty to beſtow the higheſt marks of her gratitude on thoſe generals who had ſaved their country, without adding a foot of ground to its territory. Neither Scipio nor Pompey, but Camillus and Marius, were aſſociated with Romulus, in the honourable appellation of Founders of Rome. Theſe great men repreſſed the inundations of the Barbarians, and deſtroyed their armies ; but never thought of purſuing them into their own wilds, with the ſituation of which they were ſcarcely acquainted. What muſt have been the abſurdity of a law, which denied to ſuch men the triumph, while it laviſhed that honour on proprætors, whoſe names are known only by the Capitoline records ?

Hic *tamen et Cimbros, et ſumma pericula rerum*
Excipit, et ſolus trepidantem protegit urbem.
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Qui nunquam attigerant majora cadavera corvi,
Nobilis ornatur lauro *collega* ſecundâ *.

It may be aſked with greater probability, whether the ſenate was ſatisfied with a ſingle victory ? or whether, to have a right to demand the triumph, it was not neceſ-

* Juvenal Satyr. viii. 249, et ſeq.

ſary

mi, ou du moins par un traité avantageux pour la république, pour oſer lui demander un triomphe. Je ne verrois dans un pareil réglement, que la ſageſſe d'un ſénat qui craignoit d'avilir ſes récompenſes en les prodiguant, mais qui toujours libre et ſouverain, ſavoit auſſi refuſer cet honneur à un Général préſomptueux qui ne lui auroit offert que des ennemis et des conquêtes indignes de ſes armes. Mais en interrogeant les faits (et ce ſont les faits qu'il faut interroger), je vois que la conduite du ſénat a varié dans les différens ſiècles de la république; et je trouve la cauſe de cette variation dans un uſage acceſſoire et étranger au mérite du chef. C'eſt celui qui aſſocioit aux honneurs de ſon triomphe, ces braves citoyens qui avoient partagé ſes dangers. Les ſoldats ſuivoient le char du triomphateur, couronnés de lauriers, et ornés des récompenſes militaires que leur valeur avoit méritées *. Ils s'approprioient toute la gloire de leur chef, et ce chef trouvoit dans les éloges de ſes légionnaires, et encore mieux dans ces railleries ruſtiques, preuves de leur franchiſe et de leur eſtime, le prix le plus doux de ſes travaux. Dans les premières guerres de la république, lorſqu'elle ne luttoit que contre des ennemis peu éloignés, et qui n'avoient point des troupes réglées, le conſul victorieux ramenoit ſes légions à Rome, et les ſoldats n'avoient d'autres quartiers

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ſary to terminate the war by ſubduing the enemy, or at leaſt by making a treaty advantageous to the republic. In ſuch a regulation, I ſhould perceive nothing but the wiſdom of the ſenate, which was careful not to debaſe its honours by too laviſh a prodigality; and which itſelf, always ſovereign and free, knew how to refuſe to a preſumptuous general, who courted the triumph by inglorious conqueſts over unworthy enemies. But in deciding according to facts, and by facts we ought to decide, I perceive that the conduct of the ſenate varied in different ages of the republic; and that the cauſe of this variation depended on a circumſtance altogether diſtinct from the merit of the general. It was cuſtomary that the brave citizens who had ſhared his dangers ſhould alſo partake of the glory of his triumph. The ſoldiers followed his chariot, crowned with laurels, and decorated with the military ornaments, which their valour had merited *. They appropriated to themſelves the honours conferred on their commander; and this commander derived his ſweeteſt reward from the praiſes of his ſoldiers, and ſtill more from their coarſe raillery, the ſureſt mark of their frankneſs and eſteem. During the firſt wars of the republic, while Rome contended againſt enemies in her neighbourhood, and unprovided with regular troops, the victorious conſul brought back his legions to the capital, and the troops needed no other winter-quarters

* See the Oration of M. Servilius. Tit. Liv. xlv.

than

quartiers d'hyver que leurs foyers domeſtiques. Je vois dans ces ſiècles les plus attachés à la diſcipline, que le ſénat accordoit ſans peine les triomphes pour ces victoires qui décident du ſort de la campagne, ſans terminer la guerre. Il permet à Fabius Rullianus de triompher des Etruſques, des Umbriens, des Samnites, et des Gaulois *. Il ſavoit cependant que cette alliance étoit vaincue, ſans être ſoumiſe, et que la victoire de Fabius n'avoit amené ni la conquête, ni la paix. Dans la guerre d'Annibal, ſa conduite fut différente, mais ſes principes étoient invariables. Il ſe défendoit à la fois dans toutes les provinces de l'Italie. Si tôt qu'une victoire conſiderable lui permettoit de retirer d'une de ces provinces, l'armée qui y avoit combattu, il accordoit le triomphe à ſon Général qu'il ne ſeparoit point de ſes legions. Lorſqu'il le décerna à Livius Salinator †, ſon collegue Néron ſuivit ſon char à cheval, et groſſit le cortége de celui qu'il avoit fait vaincre. Une des raiſons qui cauſerent cette différence, étoit que l'armée du premier étoit revenue à Rome, et qu'on ne pouvoit rappeller les troupes de celui-ci, qui étoient oppoſées à Annibal: Lorſque la république attaqua les grandes puiſſances de la Grece, de l'Orient, et de l'Afrique, les légions ne repaſſerent la mer, qu'après avoir ſoumis les pays qu'elles avoient attaqués. Le triomphe ne s'achetoit que par les conquêtes; et par un effet admirable de ces loix qui s'exécu-

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than their reſpective homes. I perceive that in ages the moſt obſervant of diſcipline, the ſenate granted triumphs for victories which decided the fortune of a campaign, without terminating the war. Fabius Rullianus was allowed to triumph over the Tuſcans, Umbrians, Samnites, and Gauls *. The ſenate well knew that the confederacy of thoſe nations was conquered without being ſubdued; and that the victory of Fabius had given neither poſſeſſions nor peace to his country. In the war againſt Hannibal, the ſenate indeed varied its conduct, but its principles were unalterable. Rome was obliged to act on the defenſive in all the provinces of Italy at once. Whenever a conſiderable victory allowed her to withdraw the army employed in one of thoſe provinces, ſhe granted a triumph to its general, that he might not be ſeparated from his troops. When the ſenate decreed a triumph to Livius Salinator †, his colleague Nero followed his car on horſeback, and ſwelled the train of him whom he had enabled to conquer. One reaſon for this was, that the army of Livius had returned to Rome, and that the troops commanded by Nero could not be recalled becauſe they then oppoſed Hannibal. When Rome attacked the great powers of Greece, the Eaſt, and Africa, her legions did not recroſs the ſea until they had ſubdued the countries which they invaded. Triumphs in thoſe wars were purchaſed only by conqueſts; and, in conſequence of

* T. Liv. x. † Id. xxviii.

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s'exécutent par la nature des choſes, plutôt que par les paſſions des hommes, la majeſté du triomphe s'élevoit avec la grandeur de l'état. Mais depuis le tems de Marius, qui fit entrer la populace dans les légions, la guerre devint un métier au lieu d'un devoir; on laiſſoit des troupes dans les provinces, et la politique plutôt que la juſtice, décidoit le ſénat ſur le corps qu'il licencioit, ou qu'il rappelloit. On commencoit à couronner les Généraux qui, après avoir vaincu un ennemi, laiſſoient à leur ſucceſſeur le ſoin de le ſoumettre, et qui ne ramenoient à Rome qu'une petite troupe d'officiers et de ſoldats qui leur étoient attachés, ou qui pouvoient le mieux orner leur triomphe. Je ne citerai que l'exemple de Lucullus. Il reçut le triomphe qu'il avoit mérité par ſes victoires ſur ce grand Mithridate, vaincu ſi ſouvent, et toujours ſi redoutable. Un coup d'œil ſur la harangue pour la loi *Manilia*, peut nous convaincre qu'aux yeux des Romains, cette guerre n'étoit point terminée.

Ces réflexions peuvent nous convaincre qu'il n'a jamais exiſté ce code des lois du triomphe, qu'Appien d'Alexandrie, et Onuphrius Panvinius ont eſſayé de compiler, et que le rhéteur Egyptien, et l'hermite Auguſtin, peu faits pour ſonder les profondeurs de la politique du ſénat, ont vu des loix générales, où il ne falloit voir que des exemples particuliers. L'eſprit de ce corps habile, ſûr interprète de la juſtice et de la prudence, formoit une loi

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the excellence of thoſe laws whoſe execution varies with the nature of things, rather than with the paſſions of men, the increaſing majeſty of the triumph kept pace with the growing greatneſs of the ſtate. But from the time that Marius polluted the legions by a mixture of the vileſt populace, war became a trade inſtead of a duty; the troops remained in the provinces; and, in diſbanding or calling home the legions, the ſenate obeyed the maxims of policy rather than thoſe of juſtice. It became the cuſtom to crown generals, who, after once conquering an enemy, left it for their ſucceſſors to ſubdue him, and who conducted back to Rome only a ſmall band of officers and ſoldiers who were peculiarly attached to them, and who were beſt qualified to grace their triumph. I ſhall cite only the example of Lucullus. He triumphed for his victories over the great Mithridates, ſo often conquered, yet always ſo formidable. A glance at Cicero's oration in favour of the Manilian law, will convince us that the Romans were far from thinking this war concluded.

Theſe obſervations are ſufficient to prove that there never exiſted a code of triumphal laws, ſuch as the fancies of Appian of Alexandria and Onuphrius Panvinius have thought fit to compile. The Egyptian rhetorician and Auguſtine hermit, being alike unqualified for ſounding the profound policy of the ſenate, have conſidered as general laws what were only particular examples. The ſpirit of this wiſe tribunal, which knew ſo well how to unite prudence with juſtice, formed to itſelf a living law, which comprehended

loi vivante, qui embraſſoit toute cette variété de circonſtances, ſur leſquelles les loix écrites ſeroient muettes, imparfaites, ou contradictoires. Il combinoit l'habileté du Général avec le caractère de l'ennemi, l'importance de l'acquiſition avec la fortune qui avoit ſecondé la ſageſſe, et la facilité de la conquête avec les moyens qu'on y avoit employés. Les anciens ſénateurs, dont l'autorité entrainoit les ſuffrages, avoient vieilli dans le commandement des armées, ils accordoient des recompenſes dont ils connoiſſoient le prix, à des généraux dont ils étoient dignes d'apprécier le mérite. Je vois même qu'auſſi attentifs au ſalut des citoyens qu'à la gloire de l'état, ils ont ſcu refuſer plus d'un fois les triomphes aux conſuls victorieux, qui avoient acheté leur victoire en prodiguant ſans néceſſité ou ſans utilité le ſang Romain *. Il leur importoit de réprimer l'ambition cruelle des chefs, en leur refuſant l'entrée dans une ville que leur exploits avoient remplie de deuil.

Je ne connois qu'une condition préciſe que le ſénat paroît avoir toujours exigée, c'eſt la qualité des ennemis. Il auroit cru avilir le triomphe en l'accordant aux vainqueurs des eſclaves ou des corſaires : ce ſang trop vil, ou celui trop précieux des citoyens, flétriſſoit également les lauriers du Général victorieux.

C'eſt

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all that variety of caſes, concerning many of which the dead letter of written laws muſt ever be ſilent, imperfect, or contradictory. The ſenate compared the abilities of the general with the character of the enemy, the importance of the acquiſition with the wiſdom or good fortune with which it had been obtained, and the facility of the conqueſt with the means employed in effecting it. The aged ſenators, whoſe authority guided the votes of their aſſeſſors, had grown old in military command ; and granted rewards whoſe value they could eſtimate, to generals whoſe worth they were capable of appreciating. I perceive alſo, that they were not leſs attentive to the ſafety of the citizens than to the glory of the ſtate ; and more than once refuſed triumphs to victorious conſuls, who had purchaſed their advantages by an unneceſſary or uſeleſs prodigality of Roman blood *. They thought it their duty to repreſs the cruel ambition of leaders, by refuſing to them a triumphant return into a city which their exploits had filled with mourning.

There was, as far as I can diſcover, but one preciſe condition always required by the ſenate, namely, the rank or quality of the enemy. The triumph would have been diſgraced by granting it for victories over ſlaves or pirates ; *their* blood too vile, and that of the citizens too precious, equally blaſted the laurels of a victorious general.

* Tit. Liv. x.

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C'eſt au magiſtrat plutôt qu'au Général, à réprimer l'audace des malfaiteurs, qui oſent braver les lois et la juſtice. Si des troupes de brigands ſont quelquefois devenues aſſez nombreuſes, pour attirer les armes du ſouverain, on a toujours enviſagé ces expéditions comme plus néceſſaires que difficiles, et plus difficiles que glorieuſes. Cependant la foibleſſe et la tyrannie des maîtres encouragerent deux fois les eſclaves Siciliens à ſécouer le joug. On rougit d'envoyer contre ces malheureux les legions Romaines, mais on rougit encore plus de les voir vaincues; et lorſque leurs Généraux eurent ſoumis ces rebelles, le ſénat devoit ſentir qu'il avoit accordé le triomphe à des exploits moins conſidérables. Le nom d'eſclave cependant l'emporta; on craignoit de profaner le triomphe; un refus paroîſſoit ſans conſéquence. On n'accordoit aux Généraux victorieux que l'ovation, qui les couronnoit de myrtre au lieu de laurier, et qui ne leur donnoit qu'un cortege de citoyens pacifiques, à la place d'une troupe militaire. On eſpera avec raiſon que la diſcipline effrayante qu'on avoit établie parmi les eſclaves, préviendroit à jamais de ſemblables révoltes. Mais dans ce même ſiècle, par une combinaiſon unique de circonſtances, la république ſe vit obligée de ſoutenir contre des gladiateurs et contre des corſaires deux guerres opiniâtres, dont celle-ci attaquoit le commerce et la dignité de l'empire, et dont la première menaçoit

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It belongs to the civil magiſtrate, rather than to the military commander, to curb the audacity of malefactors, who ſet at defiance juſtice and the laws. When bands of robbers become ſo numerous that they muſt be oppoſed by a military force, ſuch wars have always been regarded as more neceſſary than difficult, and more difficult than glorious. The weakneſs and tyranny of maſters made the ſlaves in Sicily twice ſhake off the yoke. The Romans were aſhamed to employ their legions againſt ſuch ignoble adverſaries; but their ſhame was greater to ſee thoſe legions defeated; and when their generals finally ſucceeded in repreſſing the inſurrection, the ſenate was ſenſible that it had often decreed a triumph for leſs meritorious exploits. Yet the name of ſlave was not to be got over; the ſenate feared leſt the triumph ſhould be profaned; to deny it ſeemed not pregnant with very evil conſequences. The victorious generals, therefore, were honoured only with an ovation; which gave to them crowns of myrtle, inſtead of thoſe of laurel; and entitled them to be attended with a train of peaceful citizens, not by a military proceſſion. The Romans reaſonably expected that the dreadful diſcipline thenceforth eſtabliſhed reſpecting ſlaves would in future prevent ſimilar revolts. But, by a ſtrange combination of circumſtances, the republic was obliged in the ſame age to carry on two obſtinate wars againſt pirates and gladiators; the one of which endangered the commerce and dignity of the empire, and the other threatened the deſtruction of

çoit de la deſtruction du nom Romain. On peut juger ſi l'on avoit prévu ce cas, et ſi des loix pouvoient déterminer d'avance la conduite du ſénat. Mais lorſque Craſſus eut exterminé l'armée de Spartacus, ce corps ſage, qui connoiſſoit le pouvoir d'un nom, craignoit d'éterniſer la honte de l'état, plutôt que la gloire du général, en lui accordant pour une guerre ſervile les honneurs du triomphe. Je conçois que les partiſans de Pompée employoient dans cette occaſion le language de Cicéron, et que le peuple les écoutoit avec plaiſir, lorſqu'ils accordoient à ſon favori preſque tout le mérite de cette guerre. Dans la ſuite, lorſque ce même Pompée eut ſoumis les corſaires, l'orgueil de deux triomphes et les nouveaux lauriers qu'il alloit cueillir dans la guerre de Mithridate, ne lui permirent pas de s'abaiſſer juſqu'à une ovation, que Craſſus avoit acceptée, et qui s'établit bientôt dans l'eſprit des Romains comme la récompenſe digne de ces victoires.

L'orgueil, tout oppoſé qu'il eſt au mépris, produiſit ici les mêmes effets; on ne voulut pas triompher des eſclaves qu'on mépriſoit, ni des citoyens, parcequ'on les eſtimoit. Les vainqueurs des guerres civiles, pouvoient arracher au ſénat les récompenſes qui auroient le mieux flatté leur vanité; mais s'ils étoient maîtres des lois, ils reſpectoient l'opinion publique, et des préjugés qui étoient peut être encore les leurs. Ils auroient craint d'avilir la dignité

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the Roman name. Could the ſenate foreſee ſuch events, or uniformly decree the triumph according to rules previouſly eſtabliſhed? But when Craſſus had ruined the army of Spartacus, the wiſdom of the ſenate perceived that the public diſgrace would be commemorated rather than the glory of the general, by granting to him a triumph for terminating a ſervile war. The partiſans of Pompey would naturally employ on this occaſion the eloquence of Cicero; and would be themſelves heard with pleaſure by the people, when they aſcribed to their favourite almoſt the whole merit of this exploit. Afterwards, when the ſame Pompey ſubdued the pirates, the pride of two triumphs, and the laurels which he expected to reap in the Mithridatic war, made him diſdain the honour of an ovation, which Craſſus had accepted; and which thenceforth became, in the eſtimation of the Romans, the natural reward for ſuch victories.

Pride, oppoſite as it is to contempt, produced in the preſent caſe preciſely the ſame effects; the Romans refuſed to triumph over ſlaves, the objects of their contempt; and over citizens who were the objects of their eſteem. The conquerors in the civil wars might have extorted from the ſenate the rewards moſt flattering to their vanity; but, though maſters of the laws, they ſtill reſpected the public opinion, and the prejudices of their country, from which they themſelves were not perhaps totally exempted. They were afraid of degrading the dignity of the Roman name by treating their fellow-

dignité du nom Romain, en traitant leurs concitoyens comme des rois vaincus ; et ce Sylla qui oſa proſcrire tant de ſénateurs et de chevaliers, eût rougi peut être de les enchainer à ſon char, et de remercier les dieux du capitole pour ces triſtes victoires qu'il eût fallu enſevelir dans l'oubli. Je crois que ces tyrans de la patrie, Sylla, Céſar, et Auguſte, qui connoiſſoient la dignité des lois qu'ils avoient violées, et le génie du peuple qu'ils opprimoient, craignoient d'irriter ſon déſeſpoir en expoſant à ſes yeux avec un faſte inſultant, le tableau de la liberté qu'il avoit perdue, et des victimes illuſtres qu'ils avoient immolées à leur ambition. Céſar lui même eut la mortification d'entendre les cris de la douleur publique, lorſqu'il fit paſſer à la ſuite de ſon triomphe Africain, les images de Scipion, de Caton, et de Petreius *. S'il n'avoit pas eu la prudence de lui dérober celle du Grand Pompée, le cri de la douleur ſeroit peut être devenu celui de la fureur, dans un peuple qu'on ne pouvoit encore conſoler de ſon eſclavage qu'en le lui cachant. Mais ſi d'un coté, l'ambition ſatisfaite pouvoit ſe rendre la juſtice de ſe ſentir indigne des récompenſes de la vertu, la liberté vengée pouvoit décerner à ſes ſauveurs la couronne de laurier auſſi bien que la couronne civique. Dans la courte joye que le ſénat éprouva à la nouvelle de la bataille de Modène, Cicéron † ouvrit un avis vigoureux que Caton auroit ſuivi avec plaiſir.

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citizens like conquered kings; and even Sylla, who ventured to kill by his proſcriptions ſo many ſenators and knights, would have been aſhamed to drag them after his triumphal chariot, and to have thanked the gods of the capitol for melancholy victories, which it was his duty to wiſh buried in eternal oblivion. I am perſuaded that thoſe tyrants of their country, Sylla, Cæſar, and Auguſtus, who knew the dignity of the laws which they violated, and the diſpoſition of the people whom they oppreſſed, dreaded to provoke their deſpair, by preſenting to the public eye, in an offenſive ſhow, the picture of loſt liberty, and the illuſtrious victims ſacrificed to ambition. Cæſar himſelf was mortified at hearing the lamentations of public ſorrow, when the images of Scipio, Cato, and Petreius paſſed in the train of his African triumph *. If the image of the great Pompey had not been cautiouſly concealed, what was grief might have become fury in a people, whoſe only conſolation for ſlavery was, that it was artfully diſguiſed. But if, on one hand, ſatiated ambition could ſtill retain the juſtice of feeling itſelf undeſerving of the rewards of virtue, avenged liberty might ſurely decree to its reſtorers the laurel as well as the civic crown. During the ſhort joy inſpired into the ſenate by the news of the battle of Modena, Cicero † propoſed a

* Appian de Bell. Civil. L. ii. † Cicer. Philippic xiv. paſſ. 5.

reſolution

plaiſir. Il accordoit aux conſuls et au jeune Octave, une ſupplication de cinquante jours, et le nom d'*Imperator*. La conſéquence de cet avis ne lui auroit pas permis de leur refuſer le triomphe, qui en étoit la ſuite ordinaire ; et l'on ſent qu'il prévoyoit cette conſéquence ſans en être effrayé. " Accorde- " rons nous," diſoit-il aux ſénateurs, " ces honneurs à des chefs qui ont fait " périr un millier de barbares, pour le refuſer aux ſauveurs de la république. " Oublions dans Antoine et dans ſes partiſans cette qualité de citoyens, dont " ils ont mépriſé tous les devoirs. Rome ne doit voir en eux que des ennemis " auſſi cruels, et cent fois plus coupables qu'Annibal." On n'auroit pu lui oppoſer que la défaite de Catilina, dont le vainqueur n'avoit point obtenu le triomphe. Mais ce vainqueur étoit le foible Antonius, qui n'oſa être ni conjuré ni citoyen, et qui ne fut que ſpectateur du maſſacre de ſes anciens amis par les armes de ſon lieutenant Petreius. Cicéron auroit ajouté avec plaiſir qu'il avoit lui même vaincu Catilina dans le ſénat, et que ce conjuré redoutable à Rome, ne devint du moment de ſa fuite qu'un chef de brigands mépriſables.

Les vainqueurs de la liberté, qui craignoient de voir tomber dans l'oubli les exploits qu'ils avoient faits, lorſqu'ils étoient armés contre la patrie, ſongerent, comme

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reſolution to which Cato would have been happy to have acceded. He granted, in honour of the conſuls and young Octavius, a ſupplication or thankſgiving of fifty days ; and the name of Imperator. He could not have refuſed them the triumph which uſually followed theſe honours ; and it appears that he foreſaw the conſequence without alarm. " Shall we grant," he obſerved in the ſenate, " rewards to thoſe who have killed a thou- " ſand Barbarians, which we deny to the ſaviour of the republic. Let us forget in " Antony and his adherents the character of citizens, juſtly loſt by their violation of " all its duties. Rome ought to ſee in them nothing but enemies equally cruel, and an " hundred times more deſerving of puniſhment than Hannibal himſelf." The only objection that could have been made to Cicero was the defeat of Catiline, whoſe conqueror had not obtained a triumph. But that conqueror was the feeble-minded Antonius, who had not ſpirit to act the part either of a conſpirator or of a citizen, and who tamely ſubmitted to behold the deſtruction of his ancient friends by the arms of his lieutenant Petreius. Cicero would have been pleaſed to add, that Catiline had been conquered by himſelf in the ſenate ; and that this conſpirator, who was formidable only in Rome, became, from the moment of his flight from the capital, no better than the leader of a miſerable band of robbers.

The ſubverters of liberty, who were unwilling that their exploits ſhould be forgotten in fighting againſt their country, endeavoured, like the great Condé, to contrive means for

comme le grand Condé, à employer des reſſources adroites pour éterniſer leur gloire ſans perpétuer le ſouvenir de leurs crimes. 1. Ils ſubſtituerent aux faſtes du triomphe, l'ovation, cérémonie plus modeſte et plus humaine, qui célébroit la victoire, ſans inſulter aux vaincus. C'eſt ainſi qu'Auguſte rentra à Rome après la défaite de Brutus et de Caſſius, et après la guerre de Sicile et ſa victoire ſur le jeune Pompée. 2. Comme les guerres civiles intéreſſoient tout l'univers, et que chaque chef de parti trainoit à ſa ſuite des rois et des nations ſes alliés, on triomphoit de ces alliés, et on laiſſoit à l'imagination des ſpectateurs à ſuppléer aux objets qu'on avoit le ménagement de paroître vouloir lui cacher. Auguſte triompha pour la défaite de la flotte Egyptienne à Actium, et pour la conquête de l'Egypte. Il ſupprimoit le nom de Marc Antoine et de ſes partiſans, mais qui ne les aſſocioit pas avec celui de Cléopatre? On ſe ſouvint de cette ruſe juſqu'au tems de Veſpaſien *, où l'on employa le nom des Sarmates, pour juſtifier les honneurs du triomphe que le ſénat décerna à Mucianus pour la guerre civile.

J'aurois pluſieurs autres obſervations à faire ſur les droits de triomphe, ſur le titre d'*Imperator*, ſur les triomphes du Mont Alban, et ſur les ornemens

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immortalizing their glory without perpetuating the memory of their crimes. 1. For the oſtentation of a triumph, they ſubſtituted the more modeſt ceremony of an ovation, in which the victors were honoured, and the vanquiſhed were not inſulted. It was thus that Auguſtus returned to Rome after the defeat of Brutus and Caſſius; and after the war in Sicily, and his victory over young Pompey. 2. As the civil wars involved the whole Roman world, and each factious leader had kings and nations for his allies, the triumph openly expoſed only thoſe foreign allies, and left to the imagination of the Romans the ſupplying of the domeſtic victims which the conqueror had the addreſs to appear willing to conceal. Auguſtus triumphed for the defeat of the Egyptian fleet at Actium, and the conqueſt of Egypt. He ſuppreſſed the name of Anthony and his lieutenants; but who did not recollect them at hearing that of Cleopatra? This artifice was employed ſo late as the reign of Veſpaſian *, when the name of the Sarmatians was uſed to juſtify the triumphal honours decreed by the ſenate to Mucianus for his ſervices in the civil war.

There remain many obſervations to be made on the right of triumphs; the title of Imperator; the triumphs on Mount Alba; and the triumphal ornaments. But we

* Tacit. Hiſt. iv. 4.

have

mens du triomphe. Mais c'eſt trop long tems arrêter nos Généraux aux portes de Rome, il eſt tems de les introduire dans la ville, et de rechercher la route qu'ils ſuivoient pour monter au capitole.

Sur le CHEMIN des TRIOMPHES.

J'AI d'abord cru que les triomphes ne ſuivoient point un chemin déterminé, et que la porte par laquelle ils entroient dans la ville, et les rues par leſquelles ils paſſoient, pour arriver au pied du Capitole, dépendoient du pays qui avoit été le théâtre de la guerre. Les triomphes, me ſuis je dit, n'étoient que l'image du retour du Général. On aura voulu leur conſerver un air naturel parmi tous les apprêts recherchés de l'orgueil et de la magnificence. Lorſque Paule Emile revint de la conquête de la Macédoine, il aura ſuivi la voye Appienne juſqu'à la porte *Capena*; et les vainqueurs des peuples du nord, ſeront entrés à Rome par les portes *Flaminia* ou *Collina*. Cicéron m'a détrompé. Cet orateur, dans ſa ſanglante invective contre Piſon, lui met devant les yeux ſon retour honteux, mais digne de l'adminiſtration qu'il terminoit. Il oppoſe au cortége nombreux, aux acclamations, à la joye publique,

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have already detained our generals too long at the gates of Rome. It is time to conduct them into the city, and to examine the road which they followed in aſcending the capitol.

Concerning the TRIUMPHAL ROAD.

I AT firſt thought that the triumphs did not follow any particular road; and that the gate through which they entered into the city, as well as the ſtreets through which they paſſed to the foot of the capitol, depended on the ſituation of the country which had been the theatre of the war. The triumphs, I conſidered, were nothing but a picture of the general's return. Amidſt all the artificial decorations of pride and magnificence, there muſt have been an inclination to confine them within the bounds of nature and probability. When Paulus Emilius returned from the conqueſt of Macedon, he muſt have purſued the Appian way to the Porta Capena; and the conquerors of the northern provinces muſt have entered Rome through the gates diſtinguiſhed by the names Flaminia and Collina. A paſſage of Cicero firſt made me change this opinion. In his bloody invective againſt Piſo, the orator ſets before his eyes his ſhameful return to Rome, a return truly worthy of his ſcandalous adminiſtration. To the numerous train,

publique, qui accompagnoient les proconſuls victorieux, et qui leur faiſoient goûter les prémices du triomphe, ce mépris, cet abandon général, qu'éprouva le gouverneur d'une province ſi féconde en lauriers pour tout autre que lui * : " Craignant," lui dit-il, " le jour et les regards des hommes, vous " avez congédié vos licteurs à la porte *Cælimontana*."—" Vous vous trom- " pez," interrompit Piſon, avec une effronterie aſſez ſotte, " je ſuis entré par " la porte *Eſquiline*."—" Peu m'importe," répondit l'orateur, " pourvu " que ce ne ſoit pas par la porte triomphale, porte qui a toujours été ouverte " à vos prédéceſſeurs."—La conſéquence eſt facile : les triomphateurs avoient une porte qui ne s'ouvroit que pour eux. Cette inſtitution qui relevoit la dignité du triomphe, en le diſtinguant encore mieux d'un retour ordinaire, n'étoit pas indigne de la politique Romaine qui ſavoit que rien n'eſt indifférent, lorſqu'il faut parler à l'imagination des peuples. Le témoignage de Cicéron me prouve que cet uſage étoit établi de ſon tems, et la nature même des choſes me perſuade qu'il étoit très ancien. Ce n'eſt pas dans un ſiècle éclairé, qu'on oſe inſtituer des uſages qui ne ſont reſpectables que par leur but. Le peuple qui ſuit avec reſpect la ſageſſe de ſes ancêtres, mépriſeroit celle de ſes contemporains, et n'enviſageroit ces inſtitutions que du

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train, the acclamations, and the public joy by which victorious proconſuls were conſtantly attended, and which already gave them a foretaſte of their triumph, he ſets in oppoſition the contempt or obſcurity with which Piſo had returned from a province, that would have afforded laurels to every man but himſelf * : " Dreading," he obſerves, " to meet the light and the eyes of men, you diſmiſſed your lictors at the Cælimon- " tane gate." Piſo fooliſhly enough interrupted him, " You are miſtaken ; I entered by " the Eſquiline." " What matters that," rejoined the orator, " provided you did not " enter by the *porta triumphalis*, a gate always open to your predeceſſors ?" The conſequence naturally follows ; that triumphant generals entered by a gate which was open for them alone. This cuſtom raiſed the dignity of the triumph by clearly diſtinguiſhing it from an ordinary return ; and was worthy of the policy of the Romans, who regarded no circumſtance as unimportant which had a tendency to affect the imagination of the multitude. Cicero's authority proves that ſuch an inſtitution prevailed in his time ; and the nature of the thing perſuades me that it was ſtill more ancient. In enlightened ages, men ſeldom venture to eſtabliſh cuſtoms which are reſpectable only in their end and purpoſe. The people, who reſpectfully follow the wiſdom of their anceſtors, would deſpiſe that of their contemporaries ; and would regard ſuch eſtabliſhments

* Cicer. in Piſon. C. xxiii.

du côté où elles pourroient ſe prêter au ridicule. Romulus d'ailleurs qui inſtitua le triomphe, donna l'exemple du lieu qu'il choiſit pour dépoſer ſes trophées, et du chemin qu'il ſuivit pour y monter. Tous les ſiècles l'ont imité. Tous les triomphateurs ſont venus adorer le Jupiter du capitole. J'oſe penſer qu'ils ont également ſuivi la route qu'il leur avoit tracée, et qui a du prendre à leurs yeux un caractère ſacré. Qui eut oſé le premier changer la marche de cette ancienne proceſſion, mépriſer une autorité qui ſe fortifioit en vieilliſſant, et déſerter les veſtiges du fondateur de Rome et du triomphe ? Et par quel motif les auroit-il déſerté, lorſque cette ſeule autorité pouvoit déterminer un choix indifférent en lui même ? S'il étoit trouvé parmi les triomphateurs, ce caractère ſi ſingulier parmi les hommes, qui mépriſe les anciennes cérémonies, lorſqu'elles flattent les intérêts de notre gloire, le ſénat ſe ſeroit-il prêté à ſon caprice ? Auroit-il ſubſtitué à une autorité ancienne et révérée, un changement ſans poids et ſans motif? Romulus lui même, qui choiſit le Mont Capitolin comme un lieu

Religione patrum, et ſævâ formidine ſacrum,

ſuivit ſans doute le chemin le plus naturel et le plus commode dans ſon retour de Cenine. La diverſité des auteurs à l'égard de cette ville, nous donne une idée

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merely in that point of view which laid them open to ridicule. Romulus, beſides, when he inſtituted the triumph, fixed by his example, not only the place where the trophies were to be depoſited, but the road which the proceſſion was to follow. Conformably to this example, all thoſe who afterwards entered in triumph came to adore the Jupiter of the capitol. I am perſuaded they alſo came by the ſame road which Romulus had traced; and which, in the eyes of poſterity, muſt have acquired the character of ſanctity. Who would have been the firſt to venture to change the route of this ancient proceſſion, to deſpiſe an authority fortified by time, and to forſake the footſteps of the founder of Rome and of the triumph ? What could be the motive for ſuch an innovation, ſince the example of Romulus was ſurely ſufficient to determine a choice totally indifferent in itſelf ? Had there been any of the triumphant generals of ſo very extraordinary a temper as to deſpiſe ancient ceremonies which were highly flattering to their own perſonal glory, would the wiſdom of the ſenate have indulged ſo very unreaſonable a caprice ; and have ſubſtituted, for the revered inſtitution of their anceſtors, an innovation proceeding from no warrantable motive, and terminating in no uſeful end ? Romulus choſe the Capitoline Mount as a place

Religione patrum, et ſævâ formidine ſacrum ;

and doubtleſs purſued the ſhorteſt and moſt convenient road in his return from Cenina. Amidſt the different accounts of authors concerning this city, we may form a general notion

idée générale de ſa ſituation. Les uns la placent parmi les Sabins, les autres parmi les Latins ; ce qui me perſuade qu'elle ſe trouvoit dans cette liſière des deux bords de l'Anio, où les colonies des deux nations étoient entremêlées au point de ſe confondre *. Les routes différentes qu'on pourroit tirer de ce canton ſe réuniſſoient dans le Champ de Mars. Le côté du Mont Capitolin, qui y eſt oppoſé, a toujours été juſqu'aux derniers tems, rude et preſque inacceſſible. Romulus a du le tourner, ou par le vallon entre le Quirinal et le Capitole, ou par la plaine entre celui-ci et le Tybre. La porte que nous cherchons devroit être dans l'un ou dans l'autre. Un enchaînement de conjectures m'a conduit à cette concluſion ; c'eſt aux faits ſeuls à la juſtifier †. Parmi les honneurs extraordinaires qu'on deſtinoit à la mémoire d'Auguſte, on propoſa que ſon enterrement ſortiroit par la porte triomphale. On ſavoit cependant que ſon ſépulcre étoit déterminé. Tous les citoyens avoient devant les yeux ce ſuperbe mauſolée qui avoit déjà reçu une partie de ſa famille. Celui-ci étoit placé dans le Champ de Mars. La porte triomphale doit ſe trouver du même côté de la ville.

Avec ces notions préliminaires, il n'eſt pas difficile de ſuivre la marche des triomphes, et ſurtout de ceux de Paul Emile, et de Veſpaſien. Ce dernier, après

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notion of its ſituation. Some place it in the territory of the Sabines, others in that of the Latins ; which makes me believe that it ſtood in that ſlip of ground on the banks of the Anio, where the colonies of the two nations were mixed and confounded with each other *. The different lines which may be drawn from this diſtrict to Rome meet in the Campus Martius. The ſide of the Capitoline hill which faces the Campus Martius is rude and almoſt inacceſſible. Romulus therefore was under the neceſſity of making a circuit, either by the valley between the Quirinal and Capitoline hills, or by the plain which lies between the latter and the Tiber. The gate of which we are in queſt ought to be found within theſe limits. A chain of conjectural evidence leads me to this concluſion, which facts alone can ſubſtantiate †. Among the extraordinary honours deſigned for the memory of Auguſtus, it was propoſed that his funeral proceſſion ſhould paſs through the triumphal gate. The place of his ſepulchre was already fixed. The citizens conſtantly beheld before their eyes that lofty mauſoleum which already entombed a part of his family. It ſtood in the Campus Martius. The triumphal gate therefore could not be far diſtant from it.

Güided by ſuch preliminary notions, we may eaſily follow the triumphal proceſſions, particularly thoſe of Paulus Emilius and Veſpaſian. The latter, after ſpending the

* Plutarch et Stephanus, Tit. Liv. Dionyſ. Halicarn. et Feſtus.
† Tacit. Annal. i. 8. Sueton. in Aug. C. 100.

après avoir passé la nuit dans le temple d'Isis, vint à la rencontre du sénat qui l'attendoit dans le portique Octavien. Ces deux circonstances nous fixent au Champ de Mars, et nous approchent même du théâtre de Marcellus. Au triomphe de Paul Emile, le peuple éleva des échaffauts dans les cirques, pour y voir passer la pompe. Elle poursuivoit donc sa marche au travers le cirque de Flaminius, et celui connu sous le nom de *Maximus*. Enfin Horace s'applaudit dejà dans l'espérance de voir un jour des Bretons enchainés descendre la *Via Sacra*. Le mot *descendre*, combiné avec la supposition que la porte triomphale étoit du côté du Champ de Mars, nous trace la route entière des triomphateurs. Ici je n'ai pu que suivre le Pere Donati en l'abrégeant *. Cet habile antiquaire a traité cette question avec un goût et un savoir qui ont su dissiper presque toutes ces difficultés.

On peut donc supposer avec vraisemblance, que les triomphateurs, après avoir rassemblé tout leur cortége dans une place ouverte, telle que les *Equiria*, ou le Champ de Mars proprement dit, devant le mausolée d'Auguste, passoient par le cirque de Flaminius, pour entrer dans la ville par la porte triomphale, entre le capitole et le Tybre ; qu'après avoir passé le *Velabrum* ils traversoient le Grand Cirque dans toute sa longueur, et qu'ils achevoient le tour du Mont Palatin, en descendant par la *Via Sacra* dans le *Forum*,

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night in the temple of Isis, met the senate, which waited for him in the Octavian Portico. These two circumstances bring us to the Field of Mars, and even to the vicinity of the theatre of Marcellus. At the triumph of Paulus Emilius, the people raised scaffoldings in the two circuses to see the procession pass. It proceeded therefore by the circus of Flaminius, as well as by that distinguished by the epithet of Maximus. Horace, moreover, indulged the hope of one day seeing the Britons in chains descend the Via Sacra. This word "descend," combined with the supposition that the triumphal gate was near to the Campus Martius, enables us to trace the whole progress of the procession. On this subject, I could only follow and abridge Father Donati *, a skilful antiquary, who has treated this question with a degree of taste and erudition, which fully removes all difficulties.

It may be supposed, therefore, with much probability, that the triumphal train having assembled in an open space, such as the Equiria, or that properly called the Campus Martius, immediately under the mausoleum of Augustus, passed through the circus of Flaminius, entered the city by the triumphal gate between the capitol and the Tiber, traversed the place called the Velabrum, as well as the whole length of the Circus Maximus, and completed the circuit of the Palatine Mount by descending through the Via Sacra into the Forum, in order again to mount to the capitol by the

* Donat. Roma Vetus, L. i. C. 22. p. 79—88.

Clivus

Forum, pour monter enſuite au capitole par ce chemin qu'on appelloit *Clivus Capitolinus*, et qui commençoit à l'arc de Septime Sévere. Cette hypothèſe appuyée, comme nous l'avons vu ſur des temoignages formels de l'antiquité, embraſſe encore toutes les convenances que nous pouvons y déſirer. Romulus (pour reprendre notre première idée) ne pouvant guères traverſer ſa nouvelle colonie, qui n'occupoit alors que le ſommet eſcarpé du Palatin, aura du moins voulu en faire le tour, pour étaler aux yeux des citoyens les monumens de ſa première victoire. Dans la ſuite, lorſque la ville embraſſoit les ſept collines, cette proceſſion paſſoit dans les quartiers les plus conſidérables et les mieux peuplés. Une foule innombrable, aſſiſe à ſon aiſe dans les cirques et dans les portiques du Forum, la voyoit paſſer devant ſes yeux ; et il y avoit peu d'habitans du Palatin, et d'un côté de l'Eſquilin et de l'Aventin, qui ne la viſſent dans l'éloignement depuis les toits des maiſons et des temples. On y trouve encore des arcs de triomphe de pluſieurs des empereurs qui ont en effet triomphé, tels que Conſtantin, Titus et Septime. Il eſt difficile à la vérité de ſe faire une idée exacte du procédé du ſénat à cet égard. Je croirois aſſez qu'après avoir décoré le chemin du triomphe, d'arcs de bois qui n'étoient que pour l'occaſion, il choiſiſſoit ſouvent, pour les éterniſer en pierre ou en marbre, quelque endroit qui n'étoit pas deja trop rempli de ces monumens. A l'égard des princes qui n'avoient jamais

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Clivus Capitolinus, which begins at the arch of SeptimiusSeverus. This hypotheſis, which is ſupported by the direct teſtimony of ancient authors, alſo correſponds with all the circumſtances known reſpecting the triumph. Romulus (to reſume our firſt conjecture) not being able to traverſe his new colony, which then occupied only the craggy top of Mount Palatine, naturally reſolved to make a circuit round it, in order to diſplay before the citizens the monuments of his firſt victory. When Rome afterwards extended over the ſeven hills, the proceſſion would naturally advance along the moſt conſiderable and beſt peopled parts of the city. A numerous crowd of people, ſeated at their eaſe in the circuſes and porticoes of the Forum, beheld it paſs under their eyes; and there were few of the inhabitants of the Palatine, or of one ſide of the Eſquiline and Aventine, who might not perceive it at a diſtance from the tops of their houſes and temples. We ſtill find triumphal arches of ſeveral of the emperors, Conſtantine, Titus, and Septimius; all of whom really triumphed. It is difficult to determine how the ſenate proceeded in raiſing them. I am inclined to think, that after adorning the triumphal road by temporary wooden arches, more ſolid ones were afterwards erected of ſtone or marble, in ſuch places as were leaſt crowded with thoſe monuments. As to the arches of thoſe emperors who never actually triumphed, it ſhould ſeem that their

jamais triomphé, leur volonté, le goût du ſénat, ou quelque circonſtance particulière, décidoit ſeuls du lieu, où s'élevoient ces preuves éternelles de leur vanité, et de la baſſeſſe des Romains.

Je ne crains pas ici de m'oppoſer ſeul à l'autorité réunie de Nardini et de Donati *. Ils different à la vérité ſur la ſituation de la porte triomphale. Celui-ci la place entre le capitole et la rivière ; celui-la détermine ſon emplacement entre le Quirinal et le Capitole ; mais ils s'accordent à ſéparer la porte Flaminia de la porte des triomphes, et à reléguer l'une dans l'endroit d'où ils ont exclu l'autre ; au lieu que la proximité de ces deux portes, me paroît un point eſſentiel à toute hypothèſe vraiſemblable. Je pourrois me contenter de faire combattre ces deux antiquaires, laiſſer prouver à Nardini que la porte *Flaminia* (la même que la *Flumentana*) étoit par conſéquent dans le voiſinage de la rivière, et à Donati que le porte triomphale étoit entre le Capitole et le Tybre, et tirer une concluſion générale de leurs preuves partielles. Mais j'aime encore mieux en appeller à ces vraiſemblances ſimples, mais plus convaincantes, qu'a tout l'étalage d'une vaine érudition. Je vois clairement, 1. Qu'on a du ménager à un des chemins les plus fréquentés, un abord libre, et qui communiquât facilement aux quartiers et aux édifices les plus conſidérables. 2. Que le triomphe a du pareillement s'approcher

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their own will, the choice of the ſenate, or ſome particular circumſtance, determined the ſite of thoſe eternal proofs of imperial vanity and Roman meanneſs.

On this ſubject I am not afraid to oppoſe the united authority of Nardini and Donati *. They differ from each other with reſpect to the ſituation of the triumphal gate. Nardini places it between the Capitol and the Tiber ; Donati, between the Quirinal and the Capitol ; and both of them remove it to a part of the city far diſtant from the Porta Flaminia ; whereas its proximity to that gate ſeems to me eſſentially connected with every probable hypotheſis on the ſubject. I might content myſelf with allowing theſe antiquaries to diſpute with each other ; and liſten to Nardini, while he proves that the Porta Flaminia was the ſame with the Flumentana, and therefore near to the river ; and to Donati, while he maintains that the triumphal gate ſtood between the Capitol and the Tiber ; and from the particular facts which they prove, might infer a general concluſion. But inſtead of diſplaying vain erudition, I chooſe rather to appeal to the following plain and convincing reflections : 1. There muſt have been an eaſy acceſs to one of the roads moſt frequented, and communicating with the principal ſtreets and buildings of the city. 2. The triumphal

* Donat. loc. citat. L. i. C. 21. p. 72. Nardini Roma Antica, L. i. C. 9. p. 38 ; et C. 10. p. 47—50.

proceſſion

s'approcher de la ville par la route la plus célebre, et au milieu des édifices les plus connus. Je ne change rien à cette ſuppoſition en la renverſant. Si le chemin du triomphe a été celui de Romulus, la vanité des cenſeurs n'aura rien épargné pour le décorer d'une manière digne de ſa déſtination. 3. Que la porte triomphale ne s'ouvrant qu'aux triomphateurs, en demandoit une autre à côté d'elle, pour recevoir cette foule innombrable qui ſe rendoit à Rome par le chemin des triomphes, que je confonds à l'exemple de Martial, avec celui de Flaminius *. Comparons ſur ces principes les deux endroits où l'on peut placer les portes triomphale et Flaminienne. Dans l'un je trouve les plus anciens bâtimens du Champ de Mars, et le commencement du Faubourg, qui s'étendoit déjà hors de la porte Carmentale dans le ſixième ſiècle de Rome, le théâtre de Marcellus, pluſieurs temples, et parmi ces temples celui de Bellone, où les Généraux aſſembloient le ſénat pour y ſolliciter le triomphe, le portique d'Octave et le cirque de Flaminius, où Lucullus diſtribua la donative et les récompenſes militaires. Dans l'autre, je ne vois preſque rien plus ancien que le ſiècle de Trajan, lorſque ce prince coupa une partie du Quirinal, élargit le vallon entre cette montagne et le capitole, et l'orna d'un *forum* magnifique. Il étoit très naturel qu'on tirât bientôt

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proceſſion muſt alſo have entered Rome by one of the broadeſt roads, and through the midſt of the moſt diſtinguiſhed buildings. This ſuppoſition may be overturned without affecting my inference. If the triumphal road was that followed by Romulus, the vanity of the cenſors would ſpare no pains to adorn it in a manner ſuited to its high deſtination. 3. As the triumphal gate was open only to the conqueror and his train, another was requiſite for admitting the vaſt crowds of people who flocked to Rome by the triumphal road, which I conſider with Martial to have been the ſame with the Flaminian *. Let us examine, according to theſe principles, the two moſt probable ſites of the Triumphal and Flaminian gates. In the one, I find the moſt ancient edifices of the Campus Martius, and the beginning of the ſuburbs, which, as early as the ſixth century of Rome, extended beyond the Carmentale gate; I find alſo the theatre of Marcellus; ſeveral temples, particularly that of Bellona, where the general convened the ſenate to ſolicit his triumph; the Octavian portico, and the Flaminian circus, in which laſt Lucullus diſtributed a donative to his troops. In the other of thoſe ſites, I ſcarcely diſcover any thing more ancient than the age of Trajan, when that prince dug through part of the Quirinal, extended the valley between that mountain and the capitol, and at the ſame time adorned it with a magnificent forum. It was extremely natural that a new road called the Broad-way ſhould ſoon afterwards

* Martial Epig. x. 6.

bientôt de la *Via Flaminia* une nouvelle rue, à laquelle on donna le nom de *Via Lata*. Pourquoi diſſimuler ici une conjecture ſur la porte triomphale, qui m'a paru revêtue de pluſieurs caractères de vraiſemblance ? Je penſe que cette porte n'étoit point différente du fameux *Janus Geminus*, appellé ſouvent Temple de Janus, dont les portes ouvertes ou fermées ſervoient, depuis l'inſtitution de Numa, à déſigner la paix et la guerre. Voici quelques uns des caractères qui m'ont fait goûter une idée qui a d'abord un air de paradoxe. 1. Parmi les obſcurités qu'on a trouvées, ou qu'on a cru trouver dans les anciens au ſujet du *Janus*, je choiſirai pour mon guide ce Varron qui a mérité des Romains, contemporains de Cicéron, l'éloge de les avoir comme introduits dans leur propre ville. Cet antiquaire décrit le *Janus*, lorſqu'il parle des portes de la Rome de Romulus : *Tertia Janualis dicta ab Jano, et ideo ibi poſitum Jani ſignum, et ejus inſtitutum a Numa Pompilio, ut ſcribit in annalibus L. Piſo, ut ſit clauſa ſemper, niſi cum bellum ſit.*—On ſait que l'enceinte de Romulus, en s'étendant de tous les autres côtés, demeura toujours la même vers le Capitole et le Tybre ; et les expreſſions de Varron ſe rapportent aſſez clairement à une porte qui ſubſiſtoit encore de ſon tems, ou du moins de celui de Piſon. C'eſt encore l'idée que nous puiſons dans les auteurs les plus exacts de l'antiquité. Je connois trop le danger des propo-

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be made between the Flaminian road and the city. Why ſhould I here conceal a conjecture reſpecting the triumphal gate, which appears to me characteriſed by ſeveral marks of probability ? I think that this gate was really no other than the famous Janus Geminus, called often the Temple of Janus, the gates of which, as they were open or ſhut, were appointed by Numa to denote reſpectively the conditions of war and peace. The following are ſome of the circumſtances which perſuade me of the truth of a ſuppoſition that may at firſt ſight appear paradoxical. Among the real or pretended obſcurities of the accounts of the ancients on the ſubject of Janus, I ſhall chooſe for my guide the learned Varro, who deſerved from the Roman contemporaries of Cicero the praiſe of introducing them to the knowledge of their own city. That antiquary thus deſcribes Janus, in ſpeaking of the gates of Rome, in the time of Romulus : *Tertia Janualis dicta ab Jano, et ideo ibi poſitum Jani ſignum, et ejus inſtitutum a Numa Pompilio, ut ſcribit in annalibus L. Piſo, ut ſit clauſa ſemper, niſi cum bellum ſit.*—It is known that the wall built by Romulus, though it was extended in all other directions, remained always the ſame on the ſide of the Capitol and the Tiber : and the expreſſions of Varro clearly refer to a gate which exiſted in his own time, or at leaſt in that of Piſo. The ſame ſenſe may be extracted from the moſt correct writers of antiquity. I too well know the danger of excluſive propoſitions to affirm, that the phraſe

propoſitions excluſives, pour aſſurer que l'expreſſion, *Temple de Janus*, n'eſt point en uſage parmi les écrivains des bons ſiècles ; mais je vois que Tite Live, Horace, Suetone et Pline *, le déſignent toujours par la dénomination ſimple et propre de *Janus Geminus*, ou de *Janus Quirini*, ou *Quirinus*. Virgile, qui décrit tous les anciens uſages avec le feu d'un poëte, et la préciſion d'un antiquaire, a introduit parmi ſes Latins cette ancienne inſtitution. Il n'y employe jamais le mot *temple*, dans le tems qu'il décrit ces portes de la guerre.

Sunt geminæ belli portæ, (ſic nomine dicunt,)
Relligione ſacræ et ſævi formidine Martis :
Centum ærei claudunt vectes, æternaque ferri
Robora : nec cuſtos abſiſtit limine Janus †.

Tout réveille ici l'idée d'une arcade, telle que les portes des villes, fermée des deux côtés par des portes de bronze, et conſacrée par la ſtatue de Janus, placée peut être dans une niche dans la muraille. Si les modernes ont voulu faire du *Janus Geminus*, un temple célebre, leur peu d'exactitude ne m'empêchera pas de le rappeller à ſon idée primitive, qui s'accorde très bien avec les expreſſions de Varron. Le Janus et la porte triomphale ont du être des portes de la même enceinte. J'en conclus ſeulement que leur identité

« Temple of Janus" is not to be found in any writer of pure Latinity ; but I perceive that Livy, Horace, Suetone, and Pliny * always employ the proper expreſſion of Janus Geminus, or Janus Quirini, or Quirinus. Virgil, who deſcribes ancient cuſtoms with the fire of a poet, and the accuracy of an antiquary, makes mention of this inſtitution among the ancient Latins ; but never introduces the word " temple" in ſpeaking of the gates of war.

Sunt geminæ belli portæ, (ſic nomine dicunt,)
Relligione ſacræ et ſævi formidine Martis :
Centum ærei claudunt vectes, æternaque ferri
Robora: nec cuſtos abſiſtit limine Janus †.

In this deſcription, every word indicates an arcade, ſuch as that of the gates of cities, ſhut on both ſides by doors of bronze, and conſecrated by a ſtatue of Janus, placed perhaps in a niche in the wall. Although modern writers have endeavoured to convert the Janus Geminus into a celebrated temple, their want of accuracy needs not hinder me from giving to the words their primitive ſenſe, which perfectly accords with the expreſſions of Varro. The triumphal gate and that of Janus belonged, therefore, to

* Tit. Liv. L. i. Sueton. in Auguſt. xxii. et in Neron, xiii. Horat. Carm. iv. 15. Plin. Hiſt. Nat. xxxiv. 7.

† Virgil. Æneid, L. vii, 608.

tité n'a rien d'impoſſible. 2. Pour changer cette poſſibilité en vraiſemblance, il faut rapprocher les objets, et fixer la ſituation du *Janus Geminus*. Selon Tite Live *, Numa Pompilius inſtitua le *Janus* à l'extremité inférieure de l'*Argiletum*, pour être l'indice de la guerre et de la paix. Nous ſavons en général que l'*Argiletum*, qui n'a rien d'incertain que ſon étymologie, étoit ſitué au pied de la roche Tarpéïenne peu éloignée du Tybre †; et Servius le détermine encore mieux par ſon voiſinage du théâtre de Marcellus. La porte des triomphes et le *Janus Geminus* ſe trouveront également dans cette petite partie de l'enceinte, qui s'étend de la roche Tarpéïenne à la rivière. Nous ſommes déjà obligés d'y placer trois portes, la *Flumentana* ou *Flaminia* auprès de la rivière, la *Carmentale*, au pied des rochers, et la *Triomphale*, qui ſe trouveroit ainſi au milieu des deux autres. Dans une étendue de cent toiſes ‡, hériſſée de tours, eſt il fort naturel de ſuppoſer une quatrième porte? Ne ſe ſent on pas porté à confondre cette quatrième avec une des trois premières? Cette idée du Janus dans l'Argiletum, formellement énoncée par Tite Live et Servius, et très conforme à Varron, n'éprouve de difficulté que dans l'autorité de Procope ‖, qui place le Temple

‡ Je l'ai meſurée ſur le grand plan de Rome de Nolli.

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the ſame wall. I may thence venture to conclude that their identity is poſſible. 2. But to render the thing probable, we muſt endeavour to fix more accurately the ſituation of the Janus Geminus *. According to Livy, Numa Pompilius erected it at the lower extremity of the Argiletum, to ſerve as the index of war and peace. We know that the Argiletum, though its etymology is uncertain, was ſituate near the foot of the Tarpeian rock not far from the Tiber †; and Servius fixes its ſite ſtill more preciſely, by ſaying it was in the vicinity of the Temple of Marcellus. The triumphal gate and that of Janus muſt alſo have ſtood within the limits of this ſmall portion of the wall, extending from the Tarpeian rock to the river. Within the ſame limits, therefore, we are obliged to place three gates, the Flumentana or Flaminia near to the river, the Carmentalis at the foot of the rock, and the Triumphal in the middle between the two others. In an extent of only an hundred fathoms § of a wall crowded with towers, is it natural to ſuppoſe a fourth gate; or is it not more probable that this ſuppoſed fourth gate was merely a different name for one of the others? The placing of Janus in the Argiletum, which is done expreſsly by Livy and Servius, and which is quite conſiſtent with the terms of Varro, is oppoſed by no other authority than that of Procopius ‖, who ſays, that the

* Tit. Liv. L. i. Serv. ad Æneid VII. Nardini Roma Antiqua, L. vii. C. 4. p. 439.
† Donati Roma Vetus, L. ii. C. 26. p. 212.
§ I meaſured the diſtance on Nolli's great map of Rome.
‖ Procope de Bell. Gothic, L. i.

de Janus vis-à-vis du Capitole, et au milieu du Forum. Mais ce méme Procope ne détermine point que ce temple fût le *Janus Geminus* ; et en tout cas, j'aimerois mieux rejetter l'autorité d'un ſoldat du ſixième ſiècle, qui décrit un monument qui n'exiſtoit dejà plus, que de ſuppoſer avec Nardini *, qu'il y avoit deux *Jani*, indices de la paix et de la guerre ; l'un l'ancienne *Porta Janualis* que Numa convertit en temple ; l'autre un temple qu'il conſtruiſit dans l'*Argiletum*. Ces deux Janus ſont inconnus à toute l'antiquité, et Varron poſe en fait, ce que Tite Live inſinue aſſez clairement, que Numa inſtitua un nouvel uſage, ſans conſtruire un nouvel édifice. 3. Les portes de la guerre et celle du triomphe étoient donc ſi près l'une de l'autre, qu'il eſt difficile de les diſtinguer ; mais un autre caractère ſingulier qu'elles poſſédoient en commun, me diſpoſe encore à les confondre. C'eſt celui d'être conſacrées par l'opinion publique, et les cérémonies de la religion. Dans la diſcipline Etruſque †, les murailles étoient ſacrées, mais les portes étoient profanes ; et lorſqu'on tracoit le ſillon ſacré du *Pomœrium*, on interrompoit de tems en tems l'action de la charrue, pour ménager à la commodité de la ville ces ſorties néceſſaires pour les uſages vils et impurs, auxquels on les employoit ſi ſouvent. La porte des triomphes, deſtinée uniquement à introduire dans la

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Temple of Janus ſtood oppoſite to the Capitol, and in the middle of the Forum. But Procopius does not ſay that this temple was the Janus Geminus ; and whatever he might ſay, I ſhould be inclined rather to reject the authority of a ſoldier of the ſixth century, who ſpoke of a monument no longer in exiſtence, than to ſuppoſe with Nardini * that there were two Januſes, employed as tokens of war and peace ; one of which was the ancient Porta Janualis, which Numa converted into a temple ; and the other a temple which he afterwards built in the Argiletum. Theſe two Januſes are totally unknown to ancient authors ; and Varro directly ſays what Livy plainly inſinuates, that Numa inſtituted a new ceremony without building a new edifice. 3. The gates of war and triumph were therefore ſo near to each other, that it is difficult to diſtinguiſh them ; and a peculiarity which they poſſeſſed in common makes me inclined to conſider them as the ſame. Both theſe gates were conſecrated by public opinion and the ceremonies of religion. According to the inſtitutions of the Tuſcans †, walls were ſacred, but gates were profane ; and when they traced the ſacred ſite of the Pomœrium, it was cuſtomary at times to interrupt the action of the plough, that ſpaces might be left free for theſe neceſſary outlets, which, for the conveniency of the city, muſt often be defiled by impurities. But the triumphal gate, which was deſtined ſolely for

* Nardini Roma Antica, L. i. C. iii. p. 13. et L. v. C. vii. p. 256—257.
† Plutarch in Romul.

la ville la proceſſion la plus reſpectable de la religion, ne méritoit point d'être compriſe dans cette loi. Les honneurs qu'on propoſa pour la mémoire d'Auguſte, me perſuadent qu'elle ne l'étoit pas *. On voit que Tibere fit rejetter ces propoſitions qui bleſſoient la loi de la religion, et que la propoſition de faire paſſer un corps mort par la porte triomphale, y parut auſſi contraire que de faire recueiller ſes os par les prêtres, et d'empiéter ſur les droits des dieux, en déterminant par la vie d'Auguſte la durée d'un ſiècle. C'étoit aux dieux à diſtribuer et à annoncer par des prodiges la durée de chaque période. 4. L'identité ſuppoſée des deux portes (dont la reſſemblance eſt auſſi marquée) explique parfaitement l'inſtitution de Numa, et la raiſon pourquoi la porte s'ouvroit avec la guerre, et ſe fermoit avec la paix. Les ſymboles contraires paroîtroient beaucoup plus naturels. Un abord libre et ouvert annonce la tranquilité de la ville. Ce n'eſt que lorſque la crainte et la défiance, précédées de la guerre contre les ennemis voiſins, ſe préſentent aux portes, qu'on ſonge à les fermer, et à employer chaque moyen de défenſe. Mais dans l'inſtitution de Numa, le conſul ouvroit les portes de la gloire avec celles de la guerre. Elles demeuroient ouvertes pour ce petit nombre de grands hommes qui s'étoient acquis le droit d'y entrer. Elles ſe fermoient, lorſque le retour de la paix avoit interrompu le chemin des triomphes.

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admitting into the city a moſt venerable religious proceſſion, needed not to be included under this law; and that it certainly was not, appeared from what happened reſpecting the honours which it was propoſed to beſtow on the memory of Auguſtus *. Tiberius rejected theſe, however, as offenſive to religion; to which the propoſition of making a dead body paſs through the triumphal gate was reckoned as contrary as that of collecting the bones of Auguſtus by the hands of prieſts, and of determining the age or century by the length of his life. It belonged to the gods alone to mark by prodigies the duration of each period. 4. The ſuppoſed identity of the two gates, whoſe reſemblance is very ſtriking, perfectly explains the inſtitution of Numa, and the reaſon why Janus was open in war and ſhut in peace. The contrary ſymbols might appear more natural. A free and open acceſs to a city beſpeaks the ſecurity of peace. Amidſt the fear and diſtruſt occaſioned by war againſt neighbouring enemies, the ſhutting of the gates is employed as the moſt natural means of defence. But by the inſtitution of Numa, the gates of war were opened, becauſe they were the gates of glory; and they continued open, to admit the ſmall number of great men, who were entitled to paſs through them. They were, on the other hand, ſhut when the return of peace ſhut up

* Sueton. in Aug. C. 100. Tacit. Annal. I. 8.

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omphes. Les Romains ne l'ont que rarement interrompu. L'exercice de cette fonction ne dépendoit pas ſeulement de la paix actuelle, dont la république a très ſouvent joui, mais encore de la diſpoſition du ſénat à l'entretenir, diſpoſition qu'il n'a éprouvée que ſous les regnes tranquilles de Numa et d'Auguſte, et dans cet état d'épuiſement qui ſuivit la première guerre Punique.

Sur le SPECTACLE.

IL faut s'arrêter. Ce chapitre menace de devenir un volume. Renvoyons aux antiquaires le ſoin de détailler le ſpectacle du triomphe, les victimes, les ſacrificateurs, les vaſes d'or et d'argent, et les couronnes. Je ne veux m'attacher qu'à une ſeule réflexion plus digne d'un philoſophe, et qui diſtinguoit ſi avantageuſement cette cérémonie, de ces pompes ſi vaines et ſi fatigantes qui n'inſpirent que le mépris et l'ennui. Cette cérémonie rendoit les ſpectateurs eux-mêmes acteurs, en leur préſentant des objets grands, réels, et qui ne pouvoient que les intéreſſer.

Les ſpectacles les plus brillans des cours, les carouſels de Louis XIV. ou les fêtes du Duc de Wirtemberg, prouvent toujours la magnificence, et ſouvent

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the triumphal road. Among the Romans, indeed, this road was rarely interrupted. For the ceremony of ſhutting Janus required not merely an actual peace, which the Romans often enjoyed, but an inclination alſo in the ſenate to render that peace laſting; an inclination which that body teſtified only during the tranquil reigns of Numa and Auguſtus, and during that period of national weakneſs which was occaſioned by the firſt Punic war.

On the TRIUMPHAL SHOWS and CEREMONIES.

IT is here neceſſary to pauſe. This chapter might become a volume. We may commit to antiquaries the care of deſcribing the triumphal ſhow; the victims, ſacrifices, vaſes of gold and ſilver, and crowns. I ſhall dwell on one circumſtance alone, more deſerving the attention of a philoſopher, becauſe by it this inſtitution is honourably diſtinguiſhed from thoſe vain and fatiguing ſolemnities which create nothing but wearineſs or contempt. The triumph converted the ſpectators into actors, by ſhewing to them objects great, real, and which could not fail to move their affections.

The moſt brilliant ſhows in courts, the carouſals of Lewis XIV. or the feſtivities of the Duke of Wurtemberg, atteſted the wealth, and ſometimes the taſte, of

vent le goût du monarque. On peut quelquefois y jetter un coup d'œil, pour remarquer l'état des mœurs et les progrès des arts dans un ſiecle ou dans un pays ; mais ce coup d'œil devient bientôt triſte et languiſſant ; je vois que ces frais immenſes ſe terminent à raſſaſier la vanité, et à charmer les ennuis d'un ſeul homme ; je vois des troupeaux de courtiſans indifférens ou ennuyés, qui s'occupent triſtement à maſquer le dégoût ſous les traits du plaiſir. J'entends les cris plaintifs d'un peuple qui éprouva dans une chaſſe brillante, la déſolation d'une province, et qui voit dans ces lambris dorés, les traces de cent chaumières écraſées ſous le poids des impots, et je détourne les yeux avec horreur. Les cérémonies de la religion, lorſqu'elles ſe préſentent au peuple avec un appareil impoſant, doivent intéreſſer les ſpectateurs par les endroits les plus ſenſibles ; mais pour éprouver leur influence complettement, il faut recevoir avec foi le ſyſtême théologique ſur lequel elles ſont fondées, et ſe trouver même dans cette diſpoſition d'eſprit, qui ouvre l'ame aux craintes de la ſuperſtition. Si ces cérémonies n'excitent pas le reſpect, on les enviſage avec le mépris de la plus ridicule pantomime.

Dans les triomphes tout étoit grand et intéreſſant. Pour éprouver les ſenſations qu'ils excitoient, il ſuffiſoit d'être homme et Romain. Le citoyen ſpectateur voyoit l'image, dirai-je, ou la réalité de la gloire de ſa république.

Les

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princes. We may throw a glance on them, to remark the ſtate of arts and manners in a certain age or country ; but our eyes are ſoon tired or diſguſted by perceiving that theſe immenſe expences are conſumed in relieving the languor or gratifying the vanity of one man. I perceive crowds of courtiers indifferent, or yawning, or wretchedly occupied in concealing, under the maſk of pleaſure, their inward uneaſineſs. I hear the loud complaints of a whole people ; who have felt, in an expenſive hunting-match, the deſolation of a province ; and can trace, in a gilded dome, the marks of an hundred cottages, overwhelmed by the weight of taxes. From ſuch objects I remove my attention with horror. The ceremonies of religion, when preſented to mankind in a venerable garb, ought powerfully to intereſt their affections ; but their influence cannot be completely felt, unleſs the ſpectators have a firm faith in the theological ſyſtem on which they are founded ; and unleſs they alſo feel in themſelves that particular diſpoſition of mind which lays it open to religious terrors. Such ceremonies, when they are not viewed with reſpect, are beheld with the contempt excited by the moſt ridiculous pantomime.

In the triumph, every circumſtance was great and intereſting. To receive its full impreſſion, it was enough to be a man and a Roman. With the eyes of citizens, the ſpectators ſaw the image, or rather the reality of the public glory. The treaſures

which

Les tréſors qui paſſoient devant ſes yeux, les monumens les plus précieux des arts, les dépouilles ſanglantes des ennemis, lui retracoient le tableau fidele de la guerre, et l'inſtruiſoit de l'importance de la conquête. Un langage muet, mais facile, lui racontoit les dangers et la valeur de ſes compatriotes; des ſymboles choiſis avec goût, lui expoſoient ſans peine les villes, les rivières, les montagnes, théâtre des exploits des Romains, et juſqu'aux dieux des nations qu'ils avoient ſoumis au Jupiter du Capitole. L'orgueil, la curioſité, la dévotion, que des faveurs ſi récentes et ſi ſenſibles portoient juſqu'au fanatiſme, ſe confondoient en un ſentiment fort et dominant. Quelquefois une paſſion plus tendre s'inſinuoit dans ſon ame, lorſqu'il voyoit ſon fils, ſon frere, ou ſon ami, qui ſuivoit le char de triomphe, échappé aux périls de la guerre, et couronné des récompenſes de ſa valeur. La gloire du Général lui même ne ſe bornoit point à ſa famille, ni à ſes amis. Elle s'étendoit à chaque citoyen qui ſe réjouiſſoit de la nouvelle dignité qu'elle répandoit ſur le nom Romain, et qui ſe ſouvenoit peut être qu'il avoit lui même donné ſon ſouffrage, pour élever au conſulat ce grand homme dont ſa pénétration avoit démêlé le mérite, et que ſon déſintéreſſement avoit préféré à tous ſes émules.

Lorſque

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which were carried in proceſſion, the moſt precious monuments of art, the bloody ſpoils of the enemy, exhibited a faithful picture of the war, and illuſtrated the importance of the conqueſt. A ſilent but forcible language inſtructed the Romans in the exploits and valour of their countrymen: ſymbols choſen with taſte ſhewed to them the cities, rivers, mountains, the ſcenes of their national enterprize, and even the gods of their proſtrate enemies, ſubdued under the majeſty of Capitoline Jupiter. Under the impreſſion of recent and manifeſt favours, pride, curioſity, and devotion warmed into one ſtrong and prevailing paſſion of enthuſiaſm. Sometimes ſentiments more tender penetrated the citizen's heart, when he beheld a ſon, a brother, or a friend, eſcaped from the dangers of war, following the triumphal chariot, and crowned with the rewards of his valour. The general's glory was not confined within the narrow ſphere of his own family and friends. It redounded to the honour of every citizen, who rejoiced at the new dignity thereby acquired to the Roman name; and who remembered, perhaps, that his own vote had helped to raiſe to the conſulſhip the great man, whoſe merit he had the diſcernment to perceive, and whom he had the diſintereſtedneſs to prefer to all his rivals.

When

Lorſque le citoyen jettoit un regard ſur les rois vaincus, qu'on trainoit devant le char du vainqueur, ſon orgueil triomphoit en même tems de ces rois et de l'humanité outragée. Si un ſentiment de pitié perçoit à travers ſes fiers préjugés, s'il s'attendriſſoit ſur la chute du monarque, ou ſur l'innocence de ſes enfans qui ſentoient à peine ce qu'ils avoient perdu, il étoit payé de ſes larmes par cette ſenſation délicieuſe que la nature a ſcu y attacher.

On ne connoit que trop le ſort infortuné de ces princes; victimes de la raiſon d'état, et de l'orgueil Romain, ils ne terminoient une captivité honteuſe, que par une mort infame, qu'on n'avoit retardée que pour les avilir encore mieux par le ſpectacle du triomphe. Je trouve cependant dans la conduite des Romains à cet égard, une bizarrerie aſſez difficile à expliquer. En voici un exemple ſingulier. Après la conquête de la Macédoine et le triomphe de Paul Emile, le ſénat relégua Perſée à Alba Facetia, dans le pays des Marſes; il lui procura toutes les douceurs qui peuvent ſe ſéparer de la liberté, et après ſa mort il lui fit des funérailles publiques et honorables: traitement bien différent de celui qu'éprouva le malheureuex Jugurtha, qui expira dans un cachot, après avoir reſſenti tous les tourmens de la faim et du

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When the citizen caſt his eye on the vanquiſhed kings dragged in triumph, his own pride triumphed at once over them and inſulted humanity. But if a ſentiment of compaſſion overcame his ſtern prejudices, and he melted at the ſight of a fallen monarch, and his innocent children ſtill unconſcious of their misfortune, his tenderneſs muſt have been rewarded with that delightful pleaſure with which nature repays ſuch tears.

The lot of thoſe unfortunate princes is but too well known. Victims of ſtate-policy and Roman pride, they ended a ſhameful captivity by an ignominious death, which had been delayed only by their diſgrace of being led in triumph. In the conduct of the Romans toward them, there was however a ſingular capriciouſneſs, which it is not eaſy to explain. Of this, the following is a memorable example. After the triumph of Paulus Emilius for the conqueſt of Macedon, the ſenate baniſhed Perſeus to Alba Facetia, in the territory of the Marſi, ſupplied him with every comfort that can be enjoyed without liberty, and honoured his remains with the pomp of a public funeral. This treatment was totally the reverſe of that experienced by the unhappy Jugurtha, who expired in a dungeon, after enduring the torments of hunger and deſpair; torments the more horrible in his forlorn and ſolitary ſtate, unrelieved by the hope

du déſeſpoir ; tourmens d'autant plus horribles que l'ame abandonnée à elle même, n'eſt point ſoutenue par l'eſpérance de la gloire, la préſence des ſpectateurs, et l'appareil même de ces ſupplices, qui la fortifie en l'effrayant. Pourquoi cette différence dans le ſort de ces deux princes ? L'un et l'autre, ennemis jurés du nom Romain, étoient teints du ſang d'un frere ami de la république. A ces crimes Perſée avoit ajouté l'aſſaſſinat d'un roi allié du ſénat, et l'entrepriſe d'empoiſonner les ambaſſadeurs de Rome. Mais Perſée étoit un monument de la vertu des Romains, qui revoyoient avec plaiſir tous les veſtiges d'une guerre auſſi glorieuſe, pendant qu'ils auroient voulu enſevelir avec Jugurtha la mémoire de leur honte. Les légions Romaines envoyées ſous le joug, les conſuls, les ambaſſadeurs, le ſénat entier, corrompus par ce prince, toute la turpitude de la république dévoilée à l'univers : voila les forfaits de Jugurtha, et ceux que Rome ne pouvoit jamais lui pardonner.

à Rome, le 13 Décembre 1764.

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hope of glory, the preſence of ſpectators, or the ſhow of a public execution, which, while it frightens, fortifies the mind. What was the reaſon for making this difference ? Both princes were ſworn enemies of the Roman name, and each was ſtained with the blood of a brother who had been a friend to the Romans. To theſe crimes Perſeus had added the aſſaſſination of a king allied to the ſenate, and an attempt to poiſon the Roman ambaſſadors. But Perſeus was a monument of the virtue of the republic. With him was aſſociated the idea of a glorious war ; but, with Jugurtha, the Romans muſt have wiſhed to bury for ever the memory of their own diſgrace ; their legions made to paſs under the yoke ; conſuls, ambaſſadors, the whole ſenate, corrupted by the bribes of that prince ; the concealed baſeneſs of the republic unveiled to the whole world. Such were the crimes of Jugurtha, crimes for which the Romans could never poſſibly forgive him.

Rome, 13th December 1764.

N° VIII.

à Rome, le 29 Novembre 1764.

J'ai eu entre les mains un *MS. de l'Abbé Gio Vicenzo Gravina*, qui appartient à M. Lumſden, gentilhomme Anglois, et ami de M. Byers qui me l'a procuré. Il eſt intitulé *Del Governo Civile di Roma*; *in 4to. pp.* 76; et traite principalement des révolutions qu'a éprouvé cette ville depuis la chute de l'empire Romain; ſujet qui m'intéreſſe beaucoup. Cet ouvrage eſt un abrégé très bien fait; mais, à dire vrai, ce n'eſt qu'un abrégé. L'auteur n'a point approfondi ſon ſujet, il n'a point fouillé dans les archives. Il cite rarement, et ne cite que les auteurs très connus, tels que Baronius, Blondus, ou Sigonius. Détachons cependant, ſans ſuite et ſans méthode, quelques circonſtances dont je dois la connoiſſance à cet ouvrage.

p. 7. Après la fondation de Conſtantinople, la Nouvelle Rome cédoit par tout le pas à ſa ſœur ainée. Le conſul pour l'Occident paſſoit devant celui de l'Orient.—*Procope Hiſtoire Secrette.*

M. Gra-

N° VIII.

Rome, 29th December 1764.

I have been reading a MS. of the Abbé *Geo. Vicenzo Gravina*, which belongs to Mr. Lumſden, a Scotch gentleman, and a friend of Mr. Byers, through whoſe means I procured it. The title of it is, *Del Governo Civile di Roma; in 4to. pp.* 76: and its principal ſubject, the revolutions of the city after the fall of the empire; a ſubject which intereſts me much. This performance is an excellent abridgment, but merely an abridgment; the author not having ſounded the depths of his ſubject, nor ranſacked archives. His citations are few; and thoſe only of well-known authors, ſuch as Baronius, Blondus, or Sigonius. It may, however, be worth while to extract, without order or method, the particulars which I have learned from this work.

p. 7. After the foundation of Conſtantinople, New Rome yielded in all matters of ceremony to her elder ſiſter. The conſul preceded the conſul of the Eaſt.—*Procopius's Secret Hiſtory.*

M. Gravina adopte les donations de Pepin et de Charlemagne ; mais dans ſon ſyſtême ces princes donnerent le duché de Rome et l'exarchat de Ravenne aux Papes, comme aux chefs du ſénat et de la république Romaine, ſouverains légitimes de l'Italie pendant la vacance de l'empire. p. 8.

Dans le ſoulèvement des Romains contre le Roi Hugues et Marozia, ils établirent leur gouvernement ancien des deux conſuls annuels et des tribuns. Le jeune Alberic fut un des premiers conſuls. Gravina cite Blondus ; mais Muratori, qui place cet évenement en 932 au lieu de 928, ne parle point de conſuls. Je ſuis cependant très porté à y ajouter foi. Ils ont été certainement rétablis vers ce tems la. p. 13, 14.

M. Gravina penſe qu'Othon III abolit le conſulat en 995, après la mort de Creſcence. La choſe paroîtroit vraiſemblable ; mais il ne cite perſonne ; et l'on a des preuves que le conſuls ſubſiſtoient immediatement après, auſſi bien que dans le ſiècle ſuivant. p. 21.

Innocent III. reçut l'hommage du préfet de Rome, et lui donna l'inveſtiture de ſon emploi. *Sigon. de Regn. Ital.*—A la prière du peuple il créa cinquante ſénateurs pour gouverner la ville ; mais comme ils abuſerent extrêmement p. 43, 44.

Mr. Gravina believes in the donations of Pepin and Charlemagne. But, according to him, theſe princes gave the duchy of Rome and the exarchate of Ravenna to the popes, as chiefs of the ſenate and Roman republic during the vacancy of the empire. p. 8.

In the inſurrection of the Romans againſt King Hugh and Marozia, they eſtabliſhed their ancient government by two annual conſuls and tribunes. Young Alberic was one of the firſt conſuls. Gravina cites Blondus; but Muratori, who places this event in the year 932 inſtead of 928, does not ſpeak of conſuls. I am inclined however to believe Gravina. The conſuls were certainly re-eſtabliſhed about that time. p. 13, 14.

Mr. Gravina thinks that Otho III. aboliſhed the conſulſhip in 995, after the death of Creſcentius. The obſervation ſeems probable ; yet he does not give his authority ; and it is proved that the office of conſul ſubſiſted immediately afterwards, as well as in the following age. p. 21.

Innocent III. received the homage of the prefect of Rome, and granted to him the inveſtiture of his office. *Sigon. de Regn. Ital.*—At the requeſt of the people, he created fifty ſenators to govern the city; but as they exceedingly abuſed their power, he reduced p. 43, 44.

trèmement de leur pouvoir, ils les réduisit à un seul, établi pour rendre la justice. *Cantilius de Romana Hiſtoria à Carlo Magno.*

p. 55, 56. Sous le pontificat de Martin IV. les Orsini, pour se venger de l'affront qu'ils avoient reçu des Annibaldeſi (qui les avoient chassés de Viterbe, après la mort de leur oncle Nicolas III.), entrerent à main armée dans Rome qu'ils remplirent de massacres et d'incendies. Ils brulerent alors ces anciens édifices sur la descente du Mont Capitolin, dont nous voyons encore les ruines.

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duced them to one only, appointed to distribute justice. *Cantilius de Romana Hiſtoria Carolo Magno.*

p. 55, 56. Under the pontificate of Martin IV. the Orsini, to avenge the affront which they had received from the Annibaldeſi (who had driven them from Viterbo after the death of their uncle Nicholas III.), entered with an armed force into Rome, which they ravaged with fire and sword. At that time were burnt the ancient edifices whose ruins are still visible on the declivity of the Capitoline hill.

OUTLINES

OF THE

HISTORY OF THE WORLD.

The NINTH CENTURY. 300—900.

THE more civilized part of the globe was divided between the Chriſtians and the Mahometans; the former under two emperors, the latter under two caliphs. 1. The newly-erected empire of the Franks extended over France, Germany, and Italy, and even the Chriſtian princes of Britain and the mountains of Spain reſpected the power and dignity of Charlemagne. 2. The empire of the Greeks, or as they vainly ſtyled it, of the Romans, had preſerved only Macedonia, Thrace, and Aſia Minor. 3. The caliphs of the houſe of Ommiyah reigned in Spain. 4. Africa, Egypt, Syria, Arabia, and Perſia, were ſubject to the Abaſſides. Whatever lay beyond the limits of theſe four empires was ſtill pagan, and, excepting China, ſtill barbarous.

The overgrown monarchy of the Abaſſides ſoon declined. The powerful viceroys of great and diſtant provinces gradually uſurped the prerogatives, though they ſtill reſpected the dignity of the caliph. The reigns of Al Raſhid, 776—809.
Al Mamûn, and Al Motaſſem were, however, wiſe and proſperous: but their 813—833.
feeble ſucceſſors, immerſed in the luxury of the ſeraglio, reſigned the guard of 833—841.
their throne and perſon to a body of Turkiſh mercenaries, who, as their
intereſt or paſſions might dictate, depoſed, maſſacred, and created the lieu- 866—869.
tenants of the prophet. At length they began to experience the dire effects 870.
of the enthuſiaſm to which they owed their grandeur. A ſect of deſperate 892.
fanatics

fanatics, called Karmathians, diſturbed Irack and Arabia. The aſſaſſins of Syria, ſo much dreaded during the cruſades, were the laſt remains of them.

The ruin of the French empire was more precipitate and attended with greater calamities. It is chiefly to be aſcribed to the fierce ſpirit of the Franks, unable to ſupport either an arbitrary or a legal government; to the
814—840. incapacity of Lewis the Debonnaire, and to the ambition of his four ſons,
841. who, in one battle, deſtroyed a hundred thouſand of their ſubjects. The dignity of the throne and blood of Charlemagne was eclipſed, as every prince divided his dominions among his children; and the ſpirit of union
875. was irrecoverably loſt. Charles the Bald diſgraced the imperial purple by acknowledging that he held it from the favour of his ſubject the biſhop of Rome. Another Charles, as unworthy as the former, was depoſed by his ſubjects, and the vacant empire uſurped by the kings of France, of Burgundy, of Arles, of Germany, and of Italy, all ſtrangers to the family of Charlemagne. The dukes and the counts who had ſerved their ambition, converted their governments into hereditary poſſeſſions, which they ſhared among their barons, and theſe again among their followers; the ſuperior ſtill reſerving the faith, homage, and military ſervice of his vaſſal. The people, both of the cities and country, was reduced to a ſtate of ſlavery. The clergy ſometimes imitated, and ſometimes moderated the tyranny of the military order.

In the mean while the Normans from the North, the Hungarians from the Eaſt, and the Arabs, or Saracens, from the South, aſſaulted this de-
849. fenceleſs empire on every ſide. Rome and Paris were beſieged, and theſe
885. invaders often met each other in the centre of the ruined provinces. The Normans eſpecially, animated by the Saxons, great numbers of whom had retired into Scandinavia to eſcape the bloody baptiſm of Charlemagne, inflicted a dreadful revenge on the perſons and property of the Chriſtian prieſts.

The union of the Saxon heptarchy was effected by Egbert, king of the Weſt Saxons, who had been trained to arms and policy in the ſchool of Charlemagne; but it was ſcarcely yet cemented, when England experienced the ſame calamities as the Continent from the Danes or Normans. They were with much difficulty expelled, or ſubdued, by the victories of Alfred. Amidſt the deepeſt gloom of barbariſm, the virtue of Antoninus, the learning

and

and valour of Cæſar, and the legiſlative genius of Lycurgus, ſhone forth united in that patriot king. Several of his inſtitutions have ſurvived the Norman conqueſt, and contributed to form the Engliſh conſtitution.

The Arabs, whether ſubject to the houſe of Abbas or to that of Ommiyah, formed but one people. The Chriſtians of the weſtern and eaſtern empires had ſcarcely any common reſemblance, except of religious ſuperſtition. The Franks had almoſt forgotten to read or write, in the moſt literal ſenſe of theſe words. The Greeks preſerved their ancient authors without attempting to imitate them. But the Arabs were poets and philoſophers; bewildered themſelves very ingeniouſly in the maze of metaphyſics, and improved the more uſeful ſciences of phyſic, aſtronomy, and the mathematics. The arts, which miniſter to the convenience and luxury of life, were known only in the Eaſt, and at Conſtantinople.

From theſe arts the Arabs derived their ſplendor, and the Greeks their exiſtence. A people without valour or diſcipline, and a throne perpetually ſtained with blood and occupied by weak princes, could not long have withſtood the numerous enemies which on every ſide ſurrounded them. Conſtantinople alone, attracting by its ſituation and induſtry the commerce of Europe and Aſia, ſupplied the abſolute monarch with an inexhauſtible ſource of wealth and power.

The Tenth Century. 900—1000.

Out of reſpect to Charlemagne's memory, Charles the Simple and his deſcendants to the third generation, were permitted to hold the crown of France: but it was a crown without either power or ſplendor. Italy, with the imperial dignity; Germany, with the neighbouring provinces of Lorraine, Alſace, Franche Comté, Dauphiné, and Provence, were ſeparated from the French monarchy. The laſt Carlovingian princes, reduced to the city of Laon, beheld the miſery of their country, and the wars among their great vaſſals. Of theſe the moſt powerful were the dukes of France, of Normandy, of Burgundy, and of Acquitain; the counts of Flanders, of Champagne, and of Thouloufe. Rollo, the firſt duke of Normandy, acquired that fertile province by conqueſt and by treaty: his barbarian followers readily adopted the French manners, religion, and language. Hugh Capet, duke of France, and count of Paris and Orleans, wreſted 898—987. 912. 987—996.

987. wreſted from the laſt of the Carlovingians the ſceptre, which ſtill remains in the hands of his poſterity: but his new regal title ſcarcely gave him any authority over his *peers*, and his ample fiefs compoſed a very inconſiderable kingdom.

The Germans, freed from the French yoke, elected for their king Con-
918—936. rad duke of Franconia, and after him a line of Saxon princes. Henry the Fowler chaſtiſed the Hungarians, civilized his rude ſubjects, and was the firſt founder of cities in the interior parts of Germany. His ſon, Otho the Great, paſſed the Alps, gave laws to Italy and to the popes, and for ever fixed the imperial dignity in the German nation. He impoſed a tribute on the vanquiſhed Danes and Bohemians, and ſince that time the King of Bohemia has acknowledged himſelf the firſt vaſſal of the German empire, which was treated with contempt by the Greeks, reluctantly ſubmitted to by
973—983. the Italians, but reſpected by the reſt of Europe. The ſecond and third
983—1002. Otho, ſon and grandſon to the firſt, ſupported, though with leſs vigour and capacity, the claims which he tranſmitted to them.

Spain flouriſhed under the happy government of the Ommiades more than in any former or later period. Their capital, Cordova, is ſaid to have contained two hundred thouſand houſes, and the adjacent country twelve thouſand villages. The active genius of the Arabs was at once employed in war, ſcience, agriculture, manufactures, and commerce. The annual re-
912—961. venue of the caliph Abdoubrahman III. exceeded ſix millions ſterling, and
976—1006. probably ſurpaſſed that of all the Chriſtian kings united. Under the reign of his grandſon, the viziers became maſters of the palace, and the governors of their provinces.

The Chriſtian princes of Gothic or Gaſcon extraction, who had maintained their independence in the Pyrenean and Aſturean mountains, and of whom the king of Leon was the moſt conſiderable, prepared to take advantage of the inteſtine diviſions of the Mahometans.

A new empire aroſe in Africa. Obeidollah, who ſtiled himſelf the deſcendant and avenger of Ali, reduced under his obedience the whole country from the Atlantic ocean to the frontiers of Egypt, together with the iſland of Sicily; and founded the dynaſty of the Fatimite caliph. Moez
969. Ledinilla, the fourth in deſcent and ſucceſſion from him, conquered Egypt and Syria, and built Grand Cairo on the banks of the Nile, which ſoon became one of the firſt cities of the world. But in proportion as the Fati-

mite caliphs extended their conqueſts towards the Eaſt, their weſtern dominions of Africa eſcaped from their yoke. In the mean while the Arabs of Mauritania, who ſtill retained their paſtoral life, ſpread the terror of their arms and the law of Mahomet among the negro nations in the interior parts of Africa.

The empire of the Abaſſides was diſmembered by twenty dynaſties, 936.
Arabs, Turks, and Perſians. The caliph of Bagdad, a priſoner in his palace, enjoyed the vain honour of being named firſt in the public prayers, and of granting the inveſtiture of his provinces to every fortunate uſurper. The Greeks ſeized the favourable opportunity, recovered Antioch, and once more extended their power as far as the banks of the Euphrates.

As England formed a ſeparate world, which maintained very little intercourſe with other nations, it may be reſerved for the laſt place. Edward the 900—924.
elder and Athelſtan inherited the military virtues of Alfred. The great 924—940.
grandſon of that prince, Edgar, is celebrated by the monks for his profuſe 959—975.
devotion to their order; and by rational men, for the attention he gave to the natural ſtrength of his kingdom, a maritime power. The Danes, who ſince the time of Alfred had reſpected the coaſts of England, renewed their attacks as ſoon as they diſcovered the weakneſs of young Ethelred, the ſon of Edgar.

While the Muſulmans, notwithſtanding their inteſtine troubles, preſerved 978—1016.
the light of ſcience, Europe ſunk ſtill deeper into ignorance, barbariſm, and ſuperſtition. The Benedictine abbeys, though they nurſed the laſt of theſe monſters, oppoſed ſome faint reſiſtance againſt the two former. They tranſcribed ancient books, improved their lands, and opened an aſylum for the ſlaves of feudal tyranny, which had every where erected fortified caſtles on the ruins of cities and villages. The inhabitants of the rocks of Genoa, and of the marſhes of Venice, began to ſeek, firſt a ſubſiſtence, and ſoon afterwards wealth and power, in the uſeful employments of trade and navigation.

The Eleventh Century.

The general hiſtory of this age may be comprehended under four great 1000—1100.
events. 1. The empire of the Turks in Aſia. 2. The diſputes between the emperors and the popes. 3. The conqueſt of England and Naples by the Normans; and, 4. The cruſades againſt the Mahometans.

1. Mahmud of Gaſna was the firſt prince, who, under the empire of the caliphs, aſſumed the title of Sultan. He reigned over the eaſtern parts of Perſia, and invaded the rich and peaceful nations of Hindoſtan, ſeveral of which bowed to his yoke, and to that of the Alcoran. As he had occaſion for great armies, he invited into his ſervice the tribe of Seljuk, one of the braveſt and moſt numerous among the Turks. They ſerved the father, but
1031. rebelled againſt the ſon. The ſeveral dynaſties of Perſia fell ſucceſſively
1038—1063. before the ſword of Togrul Beg, their firſt ſovereign. The feeble caliph of
1055. Bagdad was obliged to grant him the inveſtiture of his conqueſts, and to re-
1063—1072. ceive a Turk for his protector and his ſon in law. Alp Arſlan, the ſucceſſor of Togrul, took the Emperor Romanus Diogenes priſoner in a great battle, and treated him with a generous courteſy that would have done
1080. honour to the moſt civilized nations. Aſia Minor, a part of the Greek empire, and Syria and Paleſtine, then ſubject to the caliphs of Egypt, were
1072—1092. ſubdued by the victorious Turks. The empire of Malek Shah extended from India to the Helleſpont: his court was the ſeat of learning, juſtice, and magnificence. The Turks, who had adopted the religion and manners of the Arabs, ſtudied to conceal from the nations of Aſia that they had changed their maſters.

1002—1024. 2. The emperor Otho III. was ſucceeded by his couſin Henry II. ſur-
1024—1043. named the Saint, becauſe he choſe to be the laſt of his family. The
1043—1056. Franconian princes, Conrad the Salic, Henry III. and Henry IV. ſucceed-
1056—1106. ed to the houſe of Saxony. Theſe emperors poſſeſſed as much power as was compatible with the feudal ſyſtem. Their great vaſſals were more accuſtomed to order and obedience than thoſe of France. They enjoyed a large domain and revenue in Germany. Italy, once the miſtreſs, and ſince the ſlave of the nations, was treated as a conquered country. The right of granting the inveſtiture of benefices, and even of the ſee of Rome, became
1073—1085. in their hands an inexhauſtible ſource either of power or of profit. Gregory VII. a monk of a daring and obſtinate ſpirit, embraced the pretence of aboliſhing ſimony, and the opportunity of delivering himſelf and his ſucceſſors from an odious yoke. The emperor was excommunicated and depoſed, and theſe ſpiritual arms were ſeconded, either from intereſted or pious motives, by the Normans, by the Counteſs Matilda, by the princes of Germany, and even by the ſons of Henry. Though he defended himſelf with vigour, and was victorious in ſixty-ſix battles, the church ſtill main-

tained the war with new reſources, and inflexible reſolution; and the Roman pontiff exalted his mitre above all the crowns in Europe.

3. In this century, England was twice ſubdued by foreign invaders. Sweyn the Dane ravaged the country; but his ſon Canute, who had embraced 1016—1036.
Chriſtianity, was acknowledged king by the nation, and ſhewed himſelf as mild in peace as he had been terrible in war. The dominion of the Danes expired with the ſons of Canute, and Edward the Confeſſor aſcended 1042—1066.
without oppoſition the vacant throne. The more than doubtful teſtament of this weak prince, the laſt of the Saxon line, was however the beſt pretence with which William, the baſtard Duke of Normandy, could colour his invaſion of England. In the deciſive battle of Haſtings, the valour of the 1066.
Engliſh was unable to withſtand the flower of Europe's chivalry, led on by October 14.
an experienced general, and ſupported by the thunder of a papal excommunication. William ſecured his conqueſt, at firſt by the moſt gentle, after- 1066—1087.
wards by the moſt violent meaſures. He attempted to aboliſh the laws and language of the Anglo-Saxons, and divided their country among the companions of his victory. Fourteen hundred manors, which he reſerved for the crown, formed an ample and independent revenue. Sixty thouſand knights were bound by duty and intereſt to ſupport the throne of their benefactor. The government was military; and a military government always verges towards deſpotiſm. The only compenſation which England received for ſo many calamities, was a ſyſtem of manners ſomewhat more poliſhed, and a more extenſive influence on the Continent. The power of William the Conqueror and of his ſon, William Rufus, eclipſed their ſove- 1087—1100.
reigns the kings of France. Robert, Henry I. and Philip I. the ſucceſſors 996—1031.
of Hugh Capet in lineal deſcent, wanted both talents and opportunity to 1031—1060.
wreſt the prerogatives and provinces of their crown from the great vaſſals 1060—1108.
on whoſe uſurpations time had almoſt beſtowed a legal ſanction.

The Normans were at that time renowned in arms beyond all the European nations. A few private gentlemen of Normandy, who viſited the 1016.
ſouthern parts of Italy as pilgrims, and ſerved there as mercenaries, ſoon formed themſelves into a little army of conquerors, and erected a formidable 1057—1085.
power on the ruins of the Greeks, the Arabs, and the Lombards. Robert Guiſcard, the greateſt of their chiefs, who paſſed the Alps with only ſix horſemen and thirty foot, attained the honour of protecting Gregory VII. and of ſeeing both the emperors of the Weſt and of the Eaſt ſucceſſively fly

before him. His vaſt projects againſt the latter of theſe empires were interrupted only by an untimely death. The devotion, or the policy of the Normans, engaged them to put their conqueſts under the protection off St. Peter; and, ſince that time, the kingdom of Naples has been a fief of the church of Rome.

1038. 4. As ſoon as the caliphate of Spain was deſtroyed, the Chriſtians emerged from obſcurity, and in their turn attacked the Moors or Arabs, now divided into twenty petty ſovereignties. While each Mahometan prince defended himſelf ſeparately, all were vanquiſhed, but the victory was long doubtful and bloody. Every diſtrict coſt a battle: every city a
1085. ſiege. The ſiege of Toledo laſted a year, and the reputation of the Spaniſh general, celebrated in hiſtory and romance under the name of the Cid, attracted the braveſt knights of Italy and France to his ſtandard. The do-
1065—1109. minions of his maſter, Alfonſo VI. comprehended both the Caſtiles, Leon, Biſcay, Aſtureas, and Gallicia. The Spaniſh princes of Navarre, Arragon, and Catalonia were ſtill confined between the Ebro and the Pyrenees.
1072. About the ſame time Count Roger, the Norman, brother of Robert Guiſcard, expelled the Arabs from the iſland of Sicily, and purſued them to the coaſt of Africa.

Theſe advantages were preludes to the great enterprize of the cruſades. When we recollect that arms and devotion were the ruling paſſions of the independent barons and their numerous followers, and that fame, riches, and Paradiſe were held forth as the ſure rewards of this holy warfare, we ſhall be the leſs ſurprized that more than a million of men enliſted under the banner of the Croſs. Of this undiſciplined multitude, the far greater part periſhed in Hungary and Aſia Minor. Godfrey of Bouillon, and the other Chriſtian leaders, arrived on the banks of the Jordan with only twenty
1099. thouſand foot and fifteen hundred horſe; but even this handful of warriors was ſufficient to recover the holy ſepulchre, and to eſtabliſh a feeble and tranſitory dominion over Jeruſalem, Antioch, Tripoli, and Edeſſa. The French and Normans had the greateſt ſhare in the folly and glory of the firſt cruſade, which rouſed Europe from its long and profound lethargy, and was productive of much unforeſeen benefit to the popes, the kings of France, and the commercial ſtates of Italy.

Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Poland, Bohemia, and Hungary adopted the Chriſtian, or rather Popiſh faith, a more civilized life, and the firſt rudiments

rudiments of feudal policy. The converſion of Ruſſia was the work of the Greek church. The Sclavonian tribes on the coaſts of the Baltic, from the Elbe to the gulph of Finland, ſtill preſerved their ancient religion and ſavage independence.

The Twelfth Century. 1100—1200.

The popes prevailed againſt their ancient ſovereigns the emperors of Germany, and deprived the unfortunate Henry IV. of his dominions, his reputation, his life, and the laſt honours of a grave. To eſcape a ſimilar fate, Henry V. reſigned the long-conteſted right of inveſtitures, which was gradually uſurped by the Roman pontiff. The clergy, inſtead of regaining their liberty, ſoon experienced a yoke, ſtill heavier when impoſed by one of their own order. The fictitious donation of Conſtantine, and the will of Matilda, were likewiſe aſſerted by the popes, but with leſs ſucceſs; and they found it eaſier to ſhake the thrones of other princes than to eſtabliſh their own temporal dominion. A jealous truce ſubſiſted between the church and empire during the reigns of Lothaire II. and Conrad III. the latter of whom was the firſt of the houſe of Swabia. The war was renewed between the emperor Frederic I. ſurnamed Barbaroſſa, and Pope Alexander III. each of whom pretended that the other was his creature and vaſſal. The cities of Lombardy, enriched by commerce and aſpiring to liberty, ranged themſelves under the papal banner. Though Frederic maintained his lofty claims with the greateſt reſolution and ability; though he ſet up an anti-pope, marched ſix times into Italy, beſieged Rome, and levelled Milan with the ground, yet he was at laſt obliged to bend before the throne of Alexander, and confirm all the immunities of the Italian confederacy.

1106. 1106—1125. 1121. 1125—1137. 1137—1152. 1152—1190. 1117.

This emperor and his ſucceſſor Henry VI. were, however, dreaded and obeyed in Germany, now enlarged by the forced converſion of the Vandals of Mecklenburgh and Pomerania. In the north of Italy the Imperial authority was almoſt loſt: but in the ſouth, Henry VI. acquired the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, by marrying Conſtantia, the daughter of Roger I. who had united the Norman conqueſts, and aſſumed the regal title. A powerful party was unable to reſiſt the right and the arms of Henry, but he ſullied his victory with cruelty and avarice.

1190—1198. 1130. 1194.

The

The kings of France ſtill remained the feeble heads of a great body. In private quarrels, the moſt inconſiderable baron was able to wage war againſt
1108—1137. his ſovereign: but when Lewis VI. aſſembled the national force againſt a
1124. foreign enemy, two hundred thouſand men appeared under the banner of
1137—1180. the Oriflamme. Lewis VII. was a prince of ſlender abilities, who loſt the great duchy of Aquitain by divorcing his wife Eleanor on a jealous ſuſpi-
1180—1223. cion. His miniſter Suger, and his ſon Philip Auguſtus, deſerve to be conſidered as the founders of the French monarchy. The former was an honeſt ſtateſman and a monk, without the prejudices of a convent. The fortune of the latter was equal to his genius.

1100—1135. In England the weak title of Henry I. youngeſt ſon of the conqueror, his marriage with a Saxon princeſs, and above all the hand of time, gradually uniting the Normans and the Engliſh into one people, contributed to aboliſh the memory of the conqueſt, and to relax the chains of deſpotiſm.
1135—1154. After the death of Henry, England was afflicted with a civil war between his daughter Matilda and his nephew Stephen, till at length the contending
1154—1189. parties acknowledged Henry II. the ſon of Matilda, an active, powerful, and fortunate monarch. From his mother he inherited England and Normandy; from his father, Fulk Plantagenet, the counties of Anjou, Maine, and Touraine. By the marriage, which he moſt eagerly contracted with the repudiated Eleanor, he obtained the provinces of Aquitain and Poitou. He diſpoſed of the duchy of Brittany in favour of his third ſon Jeffrey. The king of Scotland did him homage, the Welch dreaded his power, and to
1171. the adventurous valour of ſome ſubjects he was indebted for the ſovereignty of Ireland; a conqueſt at that time of little value, but which now contains more wealth and induſtry than the extenſive empire of Henry II. His reign
1170. was however diſturbed by the ambition, and ſtill more by the murder of Becket; by the intrigues of the French king, and by the ingratitude of his
1189—1199. ſons. Richard the Firſt, the ſecond of them, poſſeſſed only the perſonal
1199—1216. courage of a ſoldier. John, the youngeſt, (who uſurped the crown in prejudice to his nephew Arthur, the ſon of Jeffrey,) was even devoid of that vulgar merit. The cruſade and captivity of Richard exhauſted England, and impoveriſhed the crown.

The Chriſtians of Spain acquired a manifeſt ſuperiority over the Infidels. The kingdom of Caſtile was already a conſiderable power, and Alfonſo VIII.
1135. vainly ſtyled himſelf emperor of Spain. The little kingdom of Navarre ſtill

ſtill remained among the Pyrenees; but the kings of Arragon (one of whom married the heireſs of Catalonia) deſcended from the mountains into the plain, took Saragoſſa, and carried their arms to the frontiers of Caſtile and Valentia. The progreſs of the kingdom of Portugal was ſtill more rapid. A prince of the houſe of France had received from Alfonſo VI. the city of *Porto Calle*, with the title of count; his ſucceſſor aſſumed that of king, took Liſbon, with the aſſiſtance of ſome Engliſh and Flemiſh cruſaders, and ſubdued the weſtern coaſt of Spain, from Gallicia to the Algarves. All theſe victories were attended with the greater difficulty and glory, as the Moors, both of Spain and Africa, were united under the empire of the Miramolins; in whom were revived the zeal, the valour, the learning, and the magnificence of the caliphs. Their capitals, Fez and Morocco, were ſuperior to any cities in Chriſtendom. 1162. 1118. 1139.

Each ſtate, unconnected with its neighbours, had its own revolutions; but the expeditions to Paleſtine were the common buſineſs of Europe. Though the ſermons of St. Bernard excited a ſecond cruſade more formidable than the firſt, the far greater part of the numerous armies which followed the emperor Conrad and Lewis VII. of France, periſhed by the artifices of the Greeks, and the arms of the Turks; and thoſe monarchs appeared in the Holy Land rather as pilgrims than as conquerors. The moſt dangerous enemy of the Chriſtians was Saladin, who aboliſhed the Fatimite caliphs, and raiſed himſelf from a private ſtation to the ſovereignty of Egypt and Syria. Zeal and policy forbade him to ſuffer a Chriſtian kingdom in the heart of his dominions. Jeruſalem yielded to his arms, and the Chriſtians experienced a generous treatment, as unexpected as it was undeſerved. The news of this loſs filled Europe with ſhame, grief, and indignation. Suſpending their domeſtic quarrels, the military force of Germany, France, and England marched into the Eaſt, under their reſpective monarchs. Frederic Barbaroſſa died in Aſia Minor, in a career of uſeleſs victories. Philip, Auguſtus, and Richard I. who preferred the ſafer but more expenſive method of tranſporting their troops by ſea, took the inconſiderable town of St. John D'Acre after a ſiege of two years. This third cruſade was followed by the death of Saladin, who left a name admired in Aſia, dreaded and eſteemed in Europe. 1171. 1187. 1189. 1191. 1193.

The provinces beyond the Tigris no longer obeyed the houſe of Seljuk. New princes (to uſe the Eaſtern expreſſion) had ariſen from the duſt before their

their throne. A race of ſlaves, the governors, afterwards ſultans of Ca-
1192. rizme, enriched by their favour, and ſpared by their clemency, deprived the
1136—1160. laſt of theſe monarchs of his ſceptre and life. The caliphs of Bagdad, with a juſter title, had recovered their independence and the adjacent provinces of Irak. Two younger branches of the houſe of Seljuk ſtill reigned in Kerman and Aſia Minor.

Under the feudal ſyſtem, the rights, natural as well as civil, of mankind, were enjoyed only by the nobles and eccleſiaſtics, who ſcarcely formed the thouſandth part of the community. In this century they were gradually diffuſed among the body of the people. The cities of Italy acquired full liberty: the greater towns of Germany, England, France and Spain became legal corporations, and purchaſed immunities more or leſs conſiderable; even the peaſant began to be diſtinguiſhed from the reſt of the cattle on his lord's eſtate.

With the liberty of Europe its genius awoke; but the firſt efforts of its growing ſtrength were conſumed in vain and fruitleſs purſuits. Ignorance was ſucceeded by error. The civil and canon juriſprudence were blindly adopted, and laborioufly perverted. Romances of chivalry, and monkiſh legends ſtill more fabulous, ſupplied the place of hiſtory. The dreams of aſtrology were dignified with the name of aſtronomy. To diſcover the philoſopher's ſtone was the only end of chymiſtry. Superſtition, inſtead of flying before the light of true philoſophy, was involved in thicker darkneſs by the ſcholaſtic phantom which uſurped its honours. The two great ſources of knowledge, nature and antiquity, were neglected and forgotten.

1200—1300. The Thirteenth Century.

We may now contemplate two of the greateſt powers that have ever given laws to mankind; the one founded on force, the other on opinion: I mean the Tartar conquerors, and the Roman pontiffs.

The Moguls. Birth-right, election, perſonal merit, force of arms, and ſome claims to
1203. a divine miſſion, inveſted Zingis Khan with the abſolute command of all the Tartar and Mogul tribes. As ſoon as he had introduced a degree of order and diſcipline among his barbarous hoſt, he invaded the empire of
1211. China, took Pekin, and ſubdued the northern provinces. From thence he
1218. marched into Perſia againſt Mohammed, ſultan of Carizme, who, by put-

ting to death the Mogul ambaſſadors, drew ruin on himſelf, his family, and his dominions. From the Jaxartes to the Tigris, nothing could withſtand the numbers and fury of the Moguls. Carizme, Bocara, Samarcand, &c. were levelled with the ground, and the rich provinces to the eaſt and to the ſouth of the Caſpian Sea were changed from a garden to a deſert. Zingis 1227.
died loaded with the ſpoils and curſes of Aſia. His ſucceſſors trod in the ſame paths of rapine and conqueſt. About the ſame time, one army of 1234.
Moguls completed the reduction of the northern empire of China, and penetrated to the fartheſt point of Corea, almoſt within ſight of the ſhores of Japan; a ſecond over-ran Ruſſia, Poland, and Hungary, threatened Conſtantinople, and won the battle of Lignitz in Sileſia; a third army took Bagdad, deſtroyed the empire of the caliphs, and laid waſte Aſia Minor 1258.
and Syria. The Mogul princes of Perſia and the Weſtern Tartary long heſitated between the Goſpel and the Alcoran. Their converſion would have been of greater benefit to the church than all the cruſades; but at length they preferred the faith of Mahomet, and renounced all intercourſe 1292.
with the great Khan, who ſtill adhered to the worſhip of the Dalai Lama. 1273.
Cublai Khan, the grandſon and fourth ſucceſſor of Zingis, united, by the extinction of the dynaſty of the South, the whole Chineſe monarchy with Eaſtern Tartary, adopted the laws and manners of the conquered people, encouraged the arts and artiſts of every nation, and is reckoned by the Chineſe themſelves among their beſt emperors.

The Roman pontiffs claimed an univerſal monarchy, temporal as well as The popes.
ſpiritual; and maintained that all inferior powers, emperors, kings, and biſhops, derived from the chair of St. Peter their delegated authority. Of
all the popes, none aſſerted theſe lofty pretenſions with more ſpirit and 1198—1216.
ſucceſs than Innocent III. By eſtabliſhing the doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation and the tribunal of the Inquiſition, he obtained the two moſt memorable victories over the common ſenſe and common rights of mankind. He reduced the ſchiſmatic Greeks, exterminated the Albigeois heretics, deſpoiled Raymond count of Thouloufe of his dominions, excommunicated two emperors, a king of France, and a king of England; the laſt of whom confeſſed himſelf the vaſſal and tributary of the ſee of Rome. Innocent reigned in Rome as the ſucceſſor of Conſtantine, and in Naples as the natural guardian of young Frederic the ſon of Henry the Sixth; who, after Philip of Suabia and Otho IV., was acknowledged Emperor of Germany.

The empire. 1215—1250. The ſuperior abilities of Frederic II., his Italian education, the Imperial ſceptre, the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, and the vaſt poſſeſſions of the Houſe of Suabia, rendered him formidable to the popes, who, unmindful of their accuſtomed policy, had rather aſſiſted than checked his elevation. This fatal error could be retrieved only by the deſtruction of the Houſe of 1227—1268. Suabia, and the deſign was proſecuted during more than forty years with a conſtancy worthy of the ancient ſenate. The Roman pontiffs ſeized the firſt ground of diſpute, rejected all terms of peace, and convinced both their friends and their enemies that they were reſolved either to perish or to conquer. The parties of the church and of the empire, under the names of Guelphs and Ghibellins, divided and deſolated Italy. Amidſt this con- 1245. fuſion, Innocent IV. ſolemnly depoſed Frederic in the council of Lyons, 1250. and purſued that unfortunate monarch to the grave. After his deceaſe, the name of emperor was aſſumed for a ſhort time by his ſon Conrad IV., and the kingdom of Naples was defended by his baſtard Mainfroy, till the papal arms were entruſted to Charles count of Anjou, the brother of Lewis IX. 1266. Followed by the braveſt and moſt pious warriors of Chriſtendom, that active prince paſſed the Alps, and in a ſingle battle deprived Mainfroy of his ſceptre and his life. Conradin, the grandſon of Frederic, and the laſt of 1268. that unhappy line, loſt his head on a ſcaffold at Naples, after a brave, but unſucceſsful attempt to recover the throne of his anceſtors. His blood was 1282. ſoon revenged by the blood of eight thouſand French in the Sicilian veſpers, who fell the juſt victims of their licentious inſolence. A long and bloody quarrel commenced between the Houſe of Arragon, which was called by the oppreſſed people to the throne of Sicily, and the Houſe of Anjou, which ſtill remained in poſſeſſion of Naples.

Italy. The free cities of Italy, now delivered from the German yoke, began to enjoy and to abuſe the bleſſings of wealth and liberty. Of a hundred independent republics, every one, except Venice, was deſtitute of a regular government, and torn by civil diſſentions. The Guelphs and the Ghibellins, the nobles and the commons, contended for the ſovereignty of their country. The moſt trifling incident was ſufficient to produce a conſpiracy, a tumult, and a revolution. Among theſe troubles, the dark, inſidious, vindictive ſpirit of the Italians was gradually formed.

Germany. 1250—1272. In Germany, the death of Frederic II. was ſucceeded by a long anarchy. The prerogatives and domains of the emperors were uſurped by the great vaſſals.

vaſſals. Every gentleman exerciſed round his caſtle a licentious independence; the cities were obliged to ſeek protection from their walls and confederacies; and from the Rhine and Danube to the Baltic the names of Peace and Juſtice were unknown. It was at length diſcovered, that without an appearance of union the Germanic body could not ſubſiſt. The great princes, who began to aſſume the title of *electors*, agreed to inveſt a firſt magiſtrate with the dignity, but not with the power, of their ancient emperors. Their jealous caution ſucceſſively fixed on Rodolph count of Hapſburgh, and Adolph count of Naſſau; whoſe fortune was far inferior to their birth and perſonal merit. The former, however, who was father of the Houſe of Auſtria, tranſmitted to his ſon Albert ſuch ample hereditary dominions, as enabled him to form a party againſt the emperor Adolph, to wreſt from him the ſceptre, and to diſplay that ambitious pride which has ever ſince been the characteriſtic of that family. 1272—1291. 1292—1298. 1298—1308.

The aggrandiſement of the French monarchy bore the appearance of an act of juſtice. Philip Auguſtus ſummoned John, king of England and peer of France, before the parliament of Paris, to juſtify himſelf of the murder of his nephew Arthur. The parliament puniſhed the contumacious vaſſal by the confiſcation of his fiefs, and the king executed the ſentence before the indignation of the other peers could ſubſide into a ſenſe of their common intereſt. Normandy, Anjou, Maine, and Poitou were united to the crown. Aquitain, or Guyenne, ſtill remained in the hands of the Engliſh. The victory of Philip over the empire was more ſplendid, but leſs uſeful. In the deciſive and well-fought battle of Bovines, he defeated Otho IV. at the head of two hundred thouſand Germans. His navy threatened England; and his ſon Lewis, afterwards Lewis VIII., was for a time acknowledged king by the Engliſh nation. The reign of that prince was ſhort and inglorious: but France owes as much to the laws of Lewis IX. as to the arms of Philip Auguſtus his grandfather. Lewis IX., notwithſtanding he has been diſgraced by the title of Saint, poſſeſſed uncommon virtues and abilities. To aboliſh private hoſtilities and judicial combats; to introduce an uniform and equitable juriſprudence; to receive appeals from the barons' courts; to protect and extend the liberties of the people; to acquire the eſteem and confidence of his neighbours, were the honeſt arts of his wiſe policy. Notwithſtanding his mad paſſion for the cruſades (the only blemiſh of this accompliſhed character), he left his ſon, Philip III. ſurnamed the

France. 1180—1223. 1203. 1204. 1214. 1213. 1216. 1223—1226. 1226—1270. 1270—1285.

1271. the Bold, the moſt flouriſhing kingdom of Europe, which was ſoon augmented by the re-union of the rich county of Thouloufe. Philip III. was
1285—1315. ſucceeded by his ſon Philip IV. ſurnamed the Fair.

England. To break the fetters which had been forged at the Norman conqueſt was the great buſineſs of the Engliſh barons. John, whoſe misfortunes deſerve no pity, loſt his reputation and foreign power by his conteſts with Rome and
1215. France; and his domeſtic authority, by ſigning Magna Charta, which contains the rude outlines of Britiſh freedom. The fifty-ſix years of his ſon-
1216—1272. Henry III. were a long minority; during which, the reins of government were ſucceſſively reſigned to foreign favourites, and uſurped by the turbulent
1258. barons, under their leader Simon de Montfort earl of Leiceſter. Edward I. then only the heir apparent, reſcued his father, vanquiſhed Montfort and his
1265. adherents in the field, and reſtored the royal authority; but his good ſenſe
1272—1307. ſoon taught him to reſpect the new barriers raiſed againſt it, to confirm Magna Charta, and to deſiſt from a raſh attempt to reſume the alienated crown-lands. Amidſt theſe troubles, the Houſe of Peers became leſs numerous and more powerful; the Commons were admitted to a ſhare of the legiſlature, the common law and courts of juſtice received their preſent form, and the firſt ſtatutes were enacted againſt the avarice of Rome. Edward the Firſt, to whoſe wiſdom we owe many of thoſe advantages, conceived, and almoſt executed, the great deſign of uniting the whole iſland under one do-
1283. minion. The Welſh loſt their ancient independence, but for ſeveral ages
1291. preſerved their ſavage manners. The throne of Scotland was diſputed, almoſt with equal claims, by ſeveral candidates. Edward, who was acknowledged
1292. as umpire, awarded the crown to Baliol, the moſt obſequious of the com-
1296. petitors, treated him firſt as a vaſſal, and ſoon afterwards as a rebel; endeavoured by every expedient to break the ſpirit of a haughty nation, and
1298. ſullied his glorious end, by the injuſtice and cruelty of the means which he uſed to attain it.

Spain. The empire of the Miramolins was deſtroyed by the greateſt battle ever
1212. fought between the Moors and the Chriſtians. The latter purſued their
1236—1248. advantage; Seville and Cordova were taken, and the provinces of Eſtramadura, Andaluſia, and Murcia were, in about forty years, annexed to the crown of Caſtile. The kings of Arragon were not leſs ſucceſsful. They
1238. wreſted from the Moors the fertile kingdom of Valencia, and eſtabliſhed a
1229. naval power by the conqueſt of the iſlands of Majorca and Minorca. The

braveſt of the Moors took refuge in the kingdom of Grenada, and diſplayed as much induſtry in the improvement, as they exerted valour in the defence of this laſt remnant of their extenſive conqueſts. The kings of Caſtile who acquired the greateſt reputation were Ferdinand III., and Alphonſo the aſtronomer; the former for his political wiſdom, the latter for his ſpeculative knowledge. 1217—1252. 1252—1284.

Four great cruſades, beſides many ſmaller expeditions, were undertaken in this century; but though Paleſtine was ſtill the object of the war, it was no longer the ſcene of action. The French and Venetians of the fourth cruſade turned their arms againſt the ſchiſmatic Greeks, took Conſtantinople, and divided the empire. Conſtantinople was indeed recovered by the Greeks, but the trade and dominions which had once belonged to that capital were irretrievably loſt. John de Brienne, a ſoldier of fortune, and titular king of Jeruſalem, invaded Egypt, took Damietta (the old Peluſium) after a ſiege of two years; but ſoon thought himſelf happy to purchaſe a ſafe retreat, by ſurrendering that important place. The cruſade of Lewis IX. was more ſplendid at firſt; but, in the end, more unfortunate. It ſeemed impoſſible that Egypt, ſubdued as often as it had been attacked, ſhould withſtand a young hero, at the head of ſixty thouſand valiant enthuſiaſts. The army was, however, deſtroyed, and the French monarch remained a priſoner among the infidels. Rather from a vague paſſion of combating the Mahometans, than from any rational proſpect of recovering the Holy Land, Lewis IX. led another cruſade to Africa, and died of the plague under the walls of Tunis. The few places yet held by the Chriſtians on the coaſt of Syria were ſwept away by the ſultans, the ſucceſſors, but no longer the deſcendants of Saladin. The Mamalukes, a body of Circaſſian and Tartar ſlaves, had dethroned their maſters, uſurped the ſovereignty of Egypt and Syria, and eſtabliſhed a military government, oppreſſive at home, but formidable abroad. The cruſades. 1204. 1261. 1218. 1248. 1250. 1270. 1291. 1250.

Of theſe ſeven great armaments, which ſhook Aſia, and depopulated Europe, nothing remained except the kingdom of Cyprus in the Houſe of Luſignan, and the three military orders. The Templars, by their luxury and pride, haſtened their diſſolution. The Hoſpitaliers and Teutonic Knights preſerved themſelves by their valour. The former conquered Rhodes, and are ſtill ſettled at Malta: the latter formed a great dominion in Pruſſia and Courland, at the expence of the idolaters, whom they compelled to become Chriſtians 1307. 1310. 1227—1503.

Chriſtians and ſubjects. A great part of the old nobility of Europe periſhed in the cruſades, their fiefs reverted to their lords, and their place was ſupplied by new men, raiſed by wealth, merit, or favour; and who ſoon imbibed the vanity, though not the independence, of their predeceſſors.

Learning. The numerous vermin of mendicant friars, Franciſcans, Dominicans, Auguſtins, Carmelites, who ſwarmed in this century, with habits and inſtitutions variouſly ridiculous, diſgraced religion, learning, and common ſenſe. They ſeized on ſcholaſtic philoſophy as a ſcience peculiarly ſuited to their minds; and, excepting only Friar Bacon, they all preferred words to things. The ſubtle, the profound, the irrefragable, the angelic, and the ſeraphic Doctor acquired thoſe pompous titles by filling ponderous volumes with a ſmall number of technical terms, and a much ſmaller number of ideas. Univerſities aroſe in every part of Europe, and thouſands of ſtudents employed their lives upon theſe grave follies. The love-ſongs of the Troubadours, or Provençal bards, were follies of a more pleaſing nature, which amuſed the leiſure of the greateſt princes, poliſhed the ſouthern provinces of France, and gave birth to the Italian poetry.

The Fourteenth Century.

1300—1400. Both the popes and the emperors, the conquerors and the vanquiſhed,
The popes. withdrew from Italy, their field of battle. The former, invited by the kings
1305. of France, and diſguſted with the rebellious ſpirit of the Romans, eſtabliſhed the papal reſidence at Avignon during more than ſeventy years. Theſe French pontiffs were more ſtrongly poſſeſſed by the love of money than the
1316—1334. love of power. John XXII., by the ſale of benefices, indulgencies, and abſolutions, accumulated a treaſure of twenty-five millions of gold florins. At the repeated ſolicitations of the Romans, who felt their error when it was too
1377. late, Gregory XI. returned to his capital; but his eyes were ſcarcely cloſed,
1378. when the enraged people ſurrounded the conclave, threatening the cardinals with inſtant death unleſs they choſe an Italian pontiff. The affrighted Frenchmen yielded to their fury, but were no ſooner at liberty, than they proteſted againſt their firſt election, and nominated one of their own countrymen. Europe was divided between the two rivals. Italy, Germany, and England acknowledged the pope of Rome: France and Spain ſided with the pope of Avignon. Each had his adherents, his doctors, his ſaints, and his mi-

racles; but their mutual excommunications, which at another time might have produced a battle of ſwords, only occaſioned a war of pens.

Emperors, whoſe authority in Germany was ſo much circumſcribed, could not invade with any ſucceſs the confirmed liberty of the Italians. Henry VII. of Luxembourg, and Lewis V. of Bavaria, entered Rome in triumph; but their triumph was not attended with any ſolid or permanent advantages. The grandſon of Henry of Luxembourg, Charles IV., emperor and king of Bohemia, was invited by the eloquent Petrarch to aſſume the ſtation and character of the ancient Cæſars. The Bohemian Cæſar marched into Italy; but it was only to ſee himſelf excluded from every fortified city as an enemy, or cautiouſly received as a priſoner. He was crowned at Rome, but quitted it the very day of his coronation; meanly, or perhaps wiſely, reſigning to the popes all the ancient rights which he derived from Charlemagne and Otho. His ſon Wenceſlaus would gladly (to uſe his own expreſſion) have relinquiſhed the empire, with its remaining prerogatives, for a few hogſheads of Rheniſh or Florence wine.

The emperors. 1308—1313. 1314—1347. 1347—1378. 1378—1400.

Although neither leiſure, independence, nor ingenuity were wanting to the Italians, they were never able to connect themſelves into a ſyſtem of union and liberty. Naples flouriſhed under the adminiſtration of Robert, the grandſon of Charles of Anjou, but was almoſt ruined by his grand-daughter Joan. By the murder of her firſt huſband Andrew, ſhe drew down the vengeance of his brother, the ſtern king of Hungary; by adopting Lewis duke of Anjou, the brother of Charles V., entailed on her dominions a civil war, of which ſhe was herſelf the firſt victim. Rome ſaw, for a moment, her tribunes, her freedom, and her dignity reſtored by Nicholas Rienzi, whoſe extraordinary character was a compound of the hero and the buffoon. Florence, like Athens, experienced all the evils incident, or rather inherent, to a wild democracy. The *Venetians* and the *Genoeſe* waſted each other's ſtrength in naval wars, which allowed not the latter a moment's reſpite from their inteſtine diſſentions. The free cities of Lombardy and Romagna were oppreſſed by domeſtic tyrants, under the ſpecious titles of vicars of the church or of the empire; but theſe petty uſurpers were gradually ſwallowed up in the power of the Viſconti, firſt lords, and afterwards dukes of *Milan*.

Italy. 1309—1343. 1343—1382. 1347. 1350—1355. 1377—1381. 1317. 1395.

The more phlegmatic Germans, though poor and barbarous, maintained, and even improved, the form of their conſtitution. Whatever concerned the election and coronation of the emperors, the moſt fruitful ſource of civil diſcord,

Germany.

1356. cord, was finally regulated by the golden bull published by Charles IV. in a general diet. The title and power of electors were confined to seven great princes, the Archbishops of Mentz, Treves, and Cologne, the King of Bohemia, the Duke of Saxony, the Margrave of Brandenburgh, and the
1400. Count Palatin. These electors soon asserted over the emperor Wenceslaus their right of deposing an unworthy sovereign.

Switzerland. The Swiss owe their reputation to their freedom, and their freedom to their valour. The peasants of three vallies among the Alps, Uri, Schwitz, and
1308. Underwald, oppressed by the officers of the emperor Albert, entered into a strict alliance, at first for seven years, and afterwards for ever. Leopold duke of Austria, and son of Albert, marched against them at the head of
1315. twenty thousand men; but was overthrown in the battle of Morgarten by 1300 Swiss. The little communities of Zug and Glaris, and the cities of Lucerne, Zurich, and Berne, gradually acceded to the confederacy which was
1386. cemented with the blood of another Duke Leopold, who fell, with the flower of the Austrian nobility, in the battle of Sempach. Zurich and Berne were allowed the first rank among the eight cantons; the former for its wealth, the latter for its military power. In the five rustic communities the government was a pure democracy; in the three cities, it was tempered with a small mixture of aristocracy, which time and circumstances have very much strengthened. The whole commonwealth, disclaiming the tyranny of the House of Austria, retained their ancient allegiance to the German empire.

France. The constitution of the French monarchy received new strength and har-
1303. mony from the following events: 1. In the memorable quarrel between Pope Boniface VIII. and Philip the Fair, the greater part of the French clergy remembered that they were subjects as well as priests. *The liberties of the Gallican church* were asserted with spirit and success; and the crown was in some degree delivered from a servile dependence on a foreign prelate.
1301. 2. *The States General*, composed of the clergy, the nobility, and the commons, were assembled by Philip the Fair, for the first time since the decline of the Carlovingian race. As their meetings were short and irregular, they never acquired the authority of legislators, and their tumultuous opposition commonly subsided into an obsequious compliance with the demands of the court. 3. The parliament of Paris was styled the Court of Peers, and should have been composed of the great vassals of the crown; but as they disdained

diſdained the humble office of judicature, their place was ſupplied by the biſhops, the barons, and the principal officers, whoſe *noble* ignorance was directed by ſome plebeian aſſeſſors. The ſervants gradually ſupplanted their maſters, combated the violence of the nobility with the ſubtilties of law, and laboured to erect a pure monarchy on the ruins of the feudal ſyſtem. For a long time theſe magiſtrates held their places only during the king's pleaſure. 4. *The Salic law*, though of the moſt laſting benefit to the monarchy, occaſioned the long and deſtructive wars between France and England. After a ſeries of eleven kings, in lineal and male deſcent from Hugh Capet, 1314—1317.
Lewis X. Hutin, was ſucceeded by his brothers Philip V. and Charles IV., 1317—1322.
and afterwards by his firſt couſin, Philip VI. of Valois, on the acknowledged 1322—1328.
principle that females were incapable of inheriting the crown of France. 1328—1350.
Whether that principle be admitted or rejected, the claim of Edward III. of England is equally indefenſible. The queſtion was not, however, decided by arguments, but by arms. Both nations ſignalized their valour in the battles of Crecy and Poitiers; but the diſcipline of the Engliſh triumphed over the 1346, 1356.
numbers of the French. The captivity of John, who had ſucceeded to the 1350—1364.
crown and misfortunes of his father Philip, expoſed France to a total diſſolution of government, with all its attendant calamities. However, though Edward was able to ruin, he was unable to conquer that great kingdom. By the 1360.
treaty of Bretigny, he accepted of three millions of gold crowns, the city of Calais, and ſeven provinces adjacent to Guyenne; but the laſt were ſoon 1369.
wreſted from him by the arms and policy of Charles V., whoſe wiſe admi- 1364—1380.
niſtration healed the wounds of his country. They bled afreſh under his un- 1380—1422.
happy ſon Charles VI.: firſt a minor, and afterwards deprived of his ſenſes, he was ever a victim of the ambition and avarice of his uncles. In this century, Champagne and Dauphiné, the firſt by inheritance and treaty, the ſecond by donation, were re-united to the crown.

The iron fetters, in which Edward I. ſeemed for ever to have bound England.
Scotland, were broken by the valour and fortune of Robert Bruce, a de- 1306.
ſcendant of the ancient kings. To reſiſt the heroic leader of a brave nation, combating for freedom and a throne, required all the powerful genius of Edward I., and was a taſk by far too arduous for his feeble ſon. The victory of 1307—1327.
Bannocks Boarn ſecured to Robert a ſceptre, which, by the marriage of his 1315.
daughter, was tranſmitted to the Houſe of Stuart. Edward II., vanquiſhed by 1371.
his enemies, deſpiſed by his ſubjects, governed by his favourites, betrayed by his

 brother,

brother, his wife, and his ſon, deſcended from a throne to a priſon, and from a priſon to an untimely grave. The Engliſh dwell with rapture on the trophies
1327—1377. of Edward III. and his gallant ſon the Black Prince; on the fields of Crecy and Poitiers; and on the kings of France and Scotland, at the ſame time priſoners in London. To a thinking mind, Edward's encouragement of the woollen manufacture is of greater value than all theſe barren laurels. Ri-
1377—1399. chard II., ſon of the Black Prince, affords the ſecond inſtance in this century of an Engliſh king depoſed and murdered by his ſubjects. The Houſe of Commons acquired its preſent form, and a dignity unknown to the third eſtate in any other country, by the junction of the knights of ſhires, or repreſentatives of the leſſer nobility, who, about this time, ſeparated them-
1399. ſelves from the peers. After the depoſition of Richard, Henry IV. ſon of John of Gaunt duke of Lancaſter, the third ſon of Edward III., uſurped the crown. The poſterity of the ſecond ſon, Lionel of Clarence, was diſregarded, but ſtill exiſted latent in the Houſe of York.

Spain. The Mahometan kingdom of Grenada, and the four Chriſtian monarchies of Caſtile, Arragon, Navarre, and Portugal, preſerved their reſpective laws and limits. The conſtitution of the Chriſtian ſtates was ſuited to the haughty and generous temper of the people. The juſticiary of Arragon, a name dreadful to royal ears, poſſeſſed the noble but dangerous privilege of declaring *when* the ſubjects were juſtified in taking arms againſt their ſovereign. The Caſtilians, without waiting for the ſentence of a magiſtrate, knew how
1366—1368. to reſiſt a tyrant, either in the *Cortez* or in the field. The civil war between Peter the Cruel, king of Caſtile, and his brother Henry occaſioned a great revolution, in which France and England took the oppoſite ſides, rather from a wild love of enterprize, than from any rational motives of policy. After ſeveral turns of fortune the baſtard was victorious, tranſmitted the crown to his poſterity, and ratified a ſtrict union with his French allies; binding France and Caſtile to each other, king to king, people to people, and man to man.

Africa, relapſing into its native barbariſm, no longer merits our attention. Egypt and Syria continued to groan under the tyranny of the Mamalukes; although ſome of thoſe ſultans corrected, by their perſonal virtues, the defects of their inſtitution. In the Eaſt, two formidable powers aroſe. The greatneſs of the Othman Turks was gradual and permanent; the conqueſts of Timur were rapid and tranſitory.

The Turks.

During the anarchy which overſpread Aſia Minor on the fall of the Seljukian dynaſty, the Greeks recovered many of the maritime places, and every Turkiſh emir made himſelf independent within his juriſdiction. Othman firſt erected his ſtandard near Mount Olympus in Bithynia; and as he commanded only a ſmall tribe of ſhepherds and ſoldiers, he was branded with the name of robber. A more numerous army, and the reduction of Nice, Nicomeda, and Pruſa, beſtowed on his ſon Orcan the appellation of Conqueror. The imprudent Greeks, in the madneſs of civil diſcord, invited the Turks, opened the Helleſpont, and betrayed Chriſtendom. Adrianople became the capital of the Othman power in Europe; and the Eaſtern empire, reduced to the ſuburbs of Conſtantinople, was preſſed on either ſide by the arms of Amurath I. That ſultan inſtituted the janizaries, a body of infantry, from their arms, diſcipline, and enthuſiaſm, almoſt invincible. The flower of the Chriſtian youth, torn in infancy from their parents, were gradually aggregated to the Turkiſh nation, after they had loſt, in the ſevere education of the ſeraglio, all memory of their former country and religion. Bajazet I. deſerved his ſurname of Ilderim, or Lightning, by the rapid impetuoſity with which he flew from the Euphrates to the Danube. He triumphed by turns over the Mahometans of Aſia Minor, and the Chriſtians of Bulgaria, Servia, Hungary, and Greece; and the total defeat of an army of French in the battle of Nicopolis, ſpread the terror of his name to the moſt remote parts of Europe.

1300—1326. 1326—1360. 1360—1389. 1389—1402. 1396.

Timur.

Timur, or Tamerlane, raiſed himſelf from a private, though not a mean condition, to the throne of Samarcand. His firſt dominions lay between the Jaxartes and the Oxus in the country called Sogdiana by the ancients, Maurenahar by modern Perſians, and by the Tartars Zagatay, from one of the ſons of Zingis. The lawful ſucceſſor of Zagatay, rather mindful of his ſituation than of his deſcent, ſerved with humble fidelity in the army of the uſurper. After reducing the adjacent provinces of Carizme and Khoraſan, Timur invaded Perſia, and extinguiſhed all the petty tyrants who had ſtarted up ſince the decline of the Houſe of Zingis. The khan of the Weſtern Tartary (who ruled the kingdoms of Cazan and Aſtracan, and exacted a tribute from the grand duke of Muſcovy) was unable to elude the purſuit, or to reſiſt the arms of Timur. From the deſerts of Siberia he marched to the banks of the Ganges, and returned from Dehli to Samarcand laden with the treaſures of Hindoſtan. He knew how to reign as well as how to con-

1369—1405. 1335.

quer. Although very profuſe of the blood of his enemies, he was careful of the lives and property of his ſubjects. He loved magnificence and ſociety: encouraged the arts, and was verſed in the Perſian and Arabian literature. His zeal for the Muſſulman faith inflamed his natural cruelty againſt the Gentoos of India and the Chriſtians of Georgia.

1370. The empire of the Moguls in China, founded on violence, and maintained by policy, was at length diſſolved by its own weakneſs. The Chineſe placed a dynaſty of their countrymen on the throne, whilſt the Tartars, returning to the paſtoral life of the deſert, gradually recovered the martial ſpirit which they had loſt amidſt the arts and luxury of the conquered provinces.

Commerce. A more diffuſive commerce began to connect the European nations by their mutual wants and conveniences; the diſcovery of the compaſs inſpired navigators with greater boldneſs and ſecurity. The Hanſeatic cities of Pruſſia and Saxony formed a powerful aſſociation, engroſſed the fiſhery, iron, corn, timber, hides, and furs of the North; and contended for the ſovereignty of the Baltic with the kings of Denmark and Sweden. The exchange of money, the finer manufactures, and the trade of the Eaſt were in the hands of the Italians. The merchants of Venice and of Dantzic met at the common mart of Bruges, which ſoon became the warehouſe of Europe. The Flemings, animated by the ſpectacle of wealth and induſtry, applied themſelves with great ardour to the uſeful arts, and particularly to the making broad cloth, linen, and tapeſtry.

Literature. The advantages of trade were common to ſeveral nations; but the pleaſures and glory of literature were confined to the Italians, or rather to a few men of genius, who immerged from an ignorant and ſuperſtitious multitude. The writings of Dante, Boccace, and Petrarch, for ever fixed the Italian language. The firſt diſplayed the powers of a wild but original genius: the Decameron of the ſecond contains a juſt and agreeable picture of human life. A few ſtanzas on Laura and Rome have immortalized the name of Petrarch, who was a patriot, a philoſopher, and the firſt reſtorer of the Latin tongue, and of the ſtudy of the ancients. If any barbarian on this ſide the Alps deſerves to be remembered, it is our countryman Chaucer, whoſe Gothic dialect often conceals natural humour and poetical imagery.

The Fifteenth Century. 1400—1500.

After breaking the power of the Mamalukes, and ruining the cities of Bagdad, Aleppo, and Damaſcus, Timur advanced towards the frontiers of Bajazet. The ſituation and character of the two monarchs rendered a war inevitable. The armies met in the plains of Angora, and the conteſt was decided in the Tartar's favour, by the total defeat and captivity of his rival. After this victory, the empire of Timur extended from Moſcow to the Gulph of Perſia, and from the Helleſpont to the Ganges; but his ambition was yet unſatisfied: death ſurprized him as he was preparing to invade China, to aſſert the cauſe of his nation and of his religion. His feeble ſucceſſors, far from meditating new conqueſts, ſaw province after province gradually eſcape from their dominion, till a few cities near the Oxus were the only patrimony that remained to the Houſe of Timur. Timur. 1402. 1405. 1470.

The Turks had been defeated, but not ſubdued. As ſoon as Timur was no more, they collected their ſcattered forces, replaced their monarchy on its former baſis, and under the conduct of Mahomet I. were again victorious both in Europe and Aſia. Amurath II. ſwayed the Othman ſceptre with the abilities of a great monarch, and twice reſigned it with the moderation of a philoſopher. He was forced from his retreat to chaſtiſe the perfidy of Ladiſlaus king of Hungary, who, at the inſtigation of the court of Rome, had violated a ſolemn truce. That act of juſtice was moſt completely executed in the deciſive battle of Warna, which was fatal to the king, to the papal legate, and to the whole Chriſtian army. The eaſy but important conqueſt of Conſtantinople was reſerved for Mahomet II. The little empire of Trebizond, and the other independent provinces of Greece and Aſia Minor, ſoon experienced the ſame fate. Though Mahomet was obliged to raiſe the ſieges of Belgrade and Rhodes, though he was for a long time ſtopped by Scanderbeg in the mountains of Albania, yet his arms were generally ſucceſsful from the Adriatic to the Euphrates, on the banks of which he vanquiſhed Uzun Haſſan, a Turcoman prince, who had uſurped Perſia from the poſterity of Timur. The conqueſt of Rome and Italy was the great object of Mahomet's ambition; and a Turkiſh army had already invaded the kingdom of Naples, when the Chriſtians were delivered from this imminent danger by the ſeaſonable death of Mahomet, and the inactive diſpo- The Turks. 1413—1421. 1421—1451. 1444. 1453. 1451—1481. 1462.

1481—1512. diſpoſition of his ſon Bajazet II. But the valour and diſcipline of the Turks were ſtill formidable to Chriſtendom, and the paſſion for cruſades had ceaſed at the very time when it might have been approved by reaſon and juſtice.

Popes and councils. 1409. The council of Piſa, by the election of a third pontiff, multiplied, inſtead of extinguiſhing, the evils of the great ſchiſm. The council of Conſtance,

1414—1418. in which the five great nations of Europe were repreſented by their prelates and ambaſſadors, acted with greater vigour and effect. They rejected the defective title of two pretenders, and judicially depoſed the third, by whoſe authority they were aſſembled. The election of Martin V. reſtored peace to the church; but the ſpirit of independence, which had animated the

1432—1443. fathers of Conſtance, revived in the council of Baſil. The aſſembled biſhops of Chriſtendom attempted to limit the deſpotic power which the biſhop of Rome had uſurped over his brethren; but the treaſures of the church, diſtributed with a ſkilful hand, ſilenced the oppoſition; and nothing remains of thoſe famous councils but a few decrees, revered at Paris, deteſted and dreaded at Rome. Amongſt theſe diſorders, the laity of ſome countries diſcovered as much diſcontent at the riches of the clergy, as the clergy ex-

1415. preſſed at the power of the popes. John Huſs and Jerom of Prague, two Bohemian doctors, who taught principles not very different from thoſe of the proteſtants, were committed to the flames by the council of Conſtance, before which they appeared under the ſanction of the public faith. From their aſhes aroſe a civil war, in which the Bohemians, inflamed by revenge and enthuſiaſm, for a long time inflicted and ſuffered the ſevereſt calamities.

Italy. Italy, undiſturbed by foreign invaſions, maintained an internal balance, through a ſeries of artful negociations and harmleſs wars, attended with ſcarcely any effuſion of blood. The ſword, which had fallen from the hands of the Italian ſovereigns, was taken up by troops of independent mercenaries, who acknowledged no tie but their intereſt, nor any allegiance except to leaders of their own choice. The five principal powers were, the popes, the kings of Naples, the dukes of Milan, and the republics of Florence and Venice. 1. The popes, after the council of Conſtance and Baſil, applied themſelves to reconcile the Roman people to their government, and to extirpate the petty uſurpers of the eccleſiaſtical ſtate. 2. Their great fief the *kingdom of Naples* was the theatre of a long civil war between the Houſes of

1442—1458. Anjou and Arragon. It flouriſhed under the adminiſtration of Alphonſo the Wiſe,

Wiſe, who preferred Italy to his Spaniſh dominions. Ferdinand his natural ſon ſucceeded him in Naples only, oppreſſed the barons, protected the people, and was delivered by a ſeaſonable death from the arms of Charles VIII. king of France. 3. After the death of the laſt of the Viſconti, the duchy of Milan, ſuperior in value to ſeveral kingdoms, was claimed by the duke of Orleans in right of his mother; but was uſurped by Francis Sforza, the baſtard of a peaſant, and one of the moſt renowned leaders of the mercenary bands; who, with a policy equal to his valour, left Milan the peaceable inheritance of his family. 4. The elevation of the Medici was the more gradual effect of prudence and induſtry: Coſmo the father of his country, and Lorenzo the father of the muſes, in the humble ſtation of citizens and merchants, revived learning, governed Florence, and influenced the reſt of Italy. The old forms of the commonwealth were preſerved, and it was only by an unuſual tranquillity that the Florentines could be ſenſible of the loſs of their freedom. 5. The wiſdom of the Venetian ſenate, the arts and opulence of Venice, an extenſive commerce, a formidable navy, the poſſeſſion of a long tract of ſea-coaſt in Dalmatia, with the iſlands of Candia, Cyprus, &c. formed the natural ſtrength of a republic reſpected in Europe as the firmeſt bulwark againſt the Turkiſh arms. The imprudent conqueſts in Lombardy, from which the Venetians were not able to refrain; the Friul, Padua, Vicenza, Verona, Breſcia, and Bergamo, drained the treaſury of St. Mark, and excited the jealouſy of the Italian powers.

1458—1494. 1448. 1450—1466. 1433—1464. 1472—1492.

Germany.

The reign of the emperor Robert Count Palatin was obſcure and inglorious. Though Sigiſmond of Luxembourg preſided with ſome dignity at the council of Conſtance, his adminiſtration was rather buſy than active. After his death, the Imperial crown returned for ever to the Houſe of Auſtria, firſt in the perſon of Albert II. and then of Frederic III.; the latter poſſeſſed the title of emperor above half a century without either authority or reputation. Germany was without influence in Europe; but judicious foreigners began to diſcover the latent powers of that great body, when once rouſed into action by the neceſſity of its own defence. The levity of Maximilian I. engaged him in perpetual wars and treaties, which commonly ended in his diſappointment and confuſion. However, he may be conſidered as the founder of the Auſtrian greatneſs, by his marriage with Mary of Burgundy; and as the founder of the *public law*, by his uſeful inſtitutions of the circles and of the Imperial chamber.

1400—1410. 1410—1438. 1438—1440. 1440—1493. 1493—1519.

The

England. The uſurpation of the Houſe of Lancaſter was ſupported by the fortune and abilities of Henry IV. His warlike ſon Henry V. aſſerted, by the victory of Azincourt the claim of the Plantagenets to the French monarchy. The conqueſt of it was a taſk much too difficult for a prince whoſe revenue did not exceed an hundred and ten thouſand pounds of our preſent money, and whoſe ſubjects were neither able nor willing to make any extraordinary efforts to render England in the end a province of France. The vindictive ſpirit of Queen Iſabella, and of Philip duke of Burgundy, betrayed their country and poſterity. The Engliſh monarch was *ſolicited* to ſign the treaty of Troyes, and to accept, with the hand of the princeſs Catharine, the quality of regent and heir of France. His infant ſon Henry VI. was proclaimed at Paris as well as at London. His reign was a ſeries of weakneſs and misfortunes. The French conqueſts were gradually loſt, and the Engliſh barons returned into their iſland exaſperated againſt each other, habituated to the power and licence of war, and as much diſcontented with the monkiſh virtues of Henry, as with the maſculine ſpirit and foreign connections of his queen Margaret of Anjou. The pretenſions of Richard duke of York, and of his ſon Edward IV., inflamed the diſcontent into civil war. Hereditary right was pleaded againſt long poſſeſſion; the banners of the white and red roſes met in many a bloody field, and the votes of parliament varied with the chance of arms. Edward of York aſſumed the title of king, revenged the death of his father, and triumphed over the Lancaſtrian party: but no ſooner was the imprudent youth ſeated on the throne, than he caſt away the friendſhip of the great earl of Warwick, and with it the Engliſh ſceptre. That warlike and popular nobleman, impatient of indignities, drove Edward into exile, and brought back Henry (ſcarcely conſcious of the change) from the tower to the palace. Edward's activity ſoon retrieved his indiſcretion. He landed in England with a few followers, called an army to his ſtandard, obtained the deciſive victories of Barnet and Tewkſbury, and ſuffered no enemy to live who might interrupt the ſecurity and pleaſure of his future reign. The crimes of Richard III., who aſcended the throne by the murder of his two nephews (Edward V. and his brother), reconciled the parties of York and Lancaſter. Henry Tudor earl of Richmond was invited over from Brittany as the common avenger, vanquiſhed and ſlew the tyrant in the field of Boſworth, and uniting the two roſes by his marriage with the eldeſt daughter of Edward IV., gave England a proſpect

of ſerener days. The kingdom had however ſuffered leſs than might be expected from the calamities of civil war. The frequent revolutions were decided by one or two battles; and ſo ſhort a time was conſumed in actual hoſtilities as allowed not any foreign power to interpoſe his dangerous aſſiſtance: no cities were deſtroyed, as none were enough fortified to ſuſtain a ſiege. The churches, and even the privilege of ſanctuaries were reſpected, and the revenge of the conquerors was commonly confined to the princes and barons of the adverſe party, who all died in the field or on the ſcaffold. The power and eſtates of this old nobility were gradually ſhared by a multitude of new families enriched by commerce, and favoured by the wiſe policy of Henry VII.; but between the depreſſion of the ariſtocracy and the riſe of the commons, there was an interval of unreſiſted deſpotiſm.

The factions of Burgundy and Orleans, who diſputed the government of Charles VI., filled France with blood and confuſion. The duke of Orleans was treacherouſly murdered in the ſtreets of Paris, and John duke of Burgundy, who avowed and juſtified the deed, was ſome years afterwards aſſaſſinated in the preſence, and probably with the conſent of the young Dauphin. That prince, perſecuted by his mother, diſinherited by the treaty of Troyes, and on every ſide preſſed and ſurrounded by the victorious Engliſh, aſſumed the title of Charles VII. on his father's death, and appealed, though with little hopes of ſucceſs, to God and his ſword. The French monarchy was on the brink of ruin, but, like the Othman empire in the ſame century, roſe more powerful from its fall. A generous enthuſiaſm firſt revived the national ſpirit, and awakened the young monarch from his indolent deſpair. A ſhepherdeſs declared a divine commiſſion to raiſe the ſiege of Orleans, and to crown him in Rheims. She performed her promiſes; and the conſternation of the Engliſh was ſtill greater than their real loſs. The genius of Charles, ſeconded by his brave and loyal nobility, ſeemed to expand with his fortune. The duke of Burgundy was reconciled to his kinſman and ſovereign, Paris opened its gates with willing ſubmiſſion, and at length, after ſome years of languid operations or imperfect truces, the French recovered Normandy and Guyenne, and left the Engliſh no footing in their country beyond the walls of Calais. The laſt years of Charles VIIth's reign were employed in reforming and regulating the ſtate of the kingdom. He is the firſt modern prince who has poſſeſſed a military force in time of peace, or impoſed taxes by his ſole authority. The former were compoſed of 1500 lances, who France.

with their followers made a body of 9000 horſe. The latter did not exceed 360,000 pounds ſterling. This great alteration was introduced without oppoſition, and felt only by its conſequences, which gradually affected all Europe.

The feudal ſyſtem, weakened, in France, by theſe innovations, was annihilated by the ſevere deſpotiſm of Lewis XI., into whom the ſoul of Tiberius might ſeem to have paſſed. As it was his conſtant policy to level all diſtinctions among his ſubjects, except ſuch as were derived from *his* favour, the princes and great nobility took up arms, and beſieged him in Paris: but their confederacy, ſurnamed of the *public good*, was ſoon diſſolved by the jealouſy and private views of the leaders, few of whom afterwards eſcaped the revenge of a tyrant, alike inſenſible to the ſanctity of oaths, the laws of juſtice, or the dictates of humanity. The Gendarmerie of the kingdom was increaſed to 4000 lances, beſides a diſciplined militia, a large body of Swiſs infantry, and a conſiderable train of artillery, the uſe of which had already altered the art of war. The revenue of France was raiſed to nearly a million ſterling, as well by extraordinary impoſitions, as by the union of Anjou, Maine, Provence, Rouſſillon, Burgundy, Franche-Comté, and Artois, to the body of the French monarchy, which, under this wiſe tyrant, began to improve in domeſtic policy, and to aſſume the firſt ſtation in the great republic of Chriſtendom.

The revolution which reſtored Burgundy to the French monarchy merits more than common attention. Charles the Bold, of the houſe of France, duke of Burgundy, and ſovereign of the Netherlands, was the natural and implacable enemy of Lewis XI. His ſubjects of Burgundy were brave and loyal; thoſe of Flanders, rich and induſtrious; his revenue was conſiderable; his court magnificent; his troops numerous and well diſciplined; and his dominions enlarged by the acquiſition of Guelders, Alſace, and Lorraine. But his vain projects of ambition were far ſuperior either to his power or his abilities. At one and the ſame time he aſpired to obtain the regal title, to be elected king of the Romans, to divide France with the Engliſh, to invade Italy, and to lead a cruſade againſt the Turks. The Swiſs Cantons, a name till then unknown in Europe, humbled his pride. Many writers, more attentive to the moral precept than to hiſtoric truth, have repreſented the Swiſs as a harmleſs people, attacked without juſtice or provocation. Thoſe rude mountaineers were, on the contrary, the ag-

greſſors: and it appears by authentic documents, that French intrigues, and even French money, had found a way into the ſenate of Berne. Lewis XI., who in his youth had experienced the valour of the Swiſs, inflamed the quarrel till it became irreconcileable, and then ſat down the quiet ſpectator of the event. The Gendarmerie of Burgundy was diſcomfited in three great battles, by the firm battalions of Swiſs infantry, compoſed of pikemen and muſqueteers. At Granſon, Charles loſt his honour and treaſures; at Morat, the flower of his troops; and at Nancy, his life. He left only an orphan daughter, whoſe rich patrimony Lewis might perhaps have ſecured by a treaty of marriage. Actuated by paſſion, rather than ſound policy, he choſe to raviſh it by conqueſt. Burgundy and Artois ſubmitted without much difficulty; but the Flemings, exaſperated by the memory of ancient injuries, diſdained the French yoke, and married their young princeſs Mary to Maximilian, ſon of the emperor Frederic III. The Low Countries became the inheritance of the houſe of Auſtria, and the ſubject, as well as theatre, of a long ſeries of wars, the moſt celebrated that have ever diſturbed Europe.

Such was the growing proſperity of France, that even the diſturbances of a minority proved favourable to its greatneſs. Brittany, the laſt of the great fiefs, eſcaped a total conqueſt only by the marriage of Anne, heireſs of that great duchy, with Charles VIII., ſon and ſucceſſor of Lewis XI. The expedition of Charles VIII. into Italy diſplayed his character, and that of the nation which he commanded. In five months he traverſed affrighted Italy as a conqueror, gave laws to the Florentines and the Pope, was acknowledged King of Naples, and aſſumed the title of Emperor of the Eaſt. Every thing yielded to the firſt fury of the French; every thing was loſt by the imprudence of their councils. The Italian powers, recovered from their aſtoniſhment, formed a league with Maximilian and Ferdinand, to intercept the return of Charles VIII. The kingdom of Naples eſcaped from his hands, and the victory of Fernova only ſerved to ſecure his retreat. He died ſoon afterwards, leaving his kingdom exhauſted by this raſh enterprize, and weakened by the imprudent ceſſion of Rouſſillon to the Spaniards, and of Franche-Comté and Artois to the houſe of Auſtria.

Spain was haſtening to aſſume the form of a powerful monarchy. Caſtile and Arragon were firſt united under the ſame family, and not long afterwards under the ſame ſovereigns. Henry IV., King of Caſtile, a prince Spain.

odious for his vices, and contemptible for his weakneſs, was ſolemnly depoſed in a great aſſembly of his ſubjects; who, deſpiſing the ſuſpicious birth of his daughter Juanna, placed the crown on the head of Iſabella, his ſiſter. The marriage of that princeſs with Ferdinand of Arragon completed the ſalutary revolution. The Spaniards celebrate, with reaſon, the united adminiſtration of thoſe monarchs; the manly virtues of Iſabella, and the profound policy of Ferdinand the catholic, always covered with the veil of religion, though often repugnant to the principles of juſtice. After a ten years' war, they executed the great project of delivering Spain from the infidels. The Moors of Granada defended that laſt poſſeſſion with obſtinate valour, and ſtipulated, by their capitulation, the free exerciſe of the Mahometan religion. Public faith, gratitude, and policy ought to have maintained this treaty; and it is a reproach to the memory of the great Ximenes that he urged his maſters to violate it. The ſevere perſecutions of the Mahometans, and the expulſion of many thouſands of Jewiſh families, inflicted a deep but ſecret wound on Spain, in the midſt of its glory. The proſperity of Ferdinand and Iſabella was embittered by the death of their only ſon. Their daughter Juanna married the Archduke Philip, (ſon of the emperor Maximilian, and of Mary of Burgundy,) and the great ſucceſſions of the houſes of Auſtria, of Burgundy, of Arragon, and of Caſtile, were gradually accumulated on the head of Charles V., the fortunate offspring of that marriage.

The dominion of Spain was extended into a new hemiſphere, which had never yet been viſited by the nations placed on our ſide of the planet. Chriſtopher Columbus, a Genoeſe, obtained from the miniſters of Iſabella, after long ſolicitations and frequent repulſes, three ſmall barks and ninety men, with which he truſted himſelf to the unknown Atlantic. His timid and ignorant ſailors repeatedly exclaimed, that he was carrying them beyond the appointed limits of Nature, whence they could never return. Columbus reſiſted their clamours, and at the end of thirty-three days from the Canaries, ſhewed them the Iſland of Hiſpaniola, abounding in gold, and inhabited by a gentle race of men. In his ſubſequent voyages, undertaken with a more conſiderable force, he diſcovered many other iſlands, and ſaw the great continent of America, of whoſe exiſtence he was already convinced from ſpeculation.

The diſcoveries of Columbus were the effort of genius and courage; thoſe of the Portugueſe, the ſlow effect of time and induſtry. They ſailed

round the continent of Africa; found, by the Cape of Good Hope, a new and more independent route to the East Indies, and soon diverted the commerce of the east from Alexandria and Venice to Lisbon.

A new world was opened to the studious as well as to the active part of mankind. It was scarcely possible for the Italians to read Virgil and Cicero, without a desire of being acquainted with Homer, Plato, and Demosthenes. Their wishes were gratified by the assistance of many learned Greeks, who fled from the Turkish arms. The manuscripts which they had saved, or which were discovered in old libraries, were quickly diffused and multiplied by the useful invention of printing, which so much facilitated the acquisition of knowledge. For some time, however, the genius of the Italians seemed overpowered by this sudden accession of learning. Instead of exercising their own reason, they acquiesced in that of the ancients; instead of transfusing into their native tongue the taste and spirit of the classics, they copied, with the most awkward servility, the language and ideas suited to an age so different from their own. Italy.

If we turn from letters to religion, the Christian must grieve, and the philosopher will smile. By a propensity natural to man, the multitude had easily relapsed into the grossest polytheism. The existence of a Supreme Being was indeed acknowledged; his mysterious attributes were minutely, and even indecently, canvassed in the schools; but he was allowed a very small share in the public worship, or the administration of the universe. The devotion of the people was directed to the Saints and the Virgin Mary, the delegates, and almost the partners, of his authority. From the extremities of Christendom thousands of pilgrims, laden with rich offerings, crowded to the temples and statues the most celebrated for their miraculous powers. New legends and new practices of superstition were daily invented by the interested diligence of the mendicant friars; and as this religion had scarcely any connection with morality, every sin was expiated by penance, and every penance *indulgently* commuted into a fine. The popes, bishops, and rich abbots, careless of the public esteem, were soldiers, statesmen, and men of pleasure; yet even *such* dignified ecclesiastics blushed at the grosser vices of their inferior clergy.

ESSAI

SUR

L'ÉTUDE

DE LA

LITTÉRATURE.

☞ *The following is in Mr.* GIBBON'*s hand-writing, on the back of the title-page of the interleaved copy already mentioned.*

MES amis me firent publier cet ouvrage, pour ainſi dire, malgrè moi. Cette excuſe banale des auteurs ne l'eſt point cependant pour moi. Mon pere voulut me le faire publier l'hyver paſſé. Ma jeuneſſe, et un fonds d'orgueil qui me rend beaucoup plus ſenſible aux critiques qu'aux eloges, m'empecherent de goûter ſon projet. Mais me trouvant à la campagne avec lui au mois de Mars, il renouvella ſes inſtances d'une manière ſi vive que je ne pus m'en défendre. M. Mallet me fit connoître un libraire nommé Becket, à qui je cédai mon manuſcrit, moyennant quarante exemplaires pour moi. M. Maty corrigea les feuilles. L'impreſſion de l'ouvrage, entrepriſe au commencement de Mai, ne fût achevée qu'à la fin de Juin, et mon livre ne ſe débitoit que vers le milieu du mois ſuivant. M. Mallet ſe chargea de la diſtribution d'une bonne partie des préſens que j'avois envie d'en faire. Voici l'extrait d'une lettre qu'il m'écrivit le 9 Juillet 1761.

" DEAR SIR,

" I HAVE executed the orders you gave me, and all the books have been " delivered ſome days. Lord Cheſterfield returns you his thanks; I expect " in writing, and have had Lady Harvey's in that manner. Lord Hard- " wicke, with his compliments for the book to himſelf, aſſured me he would " ſend the other to his ſon, and recommend you to his acquaintance. Lord " Egremont will be glad to know you, if ever you ſhould think of a jour- " ney to Augſbourg. I found Lord Granville reading you, after ten at " night; his ſingle approbation, which he aſſures you of, will go for more " than that of a hundred other readers. I have gone further, in ſending " one copy to the Count de Caylus, another to the Ducheſs d'Aiguillon, and " in giving a third to M. de Buſſy."

To EDWARD GIBBON *Esquire.*

DEAR SIR,

No performance is, in my opinion, more contemptible than a Dedication of the common sort; when some great man is presented with a book, which, if Science be the subject, he is incapable of understanding; if Polite Literature, incapable of tasting: and this honour is done him as a reward for virtues, which he neither does, nor desires to possess. I know but two kinds of dedications, which can do honour either to the patron or author. The first is, when an unexperienced writer addresses himself to a master of the art, in which he endeavours to excel; whose example he is ambitious of imitating; by whose advice he has been directed; or whose approbation he is anxious to deserve.

The other sort is yet more honourable. It is dictated by the heart, and offered to some person who is dear to us, because he ought to be so. It is an opportunity we embrace with pleasure of making public those sentiments of esteem, of friendship, of gratitude, or of all together, which we really feel, and which therefore we desire should be known.

I hope, dear Sir, my past conduct will easily lead you to discover to what principle you should attribute this epistle; which, if it surprises, will, I hope, not displease you. If I am capable of producing any thing worthy the attention of the public, it is to you that I owe it; to that truly paternal care which, from the first dawnings of my reason, has always watched over my education, and afforded me every opportunity of improvement. Permit me here to express my grateful sense of your tenderness to me, and to assure you, that the study of my whole life shall be to acquit myself, in some measure, of obligations I can never fully repay.

I am, dear Sir, with the sincerest affection and regard,

Your most dutiful son, and faithful servant,

E. GIBBON, junior.

May the 28th, 1761.

AVIS AU LECTEUR.

C'EST un véritable eſſai que je produis au grand jour. Je ſouhaiterois me connoître. Ma prévention et celle de quelques amis, m'en inſpireroient des idées trop avantageuſes, ſi mon Apollon *, cette voix ſecrette que je ne puis faire taire, ne m'avertiſſoit ſouvent de me défier de leurs éloges. Dois-je me borner à recueillir avec reconnoiſſance les bienfaits de mes prédéceſſeurs ? Puis-je eſpérer d'ajouter quelque choſe au tréſor commun des vérités ou du moins des idées ? Je tâcherai d'entendre l'arrêt du public et même ſon ſilence, et je ne l'entendrai que pour m'y ſoumettre. Point de Philippiques contre mon ſiècle, point d'appel à la poſtérité.

L'envie de juſtifier une étude favorite, c'eſt-à-dire, l'amour propre un peu déguiſé, fit naître les réfléxions ſuivantes. Je voulois affranchir une ſcience eſtimable, du mépris où elle languit aujourdhui. Il eſt vrai qu'on lit encore les anciens, mais on ne les étudie plus. On n'y apporte plus cette attention, et cet appareil de connoiſſances que Cicéron et Boſſuet exigent de leurs lecteurs. Il eſt encore des gens de goût, mais il eſt peu de littérateurs ; et ceux qui ſavent que les gens de lettres peuvent ſe paſſer des recompenſes plus aiſément que de l'eſtime du public, ne s'en étonneront point.

C'eſt un eſſai, je le repete encore ; ce n'eſt point un traité complet qu'on va lire. J'ai enviſagé la littérature ſous quelques points de vue qui m'avoient frappé. Pluſieurs, ſans doute, me ſont échapés. J'én ai négligé quelques autres. Je ne ſuis point entré dans la carrière immenſe des beaux-arts, des beautés qu'ils empruntent de la littérature, et de celles qu'ils lui rendent. Que ne ſuis-je un Caylus ou un Spence † ! J'éleverois un monument éternel à leur alliance. L'on y verroit l'image de Jupiter éclore dans le cerveau d'Homère, et venir ſe placer ſous le cizeau de Phidias. Mais je ne me ſuis point dit avec le Corrège ; " et moi auſſi je ſuis peintre."

Le 3 Fevrier, 1759.

* —— Cynthius aurem
Vellit et admonuit.

† Auteur d'un ouvrage nommé Polymetis. La mythologie des poëtes y eſt combinée avec celle des ſculpteurs. Cet ouvrage plein de goût et de ſavoir mériteroit d'être plus connu en France.

Après

Après avoir gardé, pendant deux ans, ce petit ouvrage, l'amuſement de mon loiſir à la campagne, je me hazarde enfin à le donner au public. J'ai beſoin de ſon indulgence pour le fond des choſes, et pour le langage. Ma jeuneſſe m'y donne un juſte titre pour l'un, et ma qualité d'étranger me la rend bien néceſſaire pour l'autre.

Le 16 Avril, 1761.

A L'AUTEUR.

Je reçois, mon cher Monsieur, les feuilles de votre ouvrage, toutes mouillées au ſortir de la preſſe. Le ſentiment qui vous engagea à me les communiquer, eſt paſſé dans mon cœur. Ne me demandez plus mon jugement, il ne peut être que partial.

Mais le public aura-t-il les yeux d'un ami; Cet eſſai de vos forces, ce germe heureux d'ouvrages plus conſidérables, ſera-t-il accueilli, ſera-t-il épargné? inquiétude naturelle à un jeune auteur! Elle l'honore, elle n'eſt permiſe qu'à lui. A Dieu ne plaiſe que vous perdiez de long tems cette précieuſe défiance de l'approbation du public, qui vous mit en état de la mériter! Si jamais vieux écrivain vous prenez moins de peine, c'eſt que vous vous connoitrez mieux et craindrez moins vos juges.

Voudrois-je ôter à la jeune beauté la modeſte rougeur qui lui fait méconnoître ſes charmes, et qui ne ceſſera que quand ils ne ſeront plus? Non, Monſieur, je ne vous raſſure point; je veux jouir de vos allarmes; vos cenſeurs vont paroître; armez-vous d'intrépidité.

Avez-vous pu croire qu'on pardonneroit à un homme né pour aſſiſter aux aſſemblées tumultueuſes du ſénat, et à la deſtruction des renards de ſa province, des diſcuſſions ſur ce qu'on penſa, il y a deux mille ans, ſur les divinités de la Grece, et ſur les premiers ſiècles de Rome? Quoi pas la moindre alluſion à ce qui ſe paſſe de nos jours! Une brochure, où il n'eſt queſtion ni de la guerre ni du commerce, où l'on ne preſcrit point de limites ni ne propoſe aucune réduction, où l'on ne fait aucun compliment au prince, ni de leçon à ſes miniſtres! En vérité je vous admire, et qu'en dira-t-on, je vous le demande, en Hampſhire?

Le Grec doit être laiſſé au collège et à la roture ; ainſi l'a-t-on peut-être décidé chez nos voiſins, et cette mode menace de devenir contagieuſe. Je ſais que Paris ne ſe croit pas encore déſhonoré d'un Caylus et d'un Nivernois, et que votre îſle compte avec plaiſir ſes Lyttelton, ſes Marchmont, ſes Orrery, ſes Bath, ſes Grandville. Mais vous êtes jeune, et l'on ſoupçonne ceux que je viens de vous nommer d'être un peu du ſiècle paſſé. Vos notes ſont ſavantes, mais qui à Newmarket ou dans le caffé d'Arthur peut les lire ?

Point d'ordre ni de liaiſon, dira le géomètre piqué. N'en ſoyez point ſurpris, il voit en vous un transfuge. Vous n'avez point donné la pomme à ſa Vénus, et il juge un écrit de goût ſur le pied des élémens d'Euclide.

Parmi vos critiques je vois le littérateur lui-même. Je ne dirai pas que vous penſez, et lui laiſſez le ſoin de recueillir. Je vous reſpecte trop pour voler ce bon mot à Voltaire. Mais vos notes ne conſiſtent point en corrections de paſſages. Quel vers d'Ariſtophane avez-vous reſtitué ? De quel manuſcript vous appuyez-vous ? D'ailleurs vous enviſagez quelques objets ſous un point de vue ou nouveau ou ſingulier. Votre chronologie eſt celle de Newton ; vous juſtifiez l'anachroniſme de Virgile ; vos Dieux ne ſont pas ceux de .... Craignez ſa nouvelle édition ; vous aurez place dans ſes notes.

Je ne vous reproche point l'obſcurité, dirai-je, ou la profondeur de quelques unes de vos penſées, vos phraſes coupées, la hardieſſe de vos figures. La nation Académique ſera moins facile, et frondera quiconque voudroit vous appliquer une de vos notes *, et l'aveu modeſte de l'orateur Romain, en reliſant dans l'age de la maturité, un morceau applaudi de ſa jeuneſſe. *Quantis illa clamoribus, adoleſcentuli,* il avoit 26 ans, *diximus de ſupplicio parricidarum ? quæ nequaquam ſatis deferbuiſſe poſt aliquanto ſentire cæpimus ... Sunt enim omnia, ſicut adoleſcentis, non tam re et maturitate, quam ſpe et expectatione, laudati* †.

J'ai gardé pour le dernier le plus grand de vos crimes. Vous êtes Anglois, et vous choiſiſſez la langue de vos ennemis. Le vieux Caton frémit, et dans ſon *Club* Antigallican, vous dénonce, le *punch* à la main, un ennemi de la patrie. " Mes chers amis, dit-il, la liberté eſt prête d'expirer. Ce

* P. 493. † Cicero Orator. 29.

« peuple, dont nous avons toujours triomphé, regagne par ſes artifices plus « que ne lui enlevent nos armes. N'eſt-ce pas aſſez que nous ayons des « baladins, des friſeurs, des cuiſiniers de Paris, qu'on boive dans notre îſle, « qu'on boive des vins, qu'on liſe des livres François ; faut-il encore, grands « Dieux ! eſt-ce dans le plus haut période de notre gloire qu'un Anglois « devoit donner ce premier exemple ? faut-il encore qu'on en écrive ?"

Contre une attaque auſſi grave quel rempart vous ferez-vous ? Trouverez-vous des défenſeurs où vous n'avez point de complices ? Oſerai-je élever ma voix moi, qui, Anglois ſimplement par choix ſans l'être de naiſſance, n'ai pu, après vingt ans de ſéjour dans vote îſle, naturaliſer ma langue auſſi bien que mon cœur ?

Dirai-je ce que Plutarque, à peu près dans le même cas que moi, auroit dit, que rien ne fut plus vain que la prophétie de l'acre cenſeur, que le Grec perdroit ſa patrie, puiſqu'au contraire elle s'éleva au comble de la gloire et du pouvoir dans le tems que les lettres Grecques et l'érudition étrangère y fleurirent le plus *, que ce peuple qui, tant qu'il fut libre, plaça ſa grandeur dans ce qui ſeul fait la grandeur d'un peuple, fit venir ſes grammairiens, mais non ſes Généraux de la Grèce, au lieu que Carthage y prit ſes ſoldats et ſes Généraux, et en défendit la langue † ; que Flaminius, Scipion, Caton même, . . . mais comme eux je parle Grec à votre homme. Il ignore également que Cicéron fut initié à Athènes, et que le nom de Cheſterfield ſe trouve dans les regiſtres d'une célebre Académie de Paris ; il jureroit que les Edouards et les Henris ne parlèrent ou du moins ne lûrent jamais de François, et ſi je le preſſois, il me ſoutiendroit peut-être que le roi de Pruſſe ſeroit déja maître de Vienne, s'il n'eût pas écrit, en ſtyle de Voltaire, les Mémoires du Brandebourg.

Mépriſer ſa propre langue, rien ſans doute de plus honteux. Mais la mépriſe-t-on à moins qu'on ne donne l'excluſion à toute autre ? Cicéron, qui écrivit l'hiſtoire de ſon conſulat en Grec, préféra donc cette langue, lui qui n'eut jamais de rival dans la ſienne, qui la croyoit, peut-être par préjugé, beaucoup plus riche que la Grecque ‡, et qui, s'il ne la rendit pas telle, étendit les bornes de ſa juriſdiction plus que Céſar celles de l'empire.

S'il étoit vrai que le génie inſociable des diverſes langues empêche celui qui veut les concilier, d'exceller dans aucune, on auroit tort ſans doute de s'ex-

* Plutarch. in Cat. Major. † Juſtin. xx. 5. ‡ De Finib. l. iii.

poſer

poſer au riſque de corrompre la pureté de celle qui nous eſt naturelle, ſans pouvoir ſe flatter de réuſſir dans celle qui ne l'eſt pas. Mais tant s'en faut que l'expérience ait confirmé cette prétendue crainte des mélanges. Jamais les Romains n'écrivirent mieux en Latin qu'au ſortir des écoles Grecques. Le morceau de Cicéron, dont j'ai parlé, nous a probablement valu les chef-d'œuvres Latins de Salluſte, et ſans l'hiſtoire de Polybe, revue par le héros qui avoit été ſon diſciple, nous n'aurions peut être jamais eu ni Tite Live ni Tacite.

Toute langue, qui ſe ſuffit, eſt bornée. La votre, plus que toute autre, s'eſt enrichie par ſes emprunts. Seroit-il impoſſible que l'Italien ne pût encore la rendre plus douce, l'Allemand plus compréhenſive, le François plus préciſe et plus régulière. Semblables à ces lacs dont les eaux s'épurent et s'éclairciſſent par le mélange et l'agitation de celles qu'ils reçoivent des fleuves voiſins, les langues modernes ne demeurent vivantes que par leur communication, et ſi je l'oſois dire par leur choc réciproque.

Non, ce n'eſt point de l'écrivain qui s'exerce à écrire avec pureté dans une langue étrangère, que la ſienne a lieu de craindre qu'il ne l'altère mal à propos. Le degré de perfection, auquel elle peut atteindre, eſt ſon objet, et l'analogie ſa règle. Il connoit trop les richeſſes de ſa langue, pour la charger de mots inutilement tranſplantés. Il a étudié ſon caractère, et ne ſe permet point de conſtructions forcées, ſous prétexte de ſe faire lire. Reſpectant même ſes bizarreries, il ſait qu'un long uſage exige de grands ménagemens, et que l'homme ſenſé ne ſe diſtingue jamais beaucoup, et très rarement le premier.

Qui ſont donc les véritables corrupteurs des langues ? Ces petits beaux eſprits qui, faute de nouvelles idées, n'ont pour ſe diſtinguer que leur néologique jargon ; ces jeunes voyageurs qui, de Paris qu'ils ont mal vu, rapportent et font circuler l'expreſſion du jour qu'ils n'ont pas compriſe ; et plus futiles que les uns et les autres, ces demi-ſavans, qui croyent donner du relief à leurs paradoxes, et de la variété à leur ſtyle, par l'introduction de ſynonimes barbares, dont leur dictionnaire leur a, peut être à grand-peine, indiqué le ſens.

Rarement un étranger parvient-il à écrire dans une langue, qui n'eſt pas a ſienne, de manière à n'être pas reconnu. Mais faut-il qu'il ne le ſoit pas ?

Lucullus

Lucullus auroit pu ſe paſſer d'affecter des Latiniſmes, de peur d'être pris pour un Grec, et je ne crois pas que vous vous piquiez d'être moins facile à reconnoitre pour un Anglois que Lucullus pour un Romain. Mais c'eſt cela même qui, aux yeux d'un François, vous donnera un nouveau mérite. Il remarquera un mot, un tour étranger à ſa langue, et peut-être ſouhaitera qu'il ne le fût pas. Ces traits ſaillans, ces figures hardies, ce ſacrifice de la règle au ſentiment, et de la cadence à la force, lui caractériſeront une nation originale, qui mérite d'être étudiée, et qui gagne toujours à l'être. L'individu ne lui échappera pas, et il ſaura diſcerner ce que vous devez à votre île, et ce que votre île vous doit.

Quand on ne ſait qu'une langue, c'eſt par les traductions ſeules qu'on connoit les auteurs étrangers. Suffiſent-elles pour en juger? Ferai-je la ſatyre des perſonnes qui ſe conſacrent à la pénible tâche de traduire, en affirmant que leur moindre défaut eſt de nous faire perdre le caractère national et perſonel de leurs auteurs? Ah! que ces auteurs n'ont-ils écrit eux mêmes, quoique mal, dans une autre langue! Mon expreſſion eſt celle qui accompagne ma penſée. Vous qui me traduiſez, ſentez-vous ce que j'ai ſenti? Montaigne ſeroit toujours Montaigne, s'il eût lui-même été le cuiſinier Anglois de ſes eſſais, et j'eſtimerois vingt fois plus un des livres de Milton écrit en François ou en Italien par Milton, que les traductions élégantes de Du Boccage et de Rolli.

Que ſi, dans vos climats ſi heureuſement iſolés, quelques perſonnes jalouſes de l'univerſalité que le François s'eſt acquiſe ſur le Continent, ſe plaignoient que vous rompez la dernière digue qui s'oppoſe à l'inondation, qu'elles me permettent de ne pas regarder comme un grand malheur, qu'une langue commune lie de plus en plus les états de l'Europe, facilite les conférences des miniſtres, prévienne les longueurs des négociations et les équivoques des traités, faſſe ſouhaiter la paix, et la rende plus durable et plus chère. Le premier pas qu'on doive faire pour s'accorder, c'eſt de travailler à s'entendre.

Vous venez, Monſieur, de donner un grand exemple. Au milieu des ſuccès de vos armes vous avez honoré les lettres de vos ennemis. Ce dernier triomphe eſt le plus noble. Puiſſe-t-il devenir général et réciproque, et le tems venir, où les divers peuples, membres épars de la même famille,

s'élevant au deſſus des diſtinctions partiales d'Anglois, de François, d'Allemand, et de Ruſſe, mériteront le titre d'homme !

J'ai l'honneur d'être avec des ſentimens qui ne dépendent d'aucun climat ni d'aucun ſiècle,

MONSIEUR,

Votre très humble et très obéïſſant ſerviteur,

M. MATY.

Du Muſée Britannique,
le 16 Juin, 1761.

ESSAI

SUR

L'ÉTUDE DE LA LITTÉRATURE.

I. L'Hiſtoire des empires eſt celle de la misère des hommes. L'hiſtoire des ſciences eſt celle de leur grandeur et de leur bonheur. Si mille conſidérations doivent rendre ce dernier genre d'étude précieux aux yeux du philoſophe, cette réfléxion doit le rendre bien cher à tout amateur de l'humanité. Idée de l'hiſtoire littéraire.

II. Que je voudrois qu'une vérité auſſi conſolante ne reçût aucune exception! Mais hélas! l'homme ne perce que trop ſouvent dans le cabinet du ſavant. Dans cet azile de la ſageſſe, il eſt encore égaré par les préjugés, déchiré par les paſſions, avili par les foibleſſes.

L'empire de la mode eſt fondé ſur l'inconſtance des hommes; empire dont l'origine eſt ſi frivole et dont les effets ſont ſi funeſtes. L'homme de lettres n'oſe ſecouer ſon joug, et ſi ſes réfléxions retardent ſa défaite, elles la rendent plus honteuſe.

Tous les pays, tous les ſiècles ont vu quelque ſcience l'objet d'une préférence ſouvent injuſte, pendant que les autres études languiſſoient dans un mépris tout auſſi peu raiſonnable. La métaphyſique et la dialectique ſous les ſucceſſeurs d'Alexandre *, la politique et l'éloquence ſous la république

* Ce ſiècle fut celui des ſectes philoſophiques, qui combattoient pour les ſyſtêmes de leurs maîtres reſpectifs, avec tout l'acharnement des théologiens.

L'amour des ſyſtêmes produit néceſſairement celui des principes généraux; et celui-ci conduit d'ordinaire au mépris des connoiſſances de détail.

" L'amour des ſyſtêmes, (dit M. Freret), qui s'empara des eſprits après Ariſtote, fit aban-
" donner aux Grecs l'étude de la nature, et arrêta le progrès de leurs découvertes philoſo-
" phiques: les raiſonnemens ſubtils prirent la place des expériences: les ſciences exactes, la
" géométrie, l'aſtronomie, la vraie philoſophie diſparurent preſqu'entièrement. On ne
" s'occupa plus du ſoin d'acquérir des connoiſſances nouvelles, mais de celui de ranger, et de
" lier les unes aux autres, celles que l'on croyoit avoir, pour en former des ſyſtêmes. C'eſt

lique Romaine, l'hiſtoire, la poëſie dans le ſiècle d'Auguſte, la grammaire et la juriſprudence ſous le bas-Empire, la philoſophie ſcholaſtique dans le treizième ſiècle, les Belles-Lettres juſqu'aux jours de nos peres, ont fait, tour-a-tour, l'admiration et le mépris des hommes. La phyſique et les mathématiques ſont à preſent ſur le trône. Elles voyent toutes leurs ſœurs proſternées devant elles, enchainées à leur char, ou tout-au-plus occupées à orner leur triomphe. Peut être leur chute n'eſt pas éloignée.

Il ſeroit digne d'un habile homme de ſuivre cette révolution dans les religions, les gouvernements, les mœurs, qui ont ſucceſſivement égaré, déſolé et corrompu les hommes. Qu'il ſe gardât bien de chercher un ſyſtême; mais qu'il ſe gardât bien davantage de l'éviter.

Renaiſſance des Belles-Lettres. Goût qu'on eut pour elles.

III. Si les Grecs n'avoient été eſclaves, les Latins ſeroient encore barbares. Conſtantinople tomba ſous le fer de Mahomet. Les Médicis accueillirent les Muſes déſolées: ils encouragerent les lettres. Eraſme fit plus, il les cultiva. Homère et Cicéron pénétrerent dans des contrées inconnues à Alexandre, et invincibles pour les Romains. Ces ſiècles trouvoient qu'il étoit beau d'étudier les anciens et de les admirer *: le notre penſe qu'il eſt plus aiſé de les ignorer et de les mépriſer. Je crois qu'ils ont tous les deux raiſon. Le guerrier les liſoit ſous ſa tente. L'homme d'état les étudioit dans ſon cabinet. Ce ſèxe même, qui, content des graces, nous laiſſe les lumières, embelliſſoit l'exemple d'une Délie, et ſouhaitoit de trouver un Tibulle dans ſon amant. Elizabeth (ce nom dit tout pour le Sage) apprenoit dans Hérodote à défendre les droits de l'humanité contre un nouveau Xerxés, et au ſortir des combats ſe voyoit célébrée par Eſchyle ſous le nom des vainqueurs de Salamine † §.

Si

" là ce qui forma toutes les différentes ſectes: les meilleurs eſprits s'évaporerent dans les ab-
" ſtractions d'une métaphyſique obſcure, où les mots tenoient le plus ſouvent la place des
" choſes, et la dialectique, nommée par Ariſtote l'inſtrument de notre eſprit, devint chez ſes
" diſciples l'objet principal et preſque unique de leur application. La vie entière ſe paſſoit à
" étudier l'art du raiſonnement, et à ne raiſonner jamais, ou du moins à ne raiſonner que ſur
" des objets fantaſtiques." Mem. de l'Acad. des B. L. tom. vi. p. 159.

* Feuilletez la Bibliotheque Latine de Fabricius, le meilleur de tous ceux qui n'ont été que compilateurs: vous y verrez que dans l'eſpace de quarante ans, après la découverte de l'imprimerie, preſque tous les auteurs Latins étoient imprimés, quelques uns même plus d'une fois. Le goût des éditeurs n'égala pas, il eſt vrai, leur zèle. Les écrivains de l'hiſtoire Auguſte parurent avant Tite Live; et l'on donna Aulu-Gelle avant de ſonger à Virgile.

† Eſchyle a fait une tragédie (les Perſes), où il a peint avec les couleurs les plus vives, la gloire des Grecs et la conſternation des Perſes après la journée de Salamine.
V. le Theat. des Grecs du P. Brumoy, tom. ii. p. 171, &c.

§ Ecoutons

Si Chriſtine préféra la ſcience au gouvernement d'un état, le politique peut la mépriſer, le philoſophe doit la blamer, mais l'homme de lettres chérira ſa mémoire. Cette reine étudioit les anciens : elle en conſidéroit les interprètes. Elle diſtingua ce Saumaiſe, qui ne mérita ni l'admiration de ſes contemporains, ni le mépris dont nous nous efforçons de le combler.

On le pouſſa trop loin.

IV. Sans doute elle pouſſa trop loin l'admiration pour ces ſavans. Souvent leur défenſeur, jamais leur zélateur, j'avouerai ſans peine que leurs mœurs étoient groſſières, leurs travaux quelquefois minutieux ; que leur eſprit noyé dans une érudition pédanteſque commentoit ce qu'il falloit ſentir, et compiloit au lieu de raiſonner. On étoit aſſez éclairé pour ſentir l'utilité de leurs recherches ; mais l'on n'étoit ni aſſez raiſonnable ni aſſez poli, pour connoître qu'elles auroient pu être guidées par le flambeau de la philoſophie.

Quand il devenoit plus raiſonnable.

V. La lumière alloit paroître. Deſcartes ne fut pas Littérateur, mais les Belles-Lettres lui ſont bien redevables. Un philoſophe éclairé *, héritier de ſa méthode, approfondit les vrais principes de la critique. Le Boſſu, Boileau, Rapin, Brumoy apprirent aux hommes à connoître mieux le prix des tréſors, qu'ils poſſédoient. Une de ces ſociétés qui ont mieux immortaliſé Louis XIV. qu'une ambition ſouvent pernicieuſe aux hommes, commençoit déja ces recherches qui réuniſſent la juſteſſe de l'eſprit, l'aménité et l'érudition, où l'on voit tant de découvertes, et quelquefois, ce qui ne céde qu'à peine aux découvertes, une ignorance modeſte et ſavante.

Si les hommes raiſonnoient autant lorſqu'ils agiſſent que lorſqu'ils diſcourent, les Belles-Lettres ſeroient devenues l'objet de l'admiration du vulgaire et de l'eſtime des ſages.

Décadence des Belles-Lettres.

VI. C'eſt de cette époque qu'elles datent le commencement de leur décadence. Le Clerc, à qui les ſciences et la liberté doivent des éloges, s'en plaignoit déja, il y a plus de ſoixante ans. Mais c'eſt dans la fameuſe diſpute des anciens et des modernes qu'elles reçurent le coup mortel. Il n'y a jamais eu un combat auſſi inégal. La logique exacte de Terraſſon, la

§ Ecoutons le Préſident Hénault. " Cette princeſſe étoit ſavante. Un jour qu'elle entretenoit Calignon, qui fut depuis Chancelier de Navare, elle lui fit voir une traduction en " Latin, qu'elle avoit faite, de quelques tragédies de Sophocle et de deux harangues de Déموſthène. Elle lui permit de prendre une copie d'une épigramme Grecque de ſa façon ; et " elle lui demanda ſon avis ſur des paſſages de Lycophron, qu'elle avoit alors entre les mains, " et dont elle vouloit traduire quelques endroits."

Abreg. Chronolog. in Quart. Paris 1752. p. 397.

* M. Le Clerc, dans ſon excellent *Ars critica*, et dans pluſieurs autres de ſes ouvrages.

philoſophie déliée de Fontenelle, le ſtyle élégant et heureux de la Motte, le badinage léger de St. Hyacinte, travailloient de concert à réduire Homère au niveau de Chapelain. Leurs adverſaires ne leur oppoſoient qu'un attachement au minuties, je ne ſais quelles prétenſions à une ſupériorité naturelle des anciens, des préjugés, des injures et des citations. Tout le ridicule leur demeura. Il en rejaillit une partie ſur ces anciens, dont ils ſoutenoient la querelle : et chez cette nation aimable, qui a adopté, ſans y penſer, le principe de Milord Shaftſbury, on ne diſtingue point les torts et les ridicules.

Depuis ce tems, nos philoſophes ſe ſont étonnés que des hommes puſſent paſſer une vie entière à raſſembler des faits et des mots ; et à ſe charger la mémoire au lieu de s'éclairer l'eſprit. Nos beaux eſprits ont ſenti, quels avantages leur reviendroient de l'ignorance de leurs lecteurs. Ils ont comblé de mépris les anciens, et ceux qui les étudient encore * †.

VII. Je voudrois faire ſuccéder à ce tableau quelques réfléxions, qui pourront fixer la juſte valeur des Belles-Lettres.

Grands hommes littérateurs.

Les exemples des grands hommes ne prouvent rien ; Caſſini, avant de règler le cours de planetes, crut y lire le deſtin des hommes. ‡ Cependant, lorſqu'ils ſont en grand nombre, ils préviennent avant l'examen, après l'examen ils confirment. On ſent d'abord qu'un génie capable de raiſonner, une imagination vive et brillante ne goûteroient jamais une ſcience, qui ne ſeroit que de mémoire. De tous ces hommes qui ont éclairé la terre, pluſieurs ſe ſont livrés à l'étude des Belles-Lettres ; beaucoup l'ont cultivée ; aucun, ou preſqu'aucun, ne l'a mépriſée. Toute l'antiquité ſe montroit ſans voile aux yeux de Grotius :

* On a ôté à cette étude le nom de Belles-Lettres, qu'une longue préſcription ſembloit lui avoir conſacré, pour y ſubſtituer celui d'érudition. (1) Nos littérateurs ſons devenus des érudits.

L'Abbé Maſſieu traitoit cet dernière expreſſion de Néologiſme en 1721. (2) Changeroit-il de ton à préſent ? Il ſiéroit mal à un étranger de vouloir le décider. Je connois tous les droits des grands écrivains ſur la langue ; mais je voudrois, qu'après avoir reconnu qu'un érudit peut avoir du goût, des vues, de la fineſſe dans l'eſprit, (3) ils ne ſe ſerviſſent pas de ce terme pour déſigner un ſervile admirateur des anciens, d'autant plus aveugle qu'il y a tout-vû, hors leurs graces et leurs beautés. (4)

† Fontenelle dans ſa digreſſion ſur les anciens et les moderns, et ailleurs.
Oeuv. de Greſſet. tom. ii. p. 45.

‡ Fontenelle dans ſon Eloge. VOLTAIRE, tom. xvii. p. 79.

(1) V. La Motte & d'Alembert.
(2) Maſſieu dans ſa préface aux œuvres de Toureil.
(3) M. Dalemb. dans l'art. Erudition de l'Encycl. Françoiſe.
(4) M. Dalemb. dans le diſcours préliminaire de l'Encyclopédie, et ailleurs.

éclairé

éclairé par ſa lumière, il développoit les oracles ſacrés, il combattoit l'ignorance et la ſuperſtition, il adouciſſoit les horreurs de la guerre. Si Deſcartes, livré tout entier à ſa philoſophie, mépriſoit toute étude qui ne s'y rapportoit pas, Newton * ne dédaigna pas de conſtruire un ſyſtême de chronologie, qui a eu des partiſans et beaucoup d'admirateurs : Gaſſendi, le meilleur philoſophe des littérateurs et le meilleur littérateur des philoſophes, expliquoit Epicure en critique, et le défendoit en Phyſicien : Leibnitz paſſoit, de ſes recherches immenſes ſur l'hiſtoire, aux infiniment petits. Si ſon édition de *Martianus Capella* avoit paru, ſon exemple auroit juſtifié les Littérateurs, ſes lumières les auroient éclairés †. Le Dictionaire de Bayle ſera un monument éternel de la force, et de la fécondité de l'érudition combinée avec le génie.

Littérateurs grands hommes.

VIII. Si nous ne faiſons attention qu'à ceux qui ont conſacré preſque tous leurs travaux à la littérature, les vrais connoiſſeurs ſauront toujours diſtinguer et apprécier l'eſprit délicat et étendu d'Eraſme, l'exactitude de Caſaubon et de Gerard Voſſius, la vivacité de Juſte-Lipſe, le goût, la fineſſe de Taneguy-le-Febvre, les reſſources, la fécondité d'Iſaac Voſſius, la pénétration hardie de Bentley, l'aménité de Maſſieu et de Fraguier, la critique ſolide et éclairée de Sallier, l'eſprit profond et philoſophique de le Clerc et de Freret. Ils ne confondront point ces grands hommes avec de ſimples compilateurs, un Gruter, un Saumaiſe, un Maſſon, et tant d'autres, hommes à la vérité utiles par leurs travaux, mais qui ne méritent jamais notre admiration, qui excitent rarement notre goût, et qui quelquefois ſeulement exigent notre eſtime.

Le Goût. Trois ſources de beautés.

IX. Les anciens auteurs ont laiſſé des modèles pour ceux qui ôſeront marcher ſur leurs traces : des lecteurs aux autres, où ils pourront puiſer les principes du bon goût, et remplir leur loiſir par l'étude de ces précieuſes productions, où la vérité ne ſe montre qu'embellie de tous les tréſors de l'imagination. Les poëtes, et le orateurs doivent peindre la nature. Tout l'univers peut leur fournir des couleurs ; mais parmi cette variété immenſe on peut ranger ſous trois claſſes les images dont ils ſe ſervent : l'homme, la nature, et l'art. Les images de la prémier eſpèce, le tableau de l'homme, de ſes grandeurs, de ſes petiteſſes, de ſes paſſions, de ſes changemens, ſont celles qui conduiſent le plus ſurement un écrivain à l'immortalité. Chaque fois qu'on lit Euripide, ou Térence on y découvre de nouvelles beautés. Ce-

* Newton réformoit la chronologie ordinaire, et y trouvoit des erreurs de cinq à ſix cent ans. Voyez mes remarques critiques ſur cette Chronologie.

† La vie de Leibnitz par de Neufville, à la tête de ſa Theodicée.

pendant.

pendant ce n'eſt ni à la conduite ſouvent défectueuſe de leurs pièces, ni aux fineſſes cachées de leur heureuſe ſimplicité, que ces poëtes doivent leur renommée. Le cœur ſe reconnoit dans leurs tableaux vrais et naïfs, et s'y reconnoit avec plaiſir.

La nature, toute vaſte qu'elle eſt, a fourni peu d'images aux poëtes. Bornés par leur objet ou par le préjugé des hommes, à ſon écorce, ils n'ont pû peindre que la ſucceſſive variété des ſaiſons, une mer irritée par les tempêtes, les zephirs du printems reſpirant l'amour et les plaiſirs. Un petit nombre de génies ont bientôt épuiſé ces tableaux.

Images artificielles.

X. L'art leur reſtoit. J'entens par l'art tout ce dont les hommes, ont orné ou défiguré la nature, les religions, les gouvernemens, les uſages. Ils s'en ſont tous ſervis : et il faut convenir qu'ils ont tous eu raiſon. Leurs concitoyens, et leurs contemporains les entendoient ſans peine, et les liſoient avec plaiſir. Ils aimoient à retrouver dans les ouvrages des grands hommes de leur nation, tout ce qui avoit rendu leurs ancêtres reſpectables, tout ce qu'ils regardoient comme ſacré, tout ce qu'ils pratiquoient comme utile.

Les mœurs des anciens favorables à la poëſie dans l'art militaire.

XI. Les mœurs des ancients étoient plus favorables à la poëſie que les notres : c'eſt une forte préſomption qu'ils nous y ont ſurpaſſés.

A-meſure que les arts ſe ſont perfectionnés, les reſſorts ſe ſont ſimplifiés. Dans la guerre, dans la politique, dans la religion, de plus grands effets ont été produits par des cauſes plus ſimples. Sans doute les Maurice et les Cumberland * entendoient mieux l'art militaire que les Achille et les Ajax ;

> " Tels ne parurent point aux rives du Scamandre,
> " Sous ces murs tant vantés que Pyrrhus mit en cendre,
> " Ces antiques héros qui montés ſur un char
> " Combattoient en déſordre et marchoient au hazard †."

Cependant les batailles du poëte François ſont-elles diverſifiées comme celles du poëte Grec ? Ses héros ſont-ils auſſi intéreſſans ? Tous ces combats ſinguliers des chefs, tout ces longs diſcours aux mourans, toutes ces rencontres inattendues, prouvent l'enfance de l'art, mais don-

* Je n'ai point cherché à faire un compliment à ſon A. R. Mgr. le Duc de Cumberland, dont je reſpecte infiniment la naiſſance et le rang, ſans ôſer apprécier ſes talents militaires. Si l'on ſe rappelle que les vers ſuivans ſont tirés du poëme ſur la battaille de Fontenoy, on ſentira que c'eſt plutôt M. de Voltaire qui parle que moi. Je ne crois pas cette remarque inutile. Des gens d'eſprit s'y ſont trompés.

† Oeuvres de Volt. tom. ii. p. 300.

nent au poëte le moyen de nous faire connoître ſes héros, et de nous intéreſſer à leur deſtin. Aujourdhui les armées ſont de vaſtes machines animées par le ſouffle du Général. La Muſe ſe refuſe à la deſcription de ſes manœuvres : elle n'oſe percer ce tourbillon de poudre et de pouſſière, qui cache à ſes yeux le brave et le lâche, le chef et le ſoldat.

Dans la politique.

XII. Les anciennes républiques de la Grece ignoroient les premiers principes d'un bon gouvernement. Le peuple s'aſſembloit en tumulte pour décider plutôt que pour délibérer. Leurs factions étoient furieuſes et immortelles, leurs ſéditions fréquentes et terribles, leurs plus beaux jours remplis de méfiance, d'envie et de confuſion * : leurs citoyens étoient malheureux, mais leurs écrivains, l'imagination échaufée par ces affreux objets, les peignoient comme ils les ſentoient. La tranquille adminiſtration des loix, ces arrêts ſalutaires qui, ſortis du cabinet d'un ſeul ou du conſeil d'un petit nombre, vont répandre la félicité chez un peuple entier, n'excitent chez le poëte que l'admiration, la plus froide de toutes les paſſions.

Dans la religion.

XIII. La mythologie ancienne qui animoit toute la nature, étendoit ſon influence ſur la plume du poëte. Inſpiré par la muſe, il chantoit les attributs, les avantures, et les malheurs des dieux. L'Etre infini que la religion et la philoſophie nous ont fait connoître, eſt au-deſſus de ſes chants : le ſublime à ſon egard devient puerile. Le *Fiat* de Moïſe nous frappe † ; mais la raiſon ne ſauroit ſuivre les travaux de la Divinité qui ébranle ſans efforts et ſans inſtruments des millions de mondes, et l'imagination ne peut voir avec plaiſir les diables de Milton, combattre pendant deux jours les armées du Tout Puiſſant ‡.

Les anciens connoiſſoient leurs avantages, et les employoient avec ſuccès. Ces chef-d'œuvres que nous admirons encore en ſont la meilleure preuve.

* Voy. le iii. L. de Thucydide.

Diodore de Sicile, depuis le L. xi. juſqu'au L. xx. preſque par tout.

La Préface de l'Abbé Terraſſon au iii. tom. de ſa Tradaction de Diodore de Sicile, et Hume's Political Eſſays, p. 191.

† V. les pièces de Huet et de Deſpréaux, dans le iii. tom. des Oeuvres de celui-ci.

‡ Le compas d'or dont le Créateur meſure l'univers étonne chez Milton. Peut être chez lui eſt-il puerile : chez Homère il eut été ſublime. Nos idées philoſophiques de la Divinité nuiſent au poëte. Les mêmes ornemens qui auroient relevé le Jupiter des Grecs, la defigurent. Le beau génie de Milton lutte contre le ſyſtême de ſa religion, et ne paroit jamais ſi grand que lorſqu'il en eſt un peu affranchi : pendant qu'un Properce déclamateur froid et foible, ne doit ſa renommée qu'au ſpectacle riant de ſa mythologie.

XIV. Mais

Moyens de sentir les beautés.

XIV. Mais nous, placés sous un autre Ciel, nés dans un autre siècle, nous perdrions nécessairement toutes ces beautés, faute de pouvoir nous placer au même point de vue, où se trouvoient les Grecs et les Romains. Une connoissance détaillée de leur siècle, est le seul moyen qui puisse nous y conduire. Quelques idées superficielles, quelques lumières puisées au besoin dans un commentaire, ne nous laisseront saisir que les beautés les plus sensibles et les plus apparentes : toutes les graces, toutes les finesses de leurs ouvrages nous échapperont ; et nous traiterons de gens sans goût leurs contemporains, pour leur avoir prodigué des éloges, dont notre ignorance nous empêchera de sentir la justesse. La connoissance de l'antiquité, voilà notre vrai commentaire : mais ce qui est plus nécessaire encore, c'est un certain esprit qui en est le résultat ; esprit qui non seulement nous fait connoître les choses, mais qui nous familiarise avec elles, et nous donne à leur égard les yeux des anciens. Le fameux exemple de Perrault peut faire sentir ce que je veux dire : la grossiereté des siècles héroïques choquoit le Parisien. En vain Boileau lui remontroit-il qu'Homère vouloit et devoit peindre les Grecs, et non point les François ; son esprit demeuroit convaincu, sans être persuadé *. Un goût antique (j'entens pour les idées de convention) l'eût éclairé plus que toutes les leçons de son adversaire.

Images artificielles tiennent à l'amour de la gloire.

XV. J'ai dit, il y un moment, que la raison autorisoit ces images artificielles, mais au tribunal de l'amour de la gloire, je ne sais si la décision seroit la même. Nous aimons tous la gloire : mais rien n'est plus différent que la nature et le degré de cet amour. Chaque homme varie dans sa manière de l'aimer. Cet écrivain n'aime que les éloges de ses contemporains. La mort met fin à toutes ses espérances et à toutes ses craintes. Le tombeau qui couvre son corps peut ensevelir son nom. Un tel homme peut sans scrupule employer des images familières aux seuls juges dont il recherche les applaudissemens. Cet autre lègue son nom à la postérité la plus reculée †. Il se plait à penser que, mille ans après sa mort, l'Indien des bords du Gange, et le Laponois au milieu de ses glaces, liront ses ouvrages, et porteront envie au pays et au siècle qui l'ont vû naître.

Celui qui écrit pour tous les hommes ne doit puiser que dans des sources communes à tous les hommes, dans leur cœur et dans le spectacle de la nature. Le seul orgueil peut l'engager à passer ces limites. Il peut présumer

* V. les Remarques de M. Despréaux sur Longin.

† Vie de Bacon par Mallet, p. 27.

que la beauté de ſes écrits lui aſſurera toujours des Burmans, qui travailleront à l'expliquer, et qui l'admireront encore plus, parcequ'ils l'auront expliqué.

XVI. Non-ſeulement le caractère de l'auteur, mais encore celui de ſon ouvrage, influë à cet égard ſur ſa conduite. La haute poëſie, l'épopée, la tragédie, et l'ode emprunteront plus rarement ces images que la comédie et la ſatire, parcequ'elles peignent les paſſions, et que celles-ci crayonnent les mœurs. Horace et Plaute ſont preſqu'inintelligibles à quiconque n'a pas appris à vivre, et à penſer comme le peuple Romain. Le rival de Plaute, l'élégant Térence eſt mieux entendu, parcequ'il a ſacrifié la plaiſanterie au bon goût, au lieu que Plaute a immolé les bienſéances à la plaiſanterie. Térence ſongeoit qu'il peignoit des Athéniens; tout dans ſes pièces eſt Grec, hormis le langage *: Plaute ſavoit qu'il parloit à des Romains: on retrouve chez lui à Thebes, à Athènes, à Calydon, les mœurs, les loix et juſqu'aux bâtimens de Rome †. Et à la nature du ſujet.

XVII. Dans les poëtes heroïques les mœurs, bien quelles ne faſſent pas le fond de leurs tableaux, en ornent ſouvent le lointain. Il eſt impoſſible de ſentir le plan, l'art, et les détails de Virgile, ſans être inſtruit a fonds de l'hiſtoire, des loix, et de la religion des Romains, de la géographie de l'Italie, du caractère d'Auguſte, de la rélation ſingulière et unique que ce Prince ſoutenoit avec le ſénat et le peuple ‡. Rien de plus frappant, et de plus intéreſſant pour ce peuple, que le contraſte de Rome couverte de paille, renfermant trois mille citoyens dans ſes murs ‖, avec cette même Rome capitale de l'univers, dont les maiſons étoient des palais, les citoyens des princes, et les provinces des empires. Puiſque Florus a ſû ſaiſir ce contraſte §, on Contraſte de l'enfance et de la grandeur de Rome.

* V. Terent. Eunuch. Act ii. Sc. ii. Heauton. Act i. Sc. i.

Les *Capedinarii* dont parle Térence ne detruiſent point cette réfléxion. Ce mot (quand-même on n'adopteroit pas la conjecture de Saumaiſe) étoit devenu d'un nom propre, un nom appellatif. V. Térence Eunuch. Act. ii. Sc. ii.

† Amphytr. Act. i. Sc. i. Quid faciam nunc, ſi Treſviri me in carcerem compegerint, &c.

‡ V. les Diſſertations de M. de la Bleterie ſur le pouvoir des Empereurs. Mem de l'Acad. des Belles-Lettres, tom. xix. p. 357—457. tom. xxi. p. 299, &c. tom. xxiv. p. 261. &c. p. 279. &c.

‖ Varron de Ling. Latina, L. iv. Dionyſ. Halycarn. L. xi. p. 76. Plutarch. in Romul.

§ Voyez ſes paroles: " Sora (quis credat?) et Algidum terrori fuerunt. Satricum et Cor-" niculum provinciæ. De Verulis et Bovillis pudet; ſed triumphavimus. Tibur nunc ſub-" urbanum, et æſtivæ Prænesse, deliciæ, nuncupatis in capitolio votis petebantur. Idem tunc " Fæſulæ, quod Carræ nuper. Idem nemus Aricinum, quod Hercynius ſaltus: Fregellæ quod " Geſſoriacum:

on peut croire que Virgile ne l'a pas manqué. Il l'a peint des traits d'un grand maître. Evandre conduit ſon hôte par ce village, où tout juſqu'au monarque, reſpiroit la ruſticité. Il lui en explique les antiquités, et le poëte laiſſe habilement entrevoir à quoi ce village, ce capitole futur, caché par les ronces, étoit réſervé*. Que ce tableau eſt vif! Que ce contraſte eſt parlant pour un homme inſtruit dans l'antiquité! Qu'il eſt fade aux yeux de celui qui n'apporte à la lecture de Virgile, d'autre préparation qu'un goût naturel, et quelque connoiſſance de la langue Latine!

Art de Virgile.

XVIII. Mieux on poſsède l'antiquité, plus on admire l'art de ce poëte. Son ſujet étoit aſſez mince. La ſuïte d'une bande d'exilés, le combat de quelques villageois, l'établiſſement d'une bicoque, voilà les travaux tant vantés du pieux Enée. Mais le poëte les a annoblis, et il a ſû en les annobliſſant, les rendre encore plus intéreſſans. Par une illuſion trop fine pour ne pas ſe dérober au commun des lecteurs, et trop heureuſe pour déplaire aux juges, il embellit les mœurs des ſiècles héroïques, mais il les embellit ſans les déguiſer†. Le pâtre Latinus et le ſéditieux Turnus ſont transformés en

" Geſſoriacum: Tiberis quod Euphrates. Coriolos, quoque, proh pudor! victos, adeo glo-
" riæ fuiſſe ut captum oppidum C. Marcius Coriolanus, quaſi Numantiam aut Africam, no-
" mini induerit extant, et parta de Antio ſpolia, quos Mœnius in ſuggeſtu fori, captâ hoſtium
" claſſi, ſuſſixit; ſi tamen illa, claſſis: nam ſex fuere roſtratæ. Sed hic numerus illis initiis
" navale bellum fuit (1)." Properce a entrevu cette idée, mais confuſement.

" Coſſus, at inſequitur Veïentes cæde Tolumni
" Vincere dum Veïos poſſe, laboris erat.
" Nec dum ultra Tiberim, belli ſonus, ultima præda
" Nomentum, et captæ jugera terna Coræ (2)."

Mais dans toute la tirade il mêle deux idées, qui par elles mêmes et par leurs effets, ſont très différentes. La comparaiſon de Rome floriſſante avec Rome naiſſante, pénétre l'ame d'un ſentiment de grandeur et de plaiſir. Au lieu que ces campagnes incultes où paroiſſoient à peine les débris de l'ancienne Veïes, inſpirent la mélancolie et l'attendriſſement.

* Virg. Æneid. L. viii. V. 185—370.

Hinc ad Tarpeïam ſedem et Capitolia ducit,
Aurea nunc, olim ſylveſtribus horrida dumis.
———armenta videbant
Romanoque foro et lautis mugire Carinis.

† Rien de plus difficile pour un écrivain élevé dans le luxe, que de peindre ſans baſſeſſe des mœurs ſimples. Liſez l'Epitre de Penelope dans Ovide, vous vous y ſentirez révolté de cette même ruſticité qui vous enchante chez Homère. Liſez Mademoiſelle de Scudéry, vous ſerez déſagréablement ſurpris de retrouver à la cour de Tomyris la pompe de celle de Louis XIV. Il faut être fait à ces mœurs pour en ſaiſir le ton. La réflexion a tenu lieu d'expérience à Virgile, et peut-être à Fenelon. Ils ont connu qu'il les falloit orner un peu, pour ménager la délicateſſe de leurs concitoyens; mais qu'on choqueroit cette même délicateſſe, ſi on les fardoit beaucoup.

(1) L. Annæi Flori, L. i. C. xi.

(2) Propertii Eleg. L. iv. Eleg. xi. V. 23.

monarques

monarques puiſſans. Toute l'Italie craint pour ſa liberté. Enée triomphe des hommes et des dieux. Virgile fait encore faire rejaillir ſur les Troyens toute la gloire des Romains. Le fondateur de Rome fait diſparoître celui de Lavinium. C'eſt un feu qui s'allume. Bientôt il embraſera toute la terre. Enée (ſi j'oſe hazarder l'expreſſion) contient le germe de tous ſes deſcendans. Aſſiégé dans ſon camp, il nous rappelle Céſar et Alexia *. Nous ne partageons point notre admiration.

Jamais Virgile n'employe mieux cet art, que lorſque, deſcendu aux enfers avec ſon héros, ſon imagination en paroît affranchie. Il n'y crée point d'êtres nouveaux et fantaſques. Romulus et Brutus, Scipion et Céſar s'y montrent, tels que Rome les admira ou les craignit.

XIX. On lit les Georgiques avec ce goût vif qu'on doit au beau, et avec ce plaiſir délicieux que l'aménité de leur objet inſpire à toute ame honnête et ſenſible. On pourroit cependant ſentir croitre ſon admiration, ſi l'on découvroit chez leur auteur un but auſſi relevé que l'exécution en eſt achevée. Je puiſe toujours mes exemples chez Virgile. Ses beaux vers et les préceptes de ſon ami Horace, fixèrent le goût des Romains, et peuvent inſtruire la poſtérité la plus reculée. Mais pour développer mes idées, il faut les prendre d'un peu loin. Les Georgiques.

XX. Les premiers Romains combattoient pour la gloire et pour la patrie. Depuis le ſiège de Veïes † ils recevoient une paye aſſez modique, et quelquefois des recompenſes après les triomphes ‡ ; mais ils les recevoient comme une grace, et non comme une dette. La guerre finie, chaque ſoldat devenu citoyen, ſe retiroit dans ſa cabane et y ſuſpendoit ſes armes inutiles, prêt à les reprendre au premier ſignal. Les vétérans.

Quand Sylla rendit la tranquillité à la république, les choſes étoient bien changées. Plus de trois cens mille hommes, accoutumés au carnage et au luxe §, ſans biens, ſans patrie, ſans principes, exigeoient des recompenſes. Si le dictateur les leur avoit données en argent, ſuivant le taux établi enſuite par Auguſte, elles lui auroient couté plus de trente deux millions de notre

* J'aurois dû dire Aleſia. Alexia eſt une leçon fautive de quelques éditions des commentaires ; mais les plus anciens manuſcrits, d'accord avec les autres écrivains, portent conſtamment Aleſia (1).

† Liv. L. iv. c. 59, 60. ‡ Liv. L. xxx. c. 45, &c. Arbuthnot's Tables, p 181, &c.

§ Saluſt in Bell. Catilin. p. 22. Edit. Thyſii.

(1) Notice de l'ancienne Gaule, par M. d'Anville, p. 49.

monnoye *, somme immense dans les tems les plus prospères, mais alors au-dessus des facultés de la république. Sylla embrassa un parti, que la nécessité et son intérêt particulier, plutôt que le bien de l'état, lui dictèrent : il donna des terres aux soldats. Quarante sept légions furent dispersées dans l'Italie. On fonda vingt quatre colonies militaires †. Expédient ruineux : si on les mêloit, ils quittoient leurs habitations pour se retrouver ; si on les laissoit en corps, le premier séditieux y trouvoit une armée toute prete ‡. Ces vieux guerriers ennuyés du repos, et trouvant au-dessous d'eux d'acheter par la sueur ce qui pouvoit ne couter que du sang §, dissiperent leurs nouveaux biens par la débauche, et n'esperant de salut que dans une guerre civile, servirent puissamment les desseins de Catilina ‖. Auguste, pressé par les mêmes embarras, suivit le même plan, et en craignit les mêmes suites. La triste Italie fumoit encore

" Des feux qu'à raliumé sa liberté mourante ¶."

* Ce taux étoit de trois mille drachmes, ou douze mille sesterces pour le simple légionaire(1), du double pour le cavalier et le centenier, et du quadruple pour le tribun (2). La légion Romaine, depuis l'augmentation de Marius(3), étoit de six mille fantassins, et de trois cens chevaux. Ce grand corps n'avoit que soixante six officiers, savoir soixante centeniers et six tribuns. Voila le calcul :

	Liv. Sterl.
282,000 légionaires à 3000 drachmes ou 12,000 sesterces, ou 105 l. sterling chacun,	28,905,000
2,820 centeniers et 14,100 cavaliers à 6000 drachmes ou 210 livres sterling chacun,	3,468,600
282 tribuns à 12,000 drachmes ou l. 410 chacun,	115,620
En tout l.	32,489,220

Suivant les calculs de M. Arbuthnot cette somme ne seroit que de l. 30,705,220, la drachme valant $7\frac{1}{4}$ sous d'Angleterre (4). Mais quelques recherches que j'aie faites, la drachme Attique des derniers tems, égale au denier Romain en poids comme en valeur, valoit $8\frac{1}{5}$ de cette monnoye (5).

† Liv. L. lxxxix. Epitom. Freinsheim. Suppl. L. lxxxix. c. 34.

Sur l'article des colonies militaires on peut consulter les Cenotaphia Pisana du Cardinal Norris. Le second chapitre de sa première dissertation contient des détails très instructifs sur cette matière.

‡ Tacit. Annal. xiv. p. 249. Edit. Lipsii.

§ Tacit. de Mor. Germani, p. 441.

‖ Salust. in Ball. Catilin. p. 40. Cicero in Catilin. Orat. ii. c. 9.

¶ Racin. Mithrid. Act. iii. Sc. 1.

(1) Dion. Cass. L. liv. Lipf. Ex. ad. L. i. Annal. Tacit. C.

(2) Wotton's History of Rome, p. 154.

(3) Rosin. Antiq. p. 964.

(4) Arbuth. Tables, p. 15.

(5) V. mes Rem. MSS. sur les poids, &c. des anciens. Hooper, p. 108. et Eisenschmidt, p. 23, &c.

Les

Les hardis vétérans n'avoient acheté leurs poſſeſſions que par une guerre ſanglante, et leurs fréquens actes de violence montroient aſſez qu'ils ſe croioient toujours les armes à la main *.

XXI. Qu'-y-avoit-il alors de plus aſſorti à la douce politique d'Auguſte, que d'employer les chants harmonieux de ſon ami, pour les réconcilier à leur nouvel état ? Auſſi lui conſeilla-t-il de compoſer cet ouvrage. But de Virgile.

Da facilem curſum, atque audacibus annue cœptis ;
Ignaroſque viæ mecum miſeratus agreſtes,
Ingredere ; et votis jam nunc aſſueſce vocari †.

L'agriculture avoit cependant plus de cinquante écrivains Grecs ‡; les livres de Caton et de Varron étoient des guides plus ſûrs, plus minutieux, et plus exacts que ne pouvoit l'être un poëte. Mais il falloit faire goûter à des ſoldats le repos de la campagne plutôt que de les inſtruire dans les principes de l'agriculture ? De là toutes ces deſcriptions touchantes des plaiſirs innocens du campagnard, ſes jeux, ſes foyers, ſes retraites délicieuſes oppoſées aux amuſemens frivoles des hommes, et à leurs affaires plus frivoles que leurs amuſemens.

Il y a dans ce tableau de ces traits vifs et inattendus, de ces détours cachés et heureux, qui montrent dans Virgile, un génie pour la ſatyre, que des vues ſupérieures et la bonté de ſon cœur l'empêchoient ſeules de cultiver §. Quel vétéran ne ſe reconnoiſſoit pas dans le vieillard Corycien ‖ ? Comme eux accoutumé aux armes dès ſa jeuneſſe, il trouvoit enfin le bonheur dans une retraite ſauvage, que ſes travaux avoient transformée en un lieu de délices ¶.

L'Italien las de mener une vie remplie de craintes légitimes, déploroit avec Virgile les malheurs du tems, et plaignoit ſon prince de ſe voir emporté par la violence des vétérans,

Ut cum carceribus ſeſe effudêre quadrigæ,
Addunt in ſpatium, et fruſtra retinacula tendens
Fertur equis auriga, neque audit currus habenas **.

et recommençoit ſes travaux dans l'eſpoir d'un nouveau ſiècle d'or.

* V. Donat. in Vit. Virgil. Virgil, Eclog. ix. v. 2, &c.
† Virg. Georg. L. i. v. 40. ‡ Varro de Re Ruſtic. L. i. c. 1.
§ Hic petit excidiis urbem, miſeroſque penates,
Ut gemmâ bibat, et Sarrano dormiat oſtro. Virg. Georg. L. ii. v. 505, &c.
‖ Virg. Geor. L. iv. v. 125. et ſeq.
¶ Il étoit du nombre des pirates auxquels Pompée avoit donné des terres. V. Serv. in Loc. et Vell. Pater. L. ii. p. 56.
** Virg. Georg. L. i. v. 512.

XXII. Si

Son succès.

XXII. Si l'on adopte mes idées, Virgile n'eſt plus un ſimple écrivain, qui décrit les travaux ruſtiques. C'eſt un nouvel Orphée, qui ne manie ſa lyre, que pour faire dépoſer aux ſauvages leur férocité, et pour les réunir par les liens des mœurs et des loix *.

Ses chants produiſirent cette merveille. Les vétérans s'accoutumerent inſenſiblement au repos. Ils paſſerent en paix les trente ans qui s'écoulerent avant qu'Auguſte eût établi, non ſans beaucoup de difficulté, un tréſor militaire pour les payer en argent †.

La Critique. Idée de la critique.

XXIII. Ariſtote, qui portoit la lumière dans les ténèbres de la nature et de l'art, eſt le pere de la critique. Le tems dont la juſtice lente, mais ſure, met enfin la vérité à la place de l'erreur, a briſé les ſtatues du philoſophe, mais a confirmé les déciſions du critique. Deſtitué d'obſervations, il a donné des chimeres pour des faits. Formé dans l'école de Platon, et dans les écrits d'Homère, de Sophocle, d'Euripide et de Thucydide, il a puiſé ſes régles dans la nature des choſes et dans la connoiſſance du cœur humain. Il les a éclaircies par les exemples des plus grands modèles.

Deux mille ans ſe ſont écoulés depuis Ariſtote. Les critiques ont perfectionné leur art. Cependant ils ne ſont pas encore d'accord ſur l'objet de leurs travaux. Les le Clerc, les Couſin, les Des-maiſeaux, les de Sainte-Marthe ‡, nous en offrent des définitions différentes. Pour moi, je les crois toutes ou trop partiales, ou trop arbitraires. La critique eſt, ſelon moi, l'art de juger des écrits et des écrivains, ce qu'ils ont dit, s'ils l'ont bien dit, s'ils ont dit vrai §. De la première de ces branches découle la grammaire, la connoiſſance des langues et des manuſcrits, le diſcernement des ouvrages ſuppoſés, le rétabliſſement des endroits corrompus. Toute la théorie de la poëſie et de l'éloquence ſe tire de la ſeconde. La troiſième ouvre un champ immenſe, l'examen et la critique des faits. On pourroit donc diſtinguer la nation des critiques, en critiques grammairiens, en critiques rhéteurs et en

* Sylveſtres homines ſacer interpreſque Deorum
Cædibus et victu fœdo deterruit Orpheus ;
Dictus ob hoc lenire tigres rabidoſque leones. Horat. Ars Poet. v. 391.

† Tillemont. Hiſt. des Emper. Tacit. Annal. L. i. p. 39. Dionyſ. L. lv. p. 565. Sueton. in Auguſt. c. 49.

‡ Clerici Ars Crit. L. i. c. 1.

§ Il faut borner ce vrai au vrai hiſtorique, à la vérité de leurs témoignages et non de leurs opinions. Cette dernière eſpèce de vérité eſt plutôt du reſſort de la logique que de celui de la critique.

critiques

critiques hiſtoriens. Les prétenſions excluſives des premiers ont nui non ſeulement à leur travail, mais à celui de leurs confreres.

XXIV. Tout ce qu'ont été les hommes, tout ce que le génie a créé, tout ce que la raiſon a peſé, tout ce que le travail a recueilli, voilà le département de la critique. La juſteſſe d'eſprit, la fineſſe, la pénétration, ſont toutes néceſſaires pour l'exercer dignement. Je ſuis le littérateur dans ſon cabinet, je le vois entouré des productions de tous les ſiècles : ſa bibliotheque en eſt remplie : ſon eſprit en eſt éclairé, ſans en être chargé. Il étend ſes regards de tous côtés. L'auteur le plus éloigné du travail de l'inſtant, n'eſt pas oublié : un trait lumineux pourroit s'y rencontrer, qui confirmeroit les découvertes du critique ou qui ébranleroit ſes hypothèſes. Le travail de l'érudit eſt achevé. Le philoſophe de nos jours s'y arrête et loue la mémoire du compilateur. Celui-ci en eſt quelquefois la dupe, et prend les matériaux pour l'édifice. Matériaux du critique.

XXV. Mais le vrai critique ſent que ſa tâche ne fait que commencer. Il pèſe, il combine, il doute, il décide. Exact et impartial, il ne ſe rend qu'à la raiſon, ou à l'autorité qui eſt la raiſon des faits *. Le nom le plus reſpectable le cède quelquefois au témoinage d'écrivains auxquels les circonſtances ſeules donnent un poids momentané. Prompt et fécond en reſſources, mais ſans fauſſe ſubtilité, il oſe ſacrifier l'hypothèſe la plus brillante, la plus ſpécieuſe, et ne fait point parler à ſes maîtres le langage de ſes conjectures. Ami de la vérité, il cherche le genre de preuves qui convient à ſon ſujet, et il s'en contente. Il ne porte point la faux de l'analyſe ſur ces beautés délicates, qui ſe fanent ſous la touche la moins rude ; mais auſſi, peu content d'une admiration ſtérile, il fouille juſques dans les principes les plus cachés du cœur humain, pour ſe rendre raiſon de ſes plaiſirs et de ſes dégoûts. Modeſte et ſenſé il n'étale point ſes conjectures comme des vérités, ſes inductions comme des faits, ſes vraiſemblances comme des démonſtrations. Opérations du critique.

XXVI. On a dit que la géométrie étoit une bonne logique, et l'on a cru lui donner un grand éloge : il eſt plus glorieux aux ſciences de développer ou de perfectionner l'homme, que de reculer les bornes de l'univers. Mais la critique ne peut-elle pas partager ce titre ? Elle a même cet avantage : la géométrie s'occupe de démonſtrations qui ne ſe trouvent que chez elle ; la critique balance les différens degrés de vraiſemblance. C'eſt en les comparant que nous reglons tous les jours nos actions, que nous décidons ſouvent de notre ſort †. Balançons des vraiſemblances critiques. La critique une bonne logique.

* C'eſt-à dire, l'autorité combinée avec l'expérience.

† Il s'agit principalement des élémens de la géométrie et de ceux de la critique.

Controverſe ſur l'hiſtoire Romaine.

XXVII. Notre ſiècle, qui ſe croit deſtiné à changer les loix en tout genre, a enfanté un Pirrhoniſme hiſtorique, utile et dangereux. M. de Pouilly, eſprit brillant et ſuperficiel, qui citoit plus qu'il ne liſoit, douta de la certitude * des cinq premiers ſiècles de Rome ; mais ſon imagination peu faite pour ces recherches, céda facilement à l'érudition et à la critique de M. Freret et de l'Abbé Sallier †. M. de Beaufort fit revivre cette controverſe, et l'hiſtoire Romaine ſouffrit beaucoup des attaques d'un écrivain, qui ſavoit douter et qui ſavoit décider.

Traité entre Rome et Carthage.

XXVIII. Un traité des Romains et des Carthaginois devint entre ſes mains une objection accablante ‡. Ce traité ſe rencontre chez Polybe, hiſtorien exact et éclairé ‖. L'original ſe conſervoit à Rome de ſon tems. Cependant ce monument authentique contredit tous les hiſtoriens. L. Brutus et M. Horatius y paroiſſent comme exerçant le conſulat enſemble, quoiqu'Horatius n'y parvint qu'après la mort de Brutus. Les Romains y ont des ſujets qui n'étoient encore que leurs alliés. On entend parler de la marine d'un peuple qui ne conſtruiſit ſes premiers vaiſſeaux que dans la première guerre Punique, deux cens cinquante ans après le conſulat de Brutus. Quelles concluſions fatales ne tire-t-on pas de cette contrariété ? Elles ſont toutes au déſavantage des hiſtoriens.

Le traité éclairci.

XXIX. Cette objection a fort embaraſſé les adverſaires de M. de Beaufort. Ils ont douté de l'authenticité de ce monument original. Ils en ont avancé la datte. Tachons par une explication vraiſemblable de concilier le monument et les hiſtoriens. Séparons d'abord la datte d'avec le corps du

Les conſuls.

traité. Celui-ci eſt du tems de Brutus. Celle-là eſt de la façon de Polybe ou de ſes antiquaires Romains. Les noms des conſuls ne ſe liſoient jamais dans les traités ſolemnels, dans les *fœdera* conſacrés par toutes les cérémonies de la religion. Les ſeuls miniſtres de cette religion, les *féciaux*, les ſignoient: et cette circonſtance diſtinguoit les *fœdera* et les *ſponſiones*. Nous devons ce détail à Tite Live §. Il fait diſparoître la difficulté. Les antiquaires auront

* Une définition claire de cette certitude ſur laquelle on ſe diſputoit, auroit pu abréger la controverſe. " C'eſt la certitude hiſtorique." Mais cette certitude varie de ſiècle en ſiècle. Je crois en gros à l'exiſtence et aux actions de Charlemagne: mais la certitude que j'en ai, n'eſt point égale à celle des exploits d'Henri quatre.

† V. Mem. de l'Acad. des Belles-Lettres, tom. vi. p. 14. 190.

‡ Diſſert. ſur l'Incertit. de l'Hiſt. Rom. p. 33—46. ‖ Polyb. Hiſt. L. iii. c. 22.

§ Spoponderunt conſules, legati, quæſtores, tribuni militum, nominaque eorum qui ſpoponderunt adhuc exſtant, ubi ſi ex fœdere acta res eſſet præterquam duorum fecialium non extarent. Tit. Liv. L. ix. c. 5.

pris les féciaux pour les conſuls. Mais ſans ſonger à cette mépriſe, ces antiquaires que rien n'obligeoit à la préciſion dans l'explication des monumens publics, ont marqué l'année du régifuge, par les noms célebres du fondateur de la liberté et de celui du capitole. Il leur importoit peu de s'aſſurer s'ils exercerent le conſulat enſemble.

XXX. Les peuples d'Ardée, d'Antium, de Terracine n'étoient point ſujets des Romains, ou s'ils l'étoient, les hiſtoriens nous ont donné une idée très fauſſe de l'étendue de la république. Tranſportons-nous dans le ſiècle de Brutus, et puiſons dans la politique des Romains, une définition du terme d'allié aſſez éloignée de la notre. Rome, quoique la dernière colonie des Latins, ſongea de bonne heure à réunir toute cette nation ſous ſes loix. Sa diſcipline, ſes héros et ſes victoires lui acquirent bientôt une ſupériorité décidée. Fiers, mais politiques, les Romains en uſerent avec une ſageſſe digne de leur bonheur. Ils comprirent que des cités mal-aſſervies arrêteroient les armes, épuiſeroient les tréſors, et corromproient les mœurs de la république. Sous le nom plus ſpécieux d'alliés, ils ſurent faire aimer leur joug aux vaincus. Ceux-ci conſentirent avec plaiſir à reconnoître Rome pour la capitale de la nation Latine, et à lui fournir un corps de troupes dans toutes ſes guerres. La république ne leur devoit qu'une protection, marque de ſa ſouveraineté et qui leur coutoit ſi cher. Ces peuples étoient alliés de Rome, mais ils virent bientôt eux-mêmes qu'ils en étoient eſclaves *. Les ſujets des Romains.

XXXI. Cette explication diminue la difficulté, me dira-t-on, mais ne la diſſipe pas. Ὑπηκοοι, l'expreſſion dont ſe ſert Polybe, ſignifie ſujet, dans le ſens propre du mot. Je ne le conteſterai pas. Mais nous n'avons que la traduction de ce traité ; et ſi l'on accorde à ſes copies une confiance conditionelle pour le fond des choſes, il ne doit pas être permis de rien conclure de leurs expreſſions priſes à la rigueur. Les aſſemblages d'idées ſont ſi arbitraires, les nuances ſi légères, les langues ſi différentes, que le plus habile traducteur peut chercher des expreſſions équivalentes, mais n'en trouve guères que de ſemblables †. Le langage de ce traité étoit ancien. Polybe ſe fia aux antiquaires Romains. La vanité leur groſſit les objets. *Fœderati* ne ſignifie pas des alliés égaux : rendons le, dirent ils, par ſujets.

XXXII. La marine des Romains embaraſſe encore nos critiques. Polybe nous aſſure que la flotte de Duillius fut leur premier eſſai dans ce Leur marine.

* Tit. Liv. L. viii. c. 4.
Le préteur Annius appelle le gouvernement des Romains, *Regnum impotens.*
† V. Cleric. Ars Critic. L. ii. c. 2. § 1, 2, 3.

genre *. Eh bien, Polybe ſe trompe, puiſqu'il ſe contredit ; voilà toute ma concluſion. Mais en admettant même ſon récit, l'hiſtoire Romaine ne s'écrouleroit cependant pas. Voici une hypothèſe qui explique ce phénomène d'une manière raiſonnable ; et c'eſt tout ce qu'on eſt en droit d'exiger d'une hypothèſe. Tarquin opprime le peuple et les ſoldats. Il s'approprie tout le butin. On ſe dégoute de la milice. On équipe de petits bâtimens qui font des courſes ſur mer. La république naiſſante les protège, mais met un frein par ce traité à leurs déprédations. Des guerres continuelles, la paye qu'on accorde aux troupes de terre, font negliger la marine ; et dans un ſiècle ou deux, on oublie qu'elle a jamais exiſté †. Polybe aura parlé d'une façon un peu trop générale.

XXXIII. D'ailleurs la première marine des Romains ne pouvoit être compoſée que de bâtimens à cinquante rames. Gelon et Hieron conſtruiſirent des vaiſſeaux plus grands ‡. Les Grecs et les Carthaginois les imiterent ; et dans la première guerre Punique, les Romains mirent en mer de ces vaiſſeaux à trois ou quatre rangs de rames, qui étonnent encore nos antiquaires et nos méchaniciens. Cet armement étoit bien propre à faire oublier leurs eſſais antiques et groſſiers §.

Réflexions ſur cette diſpute.

XXXIV. J'ai défendu avec plaiſir une hiſtoire utile et intéreſſante. Mais j'ai voulu ſurtout montrer par ces réfléxions, combien ſont délicates les diſcuſſions de la critique, où il ne s'agit pas de ſaiſir la démonſtration, mais de comparer le poids des vraiſemblances oppoſées ; et combien il faut ſe défier des ſyſtêmes les plus éblouiſſans, puiſqu'il y en a ſi peu qui ſoutiennent l'épreuve d'un examen libre et attentif.

La critique une prâtique ſans être une routine.

XXXV. Une nouvelle conſidération embaraſſe la critique d'une nouvelle difficulté. Il eſt des ſciences qui ne ſont que des connoiſſances : leurs principes ſont des vérités de ſpéculation et non des maximes de conduite. Il eſt plus facile de comprendre ſtérilement une propoſition, que de ſe la rendre familière, de l'appliquer avec juſteſſe, de s'en ſervir comme d'un guide dans ſes études, et d'un flambeau dans ſes découvertes.

* Polyb. L. i. c. 20.

† Je ne dis rien de la flotte qui parut devant Tarente. Je crois que les vaiſſeaux appartenoient aux habitans de Thuricun. Voyez Frenſheim Supplem. Livian. L. xii. c. 8.

‡ Arbuthnot's Tables, p. 225. Hiſt. du commerce des anciens, par Huet. c. 221.

§ On peut voir une autre hypothèſe du célebre M. Freret. Elle plait par ſa ſimplicité, mais elle me paroît inſoutenable. Voy. Mémoires de l'Académ. des Belles-Lettres, tom. xviii. p. 102, &c.

La marche de la critique n'eſt point une routine. Ses principes généraux ſont vrais, mais ſtériles. Celui qui ne connoit qu'eux, ſe méprend également, qu'il veuille les ſuivre ou qu'il ôſe s'en écarter. Le génie plein de reſſources, maître des régles, mais maître auſſi des raiſons des régles, paroît ſouvent les mépriſer. Sa route nouvelle et hardie ſemble l'en éloigner : mais ſuivez-le juſqu'au bout, vous voyez en lui un admirateur, mais un admirateur éclairé des mêmes régles, qui ſont toujours la baſe de ſes raiſonnemens et de ſes découvertes. Que toutes les ſciences fuſſent *legum non hominum reſpublica*, voilà le ſouhait du peuple des ſavans. Son accompliſſement feroit ſon bonheur : mais on ne ſait que trop que le bonheur des peuples et la gloire de ceux qui les éclairent ou qui les gouvernent, ſont des objets ſouvent différens, et quelquefois oppoſés. Les ſavans du premier ordre ne veulent que des études ſemblables à la lance d'Achille : elle n'étoit faite que pour les mains du héros. Eſſayons de la manier.

Le poëte peut-il s'écarter de l'hiſtoire ?

XXXVI. Le légiſlateur de la critique a prononcé, que le poëte doit rendre les héros tels que l'hiſtoire nous les fait connoître :

Aut famam ſequere, aut ſibi convenientia finge,
*Scriptor ; Homereum * ſi forte reponis Achillen.*
Impiger, iracundus, inexorabilis, acer,
Jura neget ſibi nata, nihil non arroget armis, &c. †

Réduirons-nous donc le poëte au rôle d'un froid annaliſte ? Lui ôterons-nous ce grand pouvoir de la fiction, ce contraſte, ce choc des caractères, ces ſituations inattendues où l'on tremble pour l'homme, où l'on admire le héros ? Ou-bien, plus amis des beautés que des régles, lui pardonnerons-nous plus aiſément les anachroniſmes que l'ennui ?

La loi et raiſon de la loi. Exemple de Virgile.

XXXVII. Charmer, attendrir, élever l'eſprit, c'eſt-là l'objet de la poëſie. Les loix partiales ne doivent jamais faire perdre de vue qu'elles ne ſont que des moyens deſtinés à aider ſes opérations, et non à les embaraſſer. On a vu que la philoſophie hériſſée de démonſtrations, oſe à-peine entamer les idées reçues ; comment la poëſie pourroit-elle eſpérer de plaire qu'en s'y prêtant ? Nous nous plaiſons à revoir les héros et les évènemens de l'antiquité : paroîſſent-ils traveſtis, ils produiſent la ſurpriſe, mais une ſurpriſe qui révolte contre les nouveautés. Lorſqu'un auteur veut hazarder quelque changement, il doit réflechir s'il en naît une beauté frappante ou légère, mais

* V. Bentley et Sanadon au v. 120. de l'Art Poëtique d'Horace.
† Horat. Ars Poet. v. 119. et ſeq.

toujours proportionée à la violation des loix. Ce n'eſt qu'à ce prix qu'il peut racheter ſon attentat.

Les anachroniſmes d'Ovide nous déplaiſent*. La vérité y eſt corrompue ſans être embellie. Que le Mézence de Virgile eſt d'un caractère différent! Ce prince ne périt que par les armes d'Aſcagne. † Mais quel lecteur aſſez glacé pour y ſonger un inſtant, lorſqu'il voit Enée, miniſtre des vengeances céleſtes, devenir le protecteur des nations opprimées, lancer la foudre ſur la tête du coupable tyran, mais s'attendrir ſur la victime infortunée de ſes coups, le jeune et pieux Lauſus digne d'un autre pere, et d'un deſtin plus propice? Que de beautés l'hiſtoire faiſoit perdre au poëte! Encouragé par ce ſuccès, il l'abandonne quand il eut dû la ſuivre. Enée arrive dans l'Italie ſi déſirée; les Latins accourent pour défendre leurs foyers, tout menace du plus ſanglant combat.

" Dejà de traits en l'air s'élevoit un nuage;
" Dejà couloit le ſang prémices du carnage ‡."

Le nom d'Enée fait tomber les armes aux ennemis. Ils craignent de combattre ce guerrier, dont la gloire s'éleve des cendres de ſa patrie. Ils courent embraſſer ce prince annoncé par tant d'oracles, qui leur apporte du fond de l'Aſie, ſes dieux, une race de héros, et la promeſſe de l'empire de l'univers. Latinus lui offre un azile et ſa fille. ‖ Quel coup de théatre! Qu'il étoit digne de la majeſté de l'épopée, et de la plume de Virgile! Qu'on lui compare, ſi on l'ôſe, l'ambaſſade d'Ilioneus, le palais de Latinus, et le diſcours du monarque §.

Eclairciſſemens et reſtrictions.

XXXVIII. Que le poëte, je le répète encore, ôſe hazarder, pourvû que le lecteur retrouve toujours dans ſes fictions, ce même degré de plaiſir que la vérité et les convenances lui euſſent offert. Qu'il ne bouleverſe pas les annales d'un ſiècle pour dire une antithèſe. L'invention ne trouvera pas cette loi trop ſévère, ſi elle réfléchit que le ſentiment appartient à tous les

* En matière de géographie et de chronologie on doit peu compter ſur l'autorité d'Ovide. Ce poëte étoit d'une ignorance groſſière dans ces deux ſciences. Liſez la déſcription des voyages de Médée; Metamorph. L. vii. v. 350. à 402. et le xiv. L. des mêmes Metamorph. Celle-là eſt remplie d'erreurs géographiques, qui donnent la torture aux commentateurs-mêmes: et celui-ci fourmille de bévues chronologiques.

† Serv. ad Virg. Æneid. L. iv. v. 620. Dion. Halycarn. Antiq. Rom. L. i.

‡ Racin. Iphig. Act v. Sc. dern. ‖ Tit. Liv. L. i. c. 1.

§ Virg. Æneid. L. vii. v. 148 juſqu'à 285.

hommes,

hommes, que les connoiſſances ne ſont le partage que d'un petit nombre, et que le beau agit plus puiſſamment ſur l'ame que le vrai ſur l'eſprit. Qu'elle ſe ſouvienne toute fois qu'il eſt des écarts que rien ne peut faire oublier. L'imagination forte de Milton, la verſification harmonieuſe de Voltaire, ne nous reconcilieroient jamais avec Céſar lâche, Catilina vertueux, Henri IV. vainqueur des Romains. Diſons en raſſemblant nos idées, que les caractères des grands hommes doivent être ſacrés; mais que les poëtes peuvent écrire leur hiſtoire, moins comme elle a été, que comme elle eut dû être; qu'une création nouvelle révolte moins que des changemens eſſentiels, parce que ceux-ci ſuppoſent l'erreur, et celle-là une ſimple ignorance; et qu'enfin on rapproche plus aiſement les tems que les lieux.

On doit ſans doute de l'indulgence aux ſiècles reculés, où les ſyſtêmes des chronologiſtes ſont les fictions des poëtes, à l'agrément près. Quiconque ôſe condamner l'épiſode de Didon eſt plus philoſophe ou moins homme de goût que moi *.

XXXIX. Plus

* On peut douter cependant ſi cet épiſode bleſſe la véritable chronologie. Dans le ſyſtême plauſible du Chevalier Newton, Enée et Didon ſe trouvent contemporains (1). Les Romains devoient mieux connoître l'hiſtoire de Carthage que les Grecs. Les archives de Carthage étoient paſſées à Rome (2). La langue Punique y étoit aſſez connue (3). Les Romains conſultoient volontiers les Africains ſur leurs origines (4). D'ailleurs (et c'eſt aſſez pour diſculper notre poëte) Virgile adopte une chronologie plus conforme aux ſupputations de Newton qu'à celles d'Eratoſthène. Peut-être on ne ſera pas faché de voir les preuves de ce ſentiment.

Sept ans ſuffirent à peine au courroux de Junon et aux voyages d'Enée. C'eſt Didon qui me l'apprehend;

" ——— Nam te jam ſeptima portat
" Omnibus errantem terris et fluctibus ætas (5)."

Quelques mois après il arriva au bord du Tibre. Ce fut-là que le Dieu du fleuve lui apparut, lui prédit de nouveaux combats, mais lui fit eſpérer une fin glorieuſe à ſes maux. Un prodige confirma l'oracle. Une truye couchée ſur le rivage montroit, par ſes trente petits qui l'environnoient, le nombre d'années qui devoient s'écouler avant que le jeune Aſcagne jettât les fondemens l'Albe :

" Jamque tibi, ne vana putes hæc fingere ſomnum,
" Littoreis ingens inventa ſub ilicibus ſus,
" Triginta capitum fœtus enixa, jacebit;
" Alba, ſolo recubans, albi circum ubera nati.
" Hic locus urbis erit, requies ea certa laborum:
" Ex quo ter denis urbem redeuntibus annis
" Aſcanius clari condet cognominis Albam (6)."

(1) V. Newton's Chronology of ancient Kingdoms reformed, p. 32.
(2) Univerſal Hiſtory, tom. xviii. p. 111, 112. (3) Plaut. Penul. Act v. Sc. 1.
(4) Saluſt. in Bell. Jugurth. c. 17. Ammian Marcel. L. xxii. Mem. de l'Acad. des Belles Lettres, tom. iv. p. 464. (5) Virgile Eneid. L. i. v. 755. (6) Idem. L. viii. v. 42.

Cette

Les Sciences Naturelles.

XXXIX. Plus on a approfondi les ſciences, plus on a vû qu'elles êtoient toutes liées. On a crû voir un bois immenſe. Au premiere coup d'œil tous les arbres qui le formoient paroiſſoient iſolés, mais a-t-on percé la ſuperficie, on a vû que toutes les racines étoient entremêlées.

Il n'y a point d'étude, pas même la plus chétive et la moins connue, qui n'offre quelquefois des faits, des ouvertures, des objections à la plus ſublime et à la plus eloignée des connoiſſances. J'aime à peſer ſur cette conſidération.

Cette ville demeura pendant trois cens ans le ſiège de l'empire et le berceau des Romains ;

" Hic jam ter centos totos regnabitur annos
" Gente ſub Hectorea (1)."

Ce ſont-là les expreſſions que Virgile met à la bouche de Jupiter. Nos chronologiſtes s'embaraſſent peu de faire tenir ſa parole au Maître du tonnerre. Ils font détruire la ville d'Albe par Tullus Hoſtilius près de cinq cens ans après ſa fondation, et environ cent ans après celle de Rome (2). Mais tout s'applanit dans le ſyſtême de Newton. La priſe de Troyes placée à l'an 504, et ſuivie d'un intervalle de 337 ans, nous conduit à 567, 60 ans après les Palilia, époque qui quadre au-mieux avec le regne du troiſieme ſucceſſeur de Romulus (3). Une ancienne tradition conſervée par Plutarque (4) y coïncide avec préciſion. On déterra les livres de Numa, An. ant. Chr. 181, quatre cens ans après la mort de ce roi et le commencement du regne d'Hoſtilius. Numa mourut donc 581 ans avant l'ère Chrétienne. Quel art dans le poëte de ſaiſir le moment où Enée arrive à Carthage, pour répondre à ſes critiques, de la ſeule manière que la rapidité de ſa marche et la grandeur de ſon ſujet pouvoient le lui permettre ! Il leur fait ſentir que dans ſes hypothèſes la rencontre de Didon et d'Enée n'eſt point une licence poëtique. Virgile n'eſt point le ſeul qui ait revoqué en doute la chronologie vulgaire des rois Latins. Je le ſoupçonne même d'avoir puiſé ſes idées dans les ouvrages de ſon contemporain Trogue-Pompée. Cet hiſtorien, le rival de Tite-Live et de Saluſte (5), donnoit au royaume d'Albe la même durée de trois cens ans. Si ſon hiſtoire univerſelle ne s'étoit pas perdue, nous y verrions apparemment le détail et les preuves de cette opinion. A préſent il faut nous contenter d'en lire la ſimple expoſition chez ſon abréviateur. " Albam longam condidit quæ trecentis annis caput " regni fuit (6)." Tite-live lui-même, ce pere de l'hiſtoire Romaine, qui fait paroître quelquefois tant d'attachement à la chronologie reçue (7), mais qui gliſſe d'ordinaire ſur les endroits ſcabreux, d'une façon qui montre ſa bonne foi et ſon ignorance, ſemble ſe défier de ſes guides dans ces ſiècles reculés. Rien de plus naturel que de marquer la durée du regne de chaque roi Latin dont il rapporte le nom (8) ! Or il ſe tait ſur cet article. Rien de plus néceſſaire que de fixer au-moins l'intervale entre Enée et Romulus ; il ne le fait point. Ce n'eſt pas tout. " La " deſtruction d'Albe, dit il, ſuivit de 400 ans ſa fondation (9)." En retranchant cent ans pour les regnes de Romulus et de Numa, et pour la moitié de celui d'Hoſtilius, il nous en reſtera 300 au-lieu de 400 que nous donneroit la chronologie d'Eratoſthène. Tite-Live eſt donc d'accord avec Virgile à peu de choſe près ; et cette petite différence affermit leur union plutôt qu'elle ne l'affoiblit. Je prévois une objection, mais des plus minces. Y répondre ce ſeroit créer des monſtres pour les combattre ; ainſi, je finis cette digreſſion déjà trop longue.

(1) Virgile Eneid. L. i. v. 272.
(2) V. les Tables Chronolog. d'Helvicus. è l. ann. A. C. 656, &c.
(3) Newton's Chronology, p. 52, &c.
(4) V. Plutarch. in Numa.
(5) Flav. Vopiſc. in Proem. Aurelian.
(6) Juſtin. L. xliii. c. 1.
(7) Tit. Liv. L. i. c. 18. et alibi paſſim.
(8) Tit. Liv. L. 1. c. 29.
(9) Idem. l. i. c. 29.

Il

Il faut faire voir aux nations et aux profeſſions différentes, leurs beſoins réciproques. Montrez à l'Anglois les avantages du François ; faites connoître au phyſicien les ſecours que la littérature lui préſente ; l'amour propre ſupplée à ce que la diſcrétion vous a fait ſupprimer. Ainſi la philoſophie s'étend : l'humanité gagne. Les hommes étoient rivaux ; ils ſont freres.

XL. Dans toutes les ſciences nous nous appuyons ſur les raiſonnemens et ſur les faits. Sans ceux-ci nos études ſeroint chimériques ; privées de ceux-là elles ne ſauroient être qu'aveugles. C'eſt ainſi que les Belles-Lettres ſont mélangées. Toutes les branches de l'étude de la nature, qui cache ſouvent ſous une petiteſſe apparente une grandeur réelle, le ſont pareillement. Si la phyſique à ſes Buffons, elle a auſſi (pour parler le langage du tems) ſes érudits. La connoiſſance de l'antiquité leur offre aux uns et aux autres, une riche moiſſon de faits propres à dévoiler la nature, ou du moins à empêcher ceux qui l'etudient, de prendre un nuage pour une divinité. Quelles lumières le medecin ne puiſe-t-il pas dans la deſcription de la peſte qui déſola Athènes ? J'admire avec lui la force majeſteuſe de Thucydide *, l'art et l'énergie de Lucrèce † ; mais il va plus loin : il étudie dans les maux des Athéniens ceux de ſes concitoyens. Liaiſon de la phyſique et de la littérature.

Je ſais que les anciens s'appliquoient peu aux ſciences naturelles ; que deſtitués d'inſtrumens, et iſolés dans leurs travaux, ils n'ont pû raſſembler qu'un petit nombre d'obſervations mêlées d'incertitudes, diminuées par les injures du tems, et jettées au hazard dans un grand nombre de volumes ‡ : mais la pauvreté doit-elle inſpirer la négligence ? L'activité de l'eſprit humain s'excite par les difficultés. La néceſſité, mere du relâchement, ſeroit un aſſemblage étrange.

XLI. Les partiſans mêmes les plus zélés des modernes, ne diſconviendront pas, je penſe, des ſecours que les anciens poſſédoient et dont nous manquons. Je rappelle en frémiſſant les ſpectacles ſanglans des Romains. Le ſage Cicéron les déteſtoit et les mépriſoit ||. La ſolitude et le ſilence l'emportoient de Avantages des anciens. Spectacles de l'amphithéâtre.

* Thucydid. l. i. † Lucret. de Rer. Natur. L. vii. v. 1136, &c.

‡ M. Freret croyoit les obſervations philoſophiques des anciens plus exactes qu'on ne le penſe. Quiconque connoit le génie et les lumières de M. Freret, ſent le poids de ſon autorité. V. Mem. de l'Academ. des Belles-Lettres, tom. xviii. p. 97.

|| Ciceron envie le ſort de ſon ami Marius qui paſſa à la campagne les jours des jeux magnifiques de Pompée. Il parle avec aſſez de mépris du reſte des ſpectacles : mais il s'attache ſurtout

de beaucoup chez lui, ſur ces chefs-d'œuvre de magnificence, d'horreur et de mauvais goût *. En effet, ſe plaire au carnage, n'eſt digne que d'une troupe de ſauvages. On ne pouvoit élever des palais, pour y faire combattre des bêtes, que chez un peuple qui préféroit les décorations aux beaux vers, et les machines auv ſituations †. Mais tels étoient les Romains ; leurs vertus, leurs vices, et juſqu'à leurs ridicules étoient tous liés à leur principe dominant, l'amour de la patrie.

Cependant ces ſpectacles, ſi affreux aux yeux du philoſophe, ſi frivoles à ceux de l'homme de goût, devoient être bien précieux pour le naturaliſte. Qu'on ſe repréſente le monde épuiſé pour fournir ces jeux, les tréſors des riches et le pouvoir des grands mis en œuvre pour déterrer des créatures ſingulières par leur figure, par leur force, ou par leur rareté, pour les amener dans l'amphithéâtre de Rome, et pour mettre en jeu l'animal entier ‡. Ce devoit être une école admirable, ſurtout pour cette partie la plus noble de l'hiſtoire naturelle, qui s'applique plutôt à étudier la nature et les propriétés des animaux, qu'à décrire leurs os et leurs cartilages. Souvenons-nous que Pline a fréquenté cette école, et que l'ignorance a deux filles l'incrédulité et la foi aveugle. Ne deffendons pas moins notre liberté contre l'une que contre l'autre.

tout aux combats des bêtes ſauvages. " Reliquæ ſunt venationes, (dit il) binæ per dies " quinque ; magnifice, nemo negat, ſed quæ poteſt homini eſſe polito delectatio, cum aut " homo imbecillus à valentiſſimâ beſtia laniatur at præclara beſtia venabulo tranſver- " beratur."

* Cicero ad Famil. L. vii. Epiſt. 1. † Horat. L. iii. Ep. 1. v. 187.

‡ V. Eſſais de Mont. vol. iii. p. 140.

Mon exemple étoit très bon, ma citation fort mauvaiſe. J'aurois du récourir à l'original, (1) Vopiſcus. Cet auteur rapporte à l'occaſion du triomphe de Probus, qu'on amena dans l'amphithéâtre cent lions, autant de lionnes, cent leopards Libyens, le même nombre de Syriens, et trois cens ours. Je ne connois point de ſpectacle plus nombreux, mais les animaux que Gordien avoit aſſemblés, et dont ſe ſervit Philipe dans ſes jeux ſéculaires étoient plus curieux par leur variété et par leur rareté. Il y avoit trente-deux éléphans, dix élans, dix tigres, ſoixante lions apprivoiſés, trente léopards apprivoiſés, dix hyenes, un hippopotame, un rhinoceros, dix *agriolcontes* (2), dix *camelopardali*, vingt ânes ſauvages, et quarante chevaux ſauvages (3). C'eſt principalement dans la décadence de l'empire et du goût, qu'il faut chercher cette magnificence.

(1) V. Vopiſc. in vit. Prob. p. 240. edit. Salmas. Paris 1620.

(2) On ignore ce qu'ils ſont, Saumaiſe lit *argolcontes*, des lions blancs (*a*) ; Caſaubon et Scaliger (*b*) *agrioleontes* des lions ſauvages.

(3) Jul. Capitolin. in Gordian. p. 164.

(*a*) Comment. Salmas. in Hiſt. Aug. 263. (*b*) Comment. Caſaub. in cand. Hiſt. p. 269.

XLII. Si l'on ſort de ce théâtre, pour entrer dans un autre plus vaſte, et pour examiner quelles étoient les contrées ſoumiſes aux naturaliſtes et aux phyſiciens de l'antiquité, nous ne les plaindrons pas.

Païs où les phyſiciens anciens étudioient la nature.

Je ſais que la navigation nous a ouvert un nouvel hemiſphère ; mais je ſais auſſi que la découverte d'un matelot et le voyage d'un marchand, n'éclairent pas toujours le monde, comme ils l'enrichiſſent. Les limites du monde connu ſont plus étroites que celles du monde matériel ; et les bornes du monde éclairé ſont encore plus reſſerrées. Du tems des Pline, des Ptolomée, et des Galien, l'Europe à préſent le ſiége des ſciences, l'étoit également ; mais la Grece, l'Aſie, la Syrie, l'Egypte, l'Afrique, païs féconds en miracles, étoient remplis d'yeux dignes de les voir. Tout ce vaſte corps étoit uni par la paix, par les loix et par la langue. L'Africain et le Breton, l'Eſpagnol et l'Arabe ſe rencontroient dans la capitale, et s'inſtruiſoient tour-à-tour. Trente des premiers de Rome, ſouvent éclairés eux mêmes, toujours accompagnés de ceux qui l'étoient *, partoient tous les ans de la capitale pour gouverner les provinces, et pour peu qu'ils euſſent de curioſité, l'autorité applaniſſoit les routes de la ſcience.

XLIII. C'étoit ſans doute de ſon beau-pere Agricola, que Tacite apprît que l'océan inondoit la grande Bretagne, et rendoit ce païs un amas de marais †. Herodien nous confirme ce fait ‡. Cependant aujourdhui, à quelques endroits près, le terrein de notre île eſt aſſez élevé §. Pourroit-on ranger ce fait parmi ceux qui confirment le ſyſtême de la diminution des eaux ? Trouvera-t-on dans les ouvrages des hommes, de quoi affranchir le païs du joug de l'océan ? Le ſort du marais de Pomptine ‖ et de quelques autres, nous

La grande Bretagne inondée par l'ocean.

* V. Strab. L. xvii. p. 816. Edit. Caſaub.

† Tacit. in Vit. Agricol. c. 10,

‡ Herodian. Hiſt. l. iii. c. 47.

§ Voici les paroles d'Herodien, " Τὰ γὰρ πλεῖστα τῆς βρεττανῶν χώρας ἐπικλύζομενα ταῖς τῦ ὠκεανῦ συνεχῶς ἀμπωτισιν ἑλώδη γίνεται.

Tacite s'exprime d'une manière encore plus forte. " Unum addiderim (dit-il) nuſquam " latius dominari mare ; multum fluminum huc atque illuc ferri, nec littore tenus accreſcere aut " reſorberi, ſed influere penitus atque ambire ; etiam jugis atque montibus influere velut " in ſuo."

‖ Le conſul Céthegus deſſécha ce marais. A. U. C. 592. Du tems de Jules-Céſar il étoit derechef inondé. Ce dictateur avoit deſſein d'y faire travailler. Il paroît qu'Auguſte le fit ; mais je doute que ſes travaux ayent mieux réuſſi que les premiers. Du-moins Pline l'appelle encore marais. Horace l'avoit en quelque ſorte prédit.

" Debemur morti nos noſtraque
" Sterilis ut palus dudum aptaque remis
" Vicinas urbes alit et grave ſenſit aratrum."

Frenſheim. Supp. L. xlvi. c. 44. Sueton. L. i. c. 34. Plin. Hiſt. Nat. L. iii. c. 5.

donneroit d'aſſez minces idées de leurs travaux. Quoiqu'il en ſoit, content d'avoir fourni les matériaux, j'en laiſſe l'emploi aux phyſiciens. Ce n'eſt pas chez les anciens qu'on apprend à n'approfondir rien, à effleurer chaque choſe, et à parler avec le plus de hardieſſe des ſujets qu'on entend le moins.

L'ESPRIT PHILOSOPHIQUE.

Prétenſions à l'eſprit philoſophique.

XLIV. " Après l'eſprit de diſcernement, ce qu'il y a de plus rare au " monde (dit le judicieux la Bruyere) ce ſont les perles et les diamans." Je mets ſans balancer l'eſprit philoſophique avant celui de diſcernement. C'eſt la choſe du monde la plus pronée, la plus ignorée et la plus rare. Il n'y a point d'écrivain qui n'y aſpire. Il ſacrifie de bonne grace la ſcience. Pour peu que vous le preſſiez, il conviendra que le jugement ſévère embaraſſe les opérations du génie : mais il vous aſſurera toujours que cet eſprit philoſophique qui brille dans ſes écrits, fait le caractère du ſiècle où nous vivons. L'eſprit philoſophique d'un petit nombre de grands hommes, a formé, ſelon lui, celui du ſiècle. Celui-ci s'eſt répandu dans tous les ordres de l'état, et leur a préparé à-ſon-tour de dignes ſucceſſeurs.

Ce qu'il n'eſt pas.

XLV. Cependant ſi nous jettions les yeux ſur les ouvrages de nos ſages, leur diverſité nous laiſſeroit dans l'incertitude ſur la nature de ce talent ; et celle-ci pourroit nous conduire à douter s'il leur eſt tombé en partage. Chez les uns il conſiſte à ſe frayer des routes nouvelles, et à fronder toute opinion dominante, fut-elle de Socrate ou d'un Inquiſiteur Portugais, par la ſeule raiſon qu'elle eſt dominante. Chez les autres cet eſprit s'identifie avec la géométrie, cette reine impèrieuſe qui, non contente de regner, proſcrit ſes ſœurs, et déclare tout raiſonnement peu digne de ce nom, s'il ne roule pas ſur des lignes et ſur des nombres. Rendons juſtice à l'eſprit hardi, dont les écarts ont quelquefois conduit à la vérité, et dont les excès mêmes, comme les rébellions des peuples, inſpirent une crainte ſalutaire au deſpotiſme. Pénétrons-nous bien de tout ce que nous devons à l'eſprit géometre : mais cherchons pour l'eſprit philoſophique, un objet plus ſage que celui-là, et plus univerſel que celui-ci.

Ce qu'il eſt.

XLVI. Quiconque s'eſt familiariſé avec les écrits de Cicéron, de Tacite, de Bacon, de Leibnitz, de Bayle, de Fontenelle, de Monteſquieu, s'en fera fait une idée auſſi juſte et bien plus parfaite que celle que j'eſſaierai de tracer.

L'eſprit philoſophique conſiſte à pouvoir remonter aux idées ſimples ; à ſaiſir et à combiner les premiers principes. Le coup d'œil de ſon poſſeſſeur eſt juſte, mais en même tems étendu. Placé ſur une hauteur, il embraſſe une grande étendue de païs, dont il ſe forme une image nette et unique, pendant

que des eſprits auſſi juſtes, mais plus bornés n'en découvrent qu'une partie. Il peut être géomètre, antiquaire, muſicien, mais il eſt toujours philoſophe, et à-force de pénétrer les premiers principes de ſon art, il lui devient ſupérieur. Il a place parmi ce petit nombre de génies qui travaillent de loin-en-loin à former cette première ſcience à laquelle, ſi elle étoit perfectionnée, les autres ſeroient ſoumiſes. En ce ſens cet eſprit eſt bien peu commun. Il eſt aſſez de génies capables de recevoir avec juſteſſe des idées particulières; il en eſt peu qui puiſſent renfermer dans une ſeule idée abſtraite, un aſſemblage nombreux d'autres idées moins générales.

Le ſécours qu'il peut tirer de la littérature.

XLVII. Quelle étude peut former cet eſprit? Je n'en connois aucune. Don du ciel, le grand nombre l'ignore ou le mépriſe; les ſages le ſouhaitent; quelques uns l'ont reçu; nul ne l'acquiert: mais je crois l'étude de la littérature, cette habitude de devenir, tour-a-tour, Grec, Romain, diſciple de Zénon ou d'Epicure, bien propre à le développer et à l'exercer. A-travers cette diverſité infinie d'eſprits, on remarque une conformité générale entre ceux à qui leur ſiècle, leur païs, leur religion ont inſpiré une manière a-peu près pareille d'enviſager les mêmes objets. Les ames les plus exemptes de prejugés, ne ſauroient s'en défaire entièrement. Leurs idées ont un air de paradoxe; et en briſant leurs chaines, vous ſentez qu'elles les ont portées. Je cherche chez les Grecs des fauteurs de la démocratie; des enthouſiaſtes de l'amour de la patrie chez les Romains; chez les ſujets des Commode, des Sévère ou des Caracalla, des apologiſtes du pouvoir abſolu; et chez l'Epicurien de l'antiquité *, la condamnation de ſa religion. Quel ſpectacle pour un eſprit vraiment philoſophique de voir les opinions les plus abſurdes reçues chez les nations les plus éclairées, des barbares parvenus à la connoiſſance des plus ſublimes vérités, des conſéquences vraies, mais peu juſtes, tirées des principes les plus erronés, des principes admirables qui approchoient toujours de la vérité ſans jamais y conduire, le langage formé ſur les idées, et les idées juſtifiées par le langage, les ſources de la morale partout les mêmes, les opinions de la contentieuſe métaphyſique partout variées, d'ordinaire extravagantes, nettes ſeulement pendant qu'elles furent ſuperficielles, ſubtiles, obſcures, incertaines, toutes les fois qu'elles prétendirent à la profondeur! Un ouvrage Iroquois, fut-il rempli d'abſurdités, ſeroit un morceau impayable. Il offriroit une expérience unique de la nature de l'eſprit humain, placé dans des circonſtances que nous n'avons jamais éprouvées, et dominé par des mœurs

* Depuis qu'Epicure eut répandu ſa doctrine, on commença à ſe déclarer aſſez publiquement ſur la religion dominante, et à ne la regarder que comme une inſtitution. V. Lucret. de Rer. Natur. L. i. v. 62, &c. Saluſt. in Bell. Catilin. c. 51. Cicero pro Cluent. c. 61.

et des opinions religieuſes totalement contraires aux notres. Quelquefois nous ſerions frappés et inſtruits par la contrariété des idées qui en naitroient; nous en chercherions les raiſons; nous ſuivrions l'ame d'erreur en erreur. Quelquefois auſſi nous reconnoitrions avec plaiſir nos principes, mais découverts par d'autres routes, et preſque toujours modifiés et altérés. Nous y apprendrions non ſeulement à avouer, mais à ſentir la force des préjugés, à ne nous étonner jamais de ce qui nous paroît le plus abſurde, et à nous défier ſouvent de ce qui nous ſemble le mieux établi.

J'aime à voir les jugemens des hommes prendre une teinture de leurs préventions, à les conſidérer qui n'oſent pas tirer des principes qu'ils reconnoiſſent pour être juſtes, les concluſions qu'ils ſentent être exactes. J'aime à les ſurprendre qui déteſtent chez le barbare, ce qu'ils admirent chez le Grec, et qui qualifient la même hiſtoire d'impie chez le Payen, et de ſacrée chez le Juif.

Sans cette connoiſſance philoſophique de l'antiquité, nous ferions trop d'honneur à l'eſpèce humaine. L'empire de la coutume nous ſeroit peu connu. Nous confondrions à tout moment l'incroyable et l'abſurde. Les Romains étoient éclairés; cependant ces mêmes Romains ne furent pas choqués de voir réunir dans la perſonne de Céſar un Dieu, un prêtre et un Athée *. Il vit élever des temples à ſa clémence †. Collégue de Romulus, il recevoit les vœux de la nation ‡. Sa ſtatue étoit couchée, dans les fêtes ſacrées, auprès de ce Jupiter qu'un inſtant après il alloit lui-même invoquer §. Fatigué de cette vaine pompe, il cherchoit Panſa et Trébatius pour ſe moquer avec eux de la crédulité du peuple, et de ces Dieux l'effet et l'objet de ſa terreur ‖.

XLVIII.

* Athée en niant ſinon l'exiſtence, du-moins la providence de la divinité; car Céſar étoit épicurien. Ceux qui ont envie de voir comment un homme d'eſprit peut rendre obſcure une vérité claire, liront avec plaiſir les doutes que M. Bayle a ſu répandre ſur les ſentimens de Céſar. V. Dict. de Bayle à l'article Céſar.

† V. Mémoires de l'Acad. des Bell. Lett. tom. i. p. 369, &c.

‡ Cicero ad Attic, L. xii. epiſt. 46, &c. L. xiii. epiſt. 28.

§ Céſar étoit ſouverain pontiſe, et ce ſacerdoce n'étoit point pour les empereurs un vain titre. Les belles diſſertations de M. de la Baſtie ſur le pontificat des empereurs convaincront les incrédules, s'il en eſt, ſur cet article. Conſultez ſurtout la troiſième de ces pièces inſérée dans les Mem. de l'Acad. des Belles-Lettres, tom. xv. p. 39.

‖ Lucrèce né avec cet enthouſiaſme d'imagination, qui fait les grands poëtes et les miſſionnaires, voulut être l'un et l'autre. Je plaindrois le théologien qui ne feroit pas grace au dernier en faveur du premier. Lucrèce, après avoir prouvé la Divinité malgré lui-même, en rapportant les phénomènes de la nature à des cauſes générales, cherche comment l'erreur qu'il combat

XLVIII. L'hiſtoire eſt pour un eſprit philoſophique, ce qu'étoit le jeu pour le Marquis de Dangeau *. Il voyoit un ſyſtême, des rapports, une ſuite, là, où les autres ne diſcernoient que les caprices de la fortune. Cette ſcience eſt pour lui celle des cauſes et des effets. Elle mérite bien que j'eſſaye de poſer quelques règles propres, non à faire germer le génie, mais à le garantir des écarts : peut-être que ſi on les avoit toujours bien peſées, on auroit pris plus rarement la ſubtilité pour la fineſſe d'eſprit, l'obſcurité pour la profondeur, et un air de paradoxe pour un génie créateur.

L'hiſtoire eſt la ſcience des cauſes et des effets.

XLIX. Parmi la multitude des faits, il y en a, et c'eſt le grand nombre, qui ne prouvent rien au-delà de leur propre exiſtence. Il y en a encore qui peuvent bien être cités dans une concluſion partiele, d'où le philoſophe peut juger des motifs d'une action, et d'un trait dans un caractère : ils éclairciſſent un chainon. Ceux qui dominent dans le ſyſtême général, qui y ſont liés intimément, et qui en ont fait mouvoir les reſſorts, ſont fort rares ; et il eſt plus rare encore de trouver des eſprits qui ſachent les entrevoir dans le vaſte cahos des évènemens, et les en tirer purs et ſans mélange.

Régles pour choiſir les faits.

A ceux qui ont plus de jugement que d'érudition, il paroîtra peu néceſſaire d'avertir qu'on doit toujours proportionner les cauſes aux effets, ne pas bâtir ſur l'action d'un homme le caractère d'un ſiècle, ne pas chercher dans un effort unique, forcé et ruineux, la meſure des forces et des richeſſes d'un état, et ſe ſouvenir que ce n'eſt qu'en raſſemblant qu'on peut juger, qu'un fait éclatant éblouit comme un éclair, mais qu'il inſtruit peu, ſi l'on ne le compare avec d'autres de la même eſpèce. Le peuple Romain fit voir en

combat a pu s'emparer de tous les eſprits. Il en trouve trois raiſons : I. Nos ſonges ; nous y voyons des êtres et des effets que nous ne rencontrons point dans ce monde ; nous leur accordons auſſitôt une exiſtence réelle et une puiſſance immenſe. II. Notre ignorance de la nature, qui nous fait recourir par tout à l'action de la Divinité. III. Notre crainte, l'effet de cette ignorance ; elle nous engage à flechir devant les calamités qui ravagent la terre, et nous fait eſſayer d'appaiſer par nos prières quelque être inviſible qui nous afflige. Lucrèce exprime cette dernière raiſon avec une énergie et une rapidité qui nous enlève. Il ne nous accorde point le tems de l'examiner.

" Præterea cui non animus formidine Divûm,
" Contrahitur ? cui non conrepunt membra pavore,
" Fulminis horribili cum plaga torrida tellus
" Contremit, et magnum percurrunt murmura cœlum ?
" Non populi, genteſque tremunt ? Regeſque ſuperbi
" Conripiunt Divûm perculſi membra timore,
" Ne quod ob admiſſum fœde dictumve ſuperbe
" Pœnarum grave ſit ſolvendi tempus adactum."

Lucret. de Rer. Natura, L. v. ver. 1216, &c.

* Fonten. dans l'Eloge du Marq. de Dangeau.

éliſant Caton, qu'il aimoit mieux être corrigé que flaté *, dans ce même ſiècle, où il condamna la même ſévérité dans la perſonne de Livius Salinator †.

L. Déférez plutôt aux faits qui viennent d'eux-mêmes vous former un ſyſtême, qu'à ceux que vous découvrez après avoir conçû ce ſyſtême. Préférez ſouvent les petits traits aux faits brillans. Il en eſt d'un ſiècle ou d'une nation comme d'un homme. Alexandre ſe dévoile mieux dans la tente de Darius ‡ que dans les champs de Guagmela. Je reconnois tout autant la férocité des Romains à les voir condamner un malheureux dans l'amphithéâtre, qu'à les conſidérer qui étranglent un roi captif au pied du capitole. Il n'y a point d'apparat dans les bagatelles. On ſe déſhabille lors qu'on eſpère n'être pas vû ; mais le curieux cherche à pénétrer dans les retraites les plus ſecrettes. Pour décider ſi la vertu triomphoit chez un peuple dans un certain ſiècle, j'obſerve plutôt ſes actions que ſes diſcours. Pour le condamner comme vicieux, je fais plus attention à ſes diſcours qu'à ſes actions. On loue la vertu ſans la connoître, on la connoit ſans la ſentir, on la ſent ſans la pratiquer ; mais il en eſt bien différemment du vice. On s'y porte par paſſion ; on le juſtifie par rafinement. D'ailleurs, il y a toujours et partout de grands criminels ; mais ſi la corruption n'eſt pas générale, ceux-ci même reſpectent leur ſiècle. Si le ſiècle eſt vicieux, (et ils ſont habiles à le diſcerner,) ils le mépriſent, ils ſe montrent à découvert, ils bravent ſes jugemens ou ils eſpèrent de ſe les rendre favorables. Ils ne ſe trompent guères. Celui qui dans le ſiècle de Caton eût déteſté le vice, ſe contente d'aimer la vertu dans celui de Tibere.

Le ſiècle de Tibere le plus vicieux de tous.

LI. J'ai choiſi ce ſiècle avec réfléxion. Le vice parvint alors à ſon comble. La cour de Tibere me l'apprend, mais un petit fait conſervé par Suétone et par Tacite, m'en aſſure encore mieux ; le voici : la vertu des Romains puniſſoit de mort l'incontinence chez leurs femmes §. Leur politique permettoit la débauche chez les courtiſannes ‖ : et pour régler le déſordre même

* Liv. L. xxxix. c. 40. Plutarch. in Caton. † Liv. L. xxix. c. 37.

‡ Quint. Curt de Reb. Geſt. Alexandri, L. iii. c. 32.

§ Les Romains confioient le ſoin de la vertu des femmes à leur famille. Celle-ci s'aſſembloit, la jugeoit, ſi elle étoit accuſée, la condamnoit à mort et exécutoit la ſentence, ſi elle ſe trouvoit coupable. La loi pardonnoit auſſi au courroux du mari ou du pere qui tuoit le galant, ſurtout s'il étoit de condition ſervile. V. Plutarch. in Romul. Dionyſ. Halicarn. L. vii. Tacit. Annal. L. xiii. Valer. Maxim. L. vi. c. 3—7. Roſin. Antiq. Rom. L. viii. p. 859, &c.

‖ Le diſcours de Micio dans Terence, la manière dont Cicéron excuſe les débauches de ſon client, et l'exhortation de Caton, peuvent nous faire connoître la morale des Romains à cet égard. Ils ne blâmoient la débauche que lorſqu'elle détournoit le citoyen de ſes devoirs eſſentiels.

Leurs

même, on les forma en corps. Sous Tibere un grand nombre de femmes de condition, ne rougirent point de ſe préſenter publiquement devant leurs édiles, de ſe faire inſcrire dans le rôle des courtiſannes, et de briſer par leur propre infamie, la barrière que les loix oppoſoient à leur proſtitution *.

LII. Choiſir les faits qui doivent être les principes de nos raiſonnemens, on ſent combien la tâche eſt difficile. La négligence ou le mauvais goût d'un hiſtorien, peuvent nous faire perdre à-jamais un trait unique, pour nous étourdir du bruit d'un combat. Si les philoſophes ne ſont pas toujours hiſtoriens, il ſeroit du-moins à ſouhaiter que les hiſtoriens fuſſent philoſophes. Parallele de Tacite et de Tite-Live.

Je ne connois que Tacite qui ait rempli mon idée de cet hiſtorien philoſophe. L'intéreſſant Tite-Live lui-même ne ſauroit en ce ſens lui être comparé. L'un et l'autre ont bien ſu s'élever au-deſſus de ces compilateurs groſſiers qui ne voyent dans les faits que des faits : mais l'un a écrit l'hiſtoire en rhéteur, et l'autre en philoſophe. Ce n'eſt pas que Tacite ait ignoré le langage des paſſions, ou Tite-Live celui de la raiſon : mais l'un plus attaché à plaire qu'à inſtruire, vous conduit pas-à-pas à la ſuite de ſes héros, et vous fait éprouver tour-à-tour, l'horreur, l'admiration et la pitié. Tacite ne ſe ſert de l'empire que l'éloquence a ſur le cœur, que pour lier à vos yeux la chaine des évènemens, et remplir votre ame des plus ſages leçons. Je gravis ſur les Alpes avec Annibal ; mais j'aſſiſte au conſeil de Tibere. Tite-Live me peint l'abus du pouvoir, une ſévérité que la nature approuve en fremiſſant, la vengeance et l'amour qui s'uniſſent à la liberté, la tyrannie qui tombe ſous leurs coups † : mais les loix des décemvirs, leur caractère, leurs défauts, leurs rapports enfin avec le génie du peuple Romain, avec le parti des Décemvirs, avec leurs deſſeins ambitieux, il les oublie totalement. Je ne vois point chez lui comment ces loix faites pour une république bornée, pauvre, à demi-ſauvage, la bouleverſerent, lorſque la force de ſon inſtitution l'eut portée au faîte de la grandeur. Je l'aurois trouvé dans Tacite. J'en juge, non-ſeulement par la trempe connue de ſon génie, mais encore par ce

Leurs oreilles n'étoient pas plus chaſtes que leur conduite : peu de gens connoiſſent la Caſina de Plaute, mais ceux qui ont lu cette miſérable pièce, ne peuvent comprendre qu'il n'y ait eu que quarante à cinquante ans de cette farce à l'Andrienne. Une intrigue ſale d'eſclaves, n'y eſt relevée que par des pointes et des obſcénités dignes d'eux. C'étoit cependant la comédie de Plaute qu'on voyoit avec le plus de plaiſir, et qu'on redemandoit le plus ſouvent. Voilà les mœurs de la ſeconde guerre Punique, de cette vertu que la poſtérité des anciens Romains regrettoit et admiroit. V. Terent. Adelph. Act. i. Sc. 2. v. 38. Cicero pro Cœlio, c. 17. Horat. Satyr. L. i. Sat. 2. v. 29. II. Prolog ad Caſin. Plaut.

* Sueton. L. iii. c. 35. Tacit, Annal. L. ii. c. 85. † Liv. L. iii. c. 44—60.

tableau

tableau énergique et varié qu'il offre des loix, ces enfans de la corruption, de la liberté, de l'équité et de la faction *.

Remarque ſur une idée de M. d'Alembert.

LIII. Ne ſuivons point le conſeil de cet écrivain qui unit, comme Fontenelle, le ſavoir et le goût. Je m'oppoſe, ſans crainte du nom flétriſſant d'érudit, à la ſentence par laquelle ce juge éclairé, mais sévère, ordonne qu'à la fin d'un ſiècle on raſſemble tous les faits, qu'on en choiſiſſe quelques uns et qu'on livre le reſte aux flammes †. Conſervons-les tous précieuſement. Un Monteſquieu démêlera dans les plus chétifs, des rapports inconnus au vulgaire. Imitons les botaniſtes. Toutes les plantes ne ſont pas utiles dans la médicine, cependant ils ne ceſſent d'en découvrir de nouvelles. Ils eſperent que le génie et les travaux heureux y verront des propriétés juſqu'-à-préſent cachées.

On a fait les hommes trop ſyſtématiques ou trop capricieux.

LIV. L'incertitude eſt pour nous un état forcé. L'eſprit borné ne ſauroit ſe fixer dans cet équilibre dont ſe piquoit l'école de Pyrrhon. Le génie brillant ſe laiſſe éblouïr par ſes propres conjectures : il ſacrifie la liberté aux hypothèſes. De cette diſpoſition naiſſent les ſyſtêmes. On a vû du deſſein dans les actions d'un grand homme ; on a aperçu un ton dominant dans ſon caractère, et des ſpéculatifs de cabinet ont auſſitôt voulu faire de tous les hommes, des êtres auſſi ſyſtématiques dans la pratique que dans la ſpéculation. Ils ont trouvé de l'art dans leurs paſſions, de la politique dans leurs foibleſſes, de la diſſimulation dans leur inconſtance ; en un mot, à-force de vouloir faire honneur à l'eſprit humain, ils en ont ſouvent fait bien peu au cœur.

Juſtement choqués de leur rafinement, et fachés de voir étendre à tous les hommes, des prétentions qu'on eût du borner à un Philippe ou à un Céſar, des eſprits plus naturels ſe ſont jettés dans l'autre extrême. Ils ont banni l'art du monde moral, pour y ſubſtituer le hazard. Selon eux les foibles mortels n'agiſſent que par caprice. La fureur d'un écervelé établit un empire : la foibleſſe d'une femme le détruit.

Cauſes générales, mais déterminées.

LV. L'étude des cauſes déterminées, mais générales, doit plaire aux uns et aux autres. Ceux-ci y voyent avec plaiſir l'homme humilié, les motifs de ſes actions inconnus à lui-même, lui-même le jouet des cauſes étrangères, et de la liberté de chacun, l'origine d'une néceſſité générale. Ceux-là y retrouvent l'enchainement qu'ils aiment, et les ſpéculations dont leur eſprit ſe nourit.

* Tacit. Annal. L. iii. p. 84. edit. Lipſ.

† D'Alemb. Mélanges de philoſophie et de littérature, vol. ii. p. 1.

Qu'une

Qu'une vaſte carrière s'ouvre à mes réfléxions ! La théorie de ces cauſes générales ſeroit entre les mains d'un Monteſquieu, une hiſtoire philoſophique de l'homme. Il nous les feroit voir réglant la grandeur et la chute des empires, empruntant ſucceſſivement les traits de la fortune, de la prudence, du courage, et de la foibleſſe, agiſſant ſans le concours des cauſes particulières, et quelquefois même triomphant d'elles. Supérieur à l'amour de ſes propres ſyſtêmes, dernière paſſion du ſage, il auroit ſu reconnoitre que, malgré l'étendue de ces cauſes, leur effet ne laiſſe pas d'être borné, et qu'il ſe montre principalement dans ces évènemens généraux, dont l'influence lente mais ſûre change la face de la terre, ſans qu'on puiſſe s'apperçevoir de l'époque de ce changement, et ſurtout dans les mœurs, les religions, et tout ce qui eſt ſoumis au joug de l'opinion. Voila une partie des leçons que ce philoſophe eût tirées de ce ſujet. Pour moi, j'y trouve ſimplement une occaſion de m'eſſayer à penſer. Je vais indiquer quelques faits intéreſſans, et tâcherai enſuite d'en rendre raiſon.

Syſtême du paganiſme.

LVI. Nous connoiſſons le paganiſme, ce ſyſtême riant, mais abſurde, qui peuple l'univers d'êtres fantaſques, dont la puiſſance ſupérieure ne les rend que plus injuſtes et plus inſenſés que nous-mêmes. Quelle fut la nature et l'origine de ces dieux ? Furent-ils des princes, des fondateurs de ſociétés, des grands hommes inventeurs des arts ? Une reconnoiſſance ingénieuſe, une admiration aveugle, une adulation intéreſſée plaça-t-elle dans le ciel, ceux qui pendant leur vie avoient été nommés les bienfaiteurs de la terre ? Ou bien faut-il reconnoitre dans ces divinités, autant de parties de l'univers auxquelles l'ignorance des premiers hommes avoit accordé la vie et la penſée ? Cette queſtion eſt digne de notre attention : elle eſt curieuſe, mais elle eſt difficile.

Difficulté de connoitre une religion.

LVI. Nous ne connoiſſons guères le ſyſtême du Paganiſme que par les poëtes * et par les pères de l'Egliſe ; les uns et les autres très adonnés aux fictions †. Les ennemis d'une religion ne la connoiſſent jamais, parcequ'ils la haïſſent, et ſouvent la haïſſent parcequ'ils ne la connoiſſent pas. Ils adoptent contr'elle, avec empreſſement, les calomnies les plus atroçes. Ils imputent à leurs adverſaires des dogmes qu'ils déteſtent, et des conſéquences aux-quelles ils n'ont jamais ſongé. Les ſectateurs d'une religion,

* Il faut cependant diſtinguer Homère, Héſiode, Pindare, et les poëtes tragiques, qui vécurent pendant que la tradition étoit plus pure.

† Voyez ſur cette article la Recherche Libre du Docteur Midleton, et l'Hiſtoire de Manichéiſme de M. de Beauſobre, deux beaux monumens d'un ſiècle éclairé.

de l'autre côté, remplis de cette foi, qui ſe fait un crime de douter, ſacrifient pour ſa défenſe, leur raiſon et même leur vertu. Forger des prophéties, ou des miracles, pallier ce qu'ils ne peuvent défendre, allégoriſer ce qu'ils ne peuvent pallier, et nier hardiment ce qu'ils ne peuvent allégoriſer, ſont des moyens, que jamais dévot n'a rougi d'employer. Rappellons-nous les Chrétiens et les Juifs. Interrogez leurs ennemis ſur leur compte; c'étoient des magiciens et des idolatres *, eux, dont le culte étoit auſſi épuré, que leurs mœurs étoient ſévères. Jamais Muſulman n'a héſité ſur l'unité de Dieu †. Cependant combien de fois nos bons ayeux ne les ont-ils pas accuſés d'adorer les aſtres ‡ ? Dans le ſein même de ces religions, il s'eſt élévé cent ſectes différentes, qui, s'accuſant les unes les autres d'avoir corrompu leurs dogmes communs, ont inſpiré la fureur aux peuples et la modération aux ſages. Cependant ces peuples étoient civiliſés, et des livres reconnus pour être émanés de la divinité fixoient les principes de leur croyance. Mais où trouver ces principes, dans un amas confus de fables, qu'une tradition iſolée, contradictoire, altérée, dictoit à quelques tribus de ſauvages dans la Grece ?

Le raiſonnement nous aidera peu.

LVII. Le raiſonnement nous eſt ici d'un foible ſecours. Il eſt abſurde de conſacrer des temples à ceux dont on voit les ſépulcres. Qu'y a-t-il de trop abſurde pour les hommes ? Ne connoit-on pas des nations très éclairées, qui en appellent au témoignage des ſens pour les preuves d'une réligion, dont un dogme principal contredit ce témoignage ? Cependant ſi les dieux du paganiſme avoient été des hommes, le culte réciproque ‖ que leurs adorateurs leur rendoient, eût été bien peu raiſonnable, et une tolerance peu raiſonnable n'eſt pas l'erreur du peuple.

Penſée ſur le culte reciproque des ſectes Payennes.

Créſus envoye à Delphes.

LVIII. Créſus fait conſulter l'oracle de Delphes §, Alexandre traverſe les ſables brulans de la Lybie pour demander à Jupiter Ammon s'il eſt ſon fils ¶. Mais ce Jupiter Grec, ce roi de Crète, devenu le maître de la foudre, n'en eût-il pas écraſé cet Ammon, ce Lybien, ce nouveau Salmonée, qui tentoit de la lui arracher ? Deux rivaux ſe diſputent l'empire de l'univers, peut-on

Alexandre conſulte l'oracle de Jupiter Ammon.

* Tacit. Hiſt. L. v. Fleury. Hiſt. Eccleſ. tom. i. p. 369. et tom. ii. p. 5. et les Apologies de Juſtin Martyr et de Tertullien, qui y ſont citées.

† D'Herbelot. Bibliot. Orient. Artic. Allah. p. 100, et Sale's Alcoran. Prelim. Diſc. p. 71.

‡ Reland. de Rel. Mahomm. Part ii. c. 6 & 7.

‖ V. Warburton's Divine Legation, tom. i. p. 270—276.

§ Herodot. L. i. ¶ Diodor. Sic. L. xvii. Quint. Curt. L. iv. c. 7. Arrain. L. iii.

à la fois les reconnoitre tous deux ? Mais ſi l'un et l'autre ne furent que l'ether, le ciel, la même divinité, le Grec et l'Africain l'auront déſigné par les ſymboles qui convenoient à leurs mœurs, et par les noms que leurs langues leur fourniſſoient pour exprimer ſes attributs. Mais loin de nous les raiſonnemens, ce ſont les faits qu'il faut interroger. Ecoutons leur réponſe.

Le religion Grecque étoit d'origine Egyptienne.

LIX. Malheureux habitans des forêts, ces Grecs ſi orgeilleux tenoient tout des étrangers. Les Phéniciens leur apprirent l'uſage des lettres ; les arts, les loix, tout ce qui élève l'homme au deſſus des animaux, ils le durent aux Egyptiens. Ces derniers leur apportèrent leur religion, et les Grecs, en l'adoptant, payerent le tribut que l'ignorance doit au ſavoir. Le préjugé ne fit qu'une réſiſtance de bienſeance, et ſe rendit ſans difficulté, après avoir entendu l'oracle de Dodone, qui décida pour le nouveau culte *. Tel eſt le récit d'Hérodote, qui connoiſſoit la Grece et l'Egypte, et dont le ſiècle placé entre la groſſiéreté de l'ignorance et les rafinements de la philoſophie rend le témoignage déciſif.

La religion Egyptienne allégorique,

LX. Je vois déja diſparoitre une bonne partie des légendes Grecques, l'Apollon né dans l'îſle de Délos, le Jupiter enſéveli dans la Crète. Si ces dieux habiterent autrefois la terre, l'Egypte et non la Grèce fut leur patrie. Mais ſi les prêtres de Memphis furent auſſi bien leur religion que l'Abbé Banier †, jamais l'Egypte ne donna naiſſance à leurs dieux. A travers leur métaphyſique ténébreuſe, la raiſon luiſit aſſez pour leur faire ſentir que jamais homme ne peut devenir Dieu, ni jamais Dieu être transformé en ſimple homme ‡. Myſtérieux dans leurs dogmes et dans leur culte, ces interprètes du ciel et de la ſageſſe, déguisèrent, par un langage pompeux, les vérités de la nature, qu'un peuple groſſier eût mépriſées dans leur majeſtueuſe ſimplicité. Les Grecs méconnurent cette religion à bien des égards. Ils l'altérerent par des mélanges étrangers, mais le fonds demeura, et ce fonds Egyptien fut par conſéquent allégorique ‖.

LXI.

* Herodot. L. ii.

† Dans ſa mythologie expliquée par l'hiſtoire.

‡ Herodot. L. ii.

‖ Je dois beaucoup, dans ces recherches, au ſavant Freret de l'Academie des Belles-Lettres. Il a donné des ouvertures dans une route, qui paroiſſoit vue de tous cotés. Je crois cependant que ſes raiſonnemens valent mieux, lorſqu'il eſt queſtion de faits que quand il s'agit de dogmes. Prévenu d'eſtime pour ce littérateur, je dévorai avidement ſa réponſe à la chronologie Newtonienne ; mais oſerai-je le dire ? il ne répondit point à mon attente. Que lui reſte-t-il de nouveau, ſi vous lui otez les principes d'une théologie et d'une chronologie nouvelles, que nous poſſédions

Le culte héroique.

LXI. Le culte héroique, ſi bien diſtingué de celui des dieux dans les premiers ſiècles de la Grece, nous montre que les dieux n'étoient pas des héros *. Les anciens croyoient que les grands hommes, admis après leur mort aux feſtins des dieux, jouiſſoient de leur félicité, ſans participer à leur puiſſance. Ils s'aſſembloient autour des tombeaux de leurs bienfaiteurs ; leurs chants de louanges † célébroient leur mémoire, et faiſoient naitre une émulation ſalutaire de leurs vertus. Leurs ombres évoquées des enfers goûtoient avec plaiſir les offrandes de la dévotion ‡. Il eſt vrai que cette dévotion devint inſenſiblement un culte religieux, mais ce ne fut que très tard, et lorſqu'on identifia ces héros avec des divinités anciennes, dont ils portoient le nom, ou rappelloient le caractère. Dans le ſiècle d'Homère, on les diſtinguoit encore. Hercule n'eſt point un de ſes dieux. Il ne reconnoit Eſculape que pour un médécin diſtingué ‖, et Caſtor et Pollux ſont pour lui des guerriers morts et enterrés a Sparte §.

Syſtême d'Ephémère.

LXII. La ſuperſtition avoit cependant franchi ces limites, les héros étoient devenus des dieux, et le culte qu'on rendoit aux dieux les avoit tirés du rang des hommes ; lorſqu'un philoſophe hardi entreprit de prouver qu'ils l'avoient été. Ephémère le Meſſénien avança ce paradoxe ¶. Mais loin d'en appeller aux monumens authentiques de la Grece et de l'Egypte, qui auroient du conſerver la mémoire de ces hommes célebres ; il va ſe perdre dans l'ocean. Une Utopie mépriſée de tous les anciens, une îſle de Panchaïe, riche, fertile, ſuperſtitieuſe, et connue à lui ſeul, lui offre dans un temple magnifique de Jupiter une colonne d'or, où Mercure avoit gravé les exploits et l'apothéoſe

ſédions déja (1), des généalogies défectueuſes et très peu concluantes, quelques recherches minutieuſes, ſur la chronologie de Sparte, une aſtronomie ancienne, que je n'entends pas trop bien, et la belle préface de M. Bougainville, que je relis toujours avec un goût nouveau ?

* Hiſt. de l'Acad. des Belles-Lettres, tom. xvi. p. 28, &c.

† V. Mem. de Litter. tom. xii. p. 5. &c. et Ezech. Spanheim in Callim.

‡ Homer. Odyſſ. L. xi. ‖ Homer Iliad, L. iv. v. 193. § Id. L. v. v. 241.

¶ Lactant. Inſtit. L. i. c. xi. p. 62.

" Antiquus auctor Ephemerus, qui fuit é civitate Meſſanâ, res geſtas Jovis et cæterorum " qui Dii putantur collegit, hiſtoriamque contexit ex titulis et inſcriptionibus ſacris, quæ in " antiquiſſimis templis habebantur, maximeque in fano Jovis Triphyllii, ubi auream columnam poſitam eſſe ab ipſo Jove, titulus indicabat, in quâ columnâ geſta ſua perſcripſit ut " monimentum eſſet poſteris rerum ſuarum." Ce récit de Lactance diffère un peu de celui de Diodore.

(1) Dans le Mem. de l'Acad. tom. v. xviii. xx. xxiii.

des héros de ſa race *. Ces fables étoient trop groſſières pour les Grecs eux-mêmes. Elles ne valurent à leur auteur que le mépris général avec le nom d'Athée † ‡.

LXIII. Enhardis, peut être par ſon exemple, les Crétois ſe vantèrent de poſſéder le tombeau de Jupiter, qui étoit mort dans leur île, après y avoir long tems regné ‖. Callimaque ſe montre indigné de cette fiction, et ſon ſcholiaſte nous en dévoile l'origine §. On avoit écrit ſur un tombeau, *Tombeau de Minos fils de Jupiter.* Le tems ou le deſſein fit diſparoitre les mots de *fils* et *de Minos*; on lut *Tombeau de Jupiter* ¶. Cependant le ſyſtême d'Ephémère s'accreditoit lentement malgré ſes preuves. Diodore de Sicile parcourut la terre, pour raſſembler dans les traditions des divers peuples de quoi l'appuyer **. Mais les Stoïciens, dans leur mélange bizarre du Théiſme le plus pur, du Spinoſiſme et de l'idolatrie populaire, rapportoient ce paganiſme, dont ils étoient les zélateurs au culte de la nature briſée en autant de dieux qu'elle a de faces différentes. Cicéron cet académicien, pour

* Diodore de Sicile, L. v. L. 29, 30. et L. vi.

Il y a ſur Ephémère une diſſertation de M. Fourmont l'ainé, qui contient des conjectures très hardies, et des emportemens fort plaiſans (1). Il ſied mal à un jeune homme de mépriſer quoi que ce ſoit, mais je ne ſaurois réfuter cette pièce ſérieuſement. Celui qui ne voit pas que la Panchaïe décrite dans Diodore de Sicile étoit ſituée au midi de la Gédroſie, et à l'occident peu éloignée de la péninſule des Indes, peut croire avec M. Fourmont que le Golfe Arabique eſt au midi de l'Arabie heureuſe, que le païs de Phank ſur le continent eſt l'île de Panchaïe, que le déſert de Pharan eſt le plus beau lieu du monde, et que la ville de Pierie en Syrie eſt la capitale d'un petit canton aux environs de Medine.

† Callim. ap. Plut. tom. ii. p. 880. Eratoſth. et Polyb. ap. Strab. Georg. L. ii. p. 102, 103. et. L. vii. p. 299. edit. Caſaub.

‡ Gerard Voſſius de Hiſtor. Græcis, L. i. c. xi. fait voir que non ſeulement les Payens lui donnoient ce nom, mais encore Theophile d'Antioche parmi les Chrétiens et Joſeph parmi les Juifs; ce qui fait voir qu'Ephémère en attaquant les dieux des Grecs, n'en reconnoiſſoit point d'autres.

‖ Lactant. Inſtit. L. i. c. xi. p. 65. Lucian Timon, p. 34. et Jupit. Frag. p. 701. Cicer. de Nat. Deor. L. iii. c. 21.

§ Callimach. Hym. in Jovem, v. 8. et Scholiaſt. Vet. in loc. edit. Græc.

¶ Tel eſt le récit du ſcholiaſte adopté par le Chevalier Newton. Mais Lactance rapporte l'inſcription ΖΑΝΟΣ ΧΡΟΝΟΥ, ce qui m'a l'air bien plus antique. Lucien, car les fables vont toujours en augmentant, nous apprend, que l'inſcription portoit que Jupiter ne tonnoit plus, qu'il avoit ſubi le ſort des mortels, δηλωσαν ως ηκει βροντησειων αν ο Ζευς, τεθνεως παλαι.

** Diodore de Sicile dans les cinq premiers livres, paſſim.

(1) Mem. de Litter. tom. xv. p. 265, &c.

qui

qui tout étoit objection et rien n'étoit preuve, oſe à peine leur oppoſer le ſyſtème d'Ephémère *.

Ne pravalut que ſous l'empire Romain.

LXIV. Ce ne fut que ſous l'empire Romain, que les idées du Meſſénien prirent le deſſus. Dans le tems qu'un monde eſclave décernoit le titre de dieux à des monſtres indignes de celui d'hommes, c'étoit faire ſa cour que de confondre Jupiter et Domitien. Bienfaiteurs de la terre, ainſi les appelloit l'adulation, leur droit à la divinité étoit le même ; leur nature, et leur puiſſance étoient égales. Par politique ou par mépriſe, Pline lui-même ne ſe garantit pas de cette erreur †. En vain Plutarque eſſaya-t-il de revendiquer la foi de ſes ayeux ‡. Ephémère regna par tout ; et les péres de l'Egliſe, ſe ſervant de leurs avantages, attaquèrent le paganiſme du côté le plus foible. Pourroit on les blâmer ? Si les dieux prétendus ne furent pas en effet des hommes déifiés, ils l'étoient devenus, du moins dans l'opinion de leurs adorateurs ; et les pères n'en vouloient qu'a leurs opinions.

Enchainement des erreurs.

LXV. Allons plus loin ; tâchons de ſuivre l'enchainement non des faits, mais des ideés, de ſonder le cœur humain, et de démêler ce fil d'erreurs, qui du ſentiment vrai, ſimple, et univerſel qu'il y a une puiſſance au deſſus de l'homme, le conduiſit par degrés à ſe faire des dieux, auxquels il eût rougi de reſſembler.

Sentimens confus du ſauvage.

Le ſentiment n'eſt qu'un retour ſur nous-mêmes. Les idées ſe rapportent aux objets hors de nous. Leur nombre,en occupant l'eſprit, affoiblit le ſentiment. C'eſt donc parmi les ſauvages, dont les idées ſont bornées aux beſoins, et les beſoins ſimplement ceux de la nature, que le ſentiment doit être le plus vif, quoiqu'en même tems le plus confus. Le ſauvage reſſent à tout moment des agitations, qu'il ne peut ni expliquer ni reprimer. Ignorant et foible, il craint tout, parcequ'il ne peut ſe défendre de rien. Il admire tout, parcequ'il ne connoit rien. Le mépris bien fondé de lui-même, car la vanité eſt un ouvrage de la ſociété, lui fait ſentir l'exiſtence d'une puiſſance ſupérieure. C'eſt cette puiſſance, dont il ignore les attributs, qu'il invoque, et dont il demande des graces, ſans ſavoir à quel titre il en peut eſpérer. Ce ſentiment peu diſtinct produiſit les dieux bons des premiers Grecs, et les divinités de la plus part des ſauvages, et les uns et les autres n'en ſûrent régler ni le nombre, ni le caractère, ni le culte.

* Cicer. de Nat. Deor. L. iii. c. 21. † Plin. Hiſt. Natur. L. vii. c. 51. et paſſ.
‡ Plut. de Placit. Philoſoph. de Iſid. et Oſirid.

LXVI.

LXVI. Bientôt le ſentiment devint idée. Le ſauvage rendit ſon hommage à tout ce qui l'entouroit. Tout devoit lui paroitre plus excellent que lui-même. Ce chêne majeſtueux, qui le couvroit de ſon feuillage épais, avoit ombragé ſes ayeux, depuis l'origine de ſa race. Il élevoit ſa tête juſqu'aux nues ; le fier Aquilon ſe perdoit à travers ſes branches. Auprès de cet arbre altier qu'étoit ſa durée, ſa taille, ſa force ? La reconnoiſſance ſe joignit à l'admiration. Cet arbre qui lui prodiguoit ſes glands, cette onde claire où il ſe deſalteroit, étoient des bienfaiteurs qui rendoient ſa vie heureuſe ; ſans eux il ne pouvoit ſubſiſter, mais quel beſoin avoient-ils de lui ? En effet ſans les lumières qui nous apprennent combien la raiſon ſeule eſt ſupérieure à toutes ces parties neceſſaires d'un ſyſtême intelligent, chacune d'elles eſt au deſſus de l'homme. Mais privé de ces lumières, le ſauvage leur accorda à chacune la vie et la puiſſance. Il ſe proſterna devant ſon ouvrage.

Il adore tout ce qu'il voit ; pourquoi ?

LXVII. Les idées du ſauvage ſont uniques, parcequ'elles ſont ſimples. Remarquer les qualités différentes des objets, obſerver celles qui leur ſont communes, et de cette reſſemblance former une idée abſtraite, qui repréſente le genre, ſans être l'image d'aucun objet particulier ; ſont les ouvrages de l'eſprit, qui agit, qui ſe replie ſur lui-même, et qui déja ſurchargé d'idées, cherche à ſe ſoulager par la méthode. Dans le premier état, l'ame paſſive et ignorant ſes forces, ne ſait que recevoir les impreſſions étrangères : ces impreſſions ne lui rendent les objets qu'iſolés, et comme ils ſont en eux-memes ! Le ſauvage rencontroit ſes dieux par tout, châque foret, chaque prairie en fourmilloit.

Ses idées ſont uniques.

LXVIII. L'expérience développa ſes idées ; car les nations, comme les hommes, doivent tout à l'expérience. Son eſprit familiariſé avec un grand nombre d'objets étrangers s'apperçut de leur nature commune, et cette nature devint pour lui une nouvelle divinité ſupérieure à tous ces dieux particuliers. Mais chaque choſe qui exiſte a ſon exiſtence déterminée à un tems ou à un lieu ; et c'eſt ce qui la diſtingue de toute autre choſe. L'homme a du ſe conduire différemment à l'égard de ces deux manières d'exiſter, l'une ſenſible et devant ſes yeux, l'autre paſſagère, métaphyſique, et qui n'eſt peut-être que la ſucceſſion des idées. La nature commune, differentiée uniquement par le tems, a du faire diſparoître les natures particulières, pendant que celles qui ſont diſtinguées par les lieux ont pu ſubſiſter comme parties de la nature commune. Le dieu des rivières n'a point attenté ſur les droits du Tibre où du Clitumne *, mais le vent du Sud qui ſouffloit hier, et celui que

Il combine ſes idées et multiplie ſes dieux.

* Hiſt. de l'Acad. des Belles-Lettres, tom. xii. p. 36. Plin. Epiſt. L. viii. Epiſt. 8.

nous

nous reſſentons aujourd'hui, ne ſont l'un et l'autre que ce tyran furieux, qui ſoulève les flots de la mer Adriatique *.

Suite de ſes combinaiſons.

LXIX. Plus on s'exerce à penſer, plus on fait de combinaiſons. Deux genres ſont différens à quelques égards, ils ſe reſſemblent à d'autres : ils ſont deſtinés au même uſage, ils font partie du même élément. La fontaine devient rivière, la rivière ſe perd dans la mer. Cette mer fait partie du vaſte océan qui embraſſe toute l'étendue de la terre, et la terre elle-même renferme dans ſon ſein tout ce qui ſubſiſte par un principe de végétation. A meſure que les nations ſe ſont éclairées, leur idolatrie a du ſe rafiner. Elles ont mieux ſenti combien l'univers eſt gouvernés par des loix générales ; elles ſe ſont plus rapprochées de l'unité d'une cauſe efficiente. Jamais les Grecs n'ont ſu ſimplifier leurs idées au dela de l'eau, de la terre et du ciel, qui, ſous les noms de Jupiter, de Neptune, et de Pluton, contenoient et régiſſoient toutes choſes. Mais les Egyptiens, d'un génie plus propre aux ſpéculations abſtraites, formerent enfin leur Oriſis † le premier des Dieux, le principe intelligent, qui agiſſoit ſans ceſſe ſur le principe matériel, connu ſous le nom d'Iſis ſa femme et ſa ſœur. Des gens, qui croyoient à l'éternité de la matière, ne pouvoient guères aller plus loin ‡.

Génération et hiérarchie des dieux.

LXX. Jupiter, le Dieu de la mer et le noir Pluton étoient frères. Toutes les branches de leur poſtérité s'étendoient à l'infini, et renfermoient toute la nature. Telle étoit la mythologie des anciens. Pour des hommes groſſiers, l'idée de génération étoit plus naturelle que celle de création. Elle étoit plus aiſée à ſaiſir, elle ſuppoſoit moins de puiſſance, on y étoit conduit par des liaiſons ſenſibles ; mais auſſi cette génération les menoit à établir une hiérarchie, dont ces êtres libres mais bornés ne pouvoient pas ſe paſſer. Les trois grands Dieux exercoient une puiſſance paternelle ſur leurs enfans, habitans de la terre, des airs, et des mers ; et la primogéniture de

* Hor Carm. L. iii. Od. 3.
" ——— Neque Auſter
" Dux inquieti turbidus Adriæ."

† Remarquez que cet Oſiris et ſa ſœur étoient les plus jeunes des dieux. Il avoit fallu aux Egyptiens, un grand nombre de ſiècles, pour parvenir à cette ſimplicité (1).

‡ Le culte du ſoleil a été connu de tous les peuples. Je dirai ce qui m'en paroît la raiſon. C'eſt peut-être le ſeul objet de l'univers à la fois ſenſible et unique. Senſible à tous les peuples, de la manière la plus brillante et la plus bienfaiſante, il enlevoit leurs hommages. Unique et indiviſible, les raiſonneurs qui n'étoient pas trop difficiles trouvoient en lui tous les grands traits de la divinité.

(1) Diodore de Sicile. L. i. c. 8.

Jupiter

Jupiter lui donnoit une ſupériorité ſur ſes frères, qui lui mérita le titre de roi des dieux, et de pere des hommes. Mais ce roi, ce pere ſuprême, étoit trop borné à tous égards, pour nous permettre de faire honneur aux Grecs de la croyance d'un être ſuprême.

Dieux de la vie humaine.

LXXI. Ce ſyſtême, tout mal conſtruit qu'il étoit, rendoit raiſon de tous les effets de la nature. Mais le monde moral, l'homme, ſon ſort, et ſes actions étoient ſans divinités. L'éther ou la terre y eut été peu propre. Du beſoin de nouveaux dieux naquit une nouvelle chaine d'erreurs, qui, s'uniſſant avec la premiere, ne forma qu'un même Roman théologique. Je ſoupçonne que ce ſyſtême nâquit plus tard. L'homme ne ſonge guères à rentrer en lui-même, qu'après avoir épuiſé les objets étrangers.

Syſtêmes de la liberté et de la néceſſité.

LXXII. Deux hypothèſes ont toujours été, et ſeront toujours. Dans l'une, l'homme n'a reçu du Créateur que la raiſon et la volonté. C'eſt à lui à décider de l'uſage qu'il en fera, et à regler ſes actions à ſon gré. Dans l'autre, il ne peut agir que ſuivant les loix préétablies de la Divinité, dont il n'eſt que l'inſtrument. Le ſentiment le trompe, et lorſqu'il croit ſuivre ſa volonté, il ne ſuit en effet que celle de ſon maître. Ces dernières idées ont pu naître dans l'eſprit d'un peuple à peine ſorti de l'enfance. Peu fait aux reſſorts compliqués de la machine, les grandes vertus, les crimes atroces, les inventions utiles de ce petit nombre d'ames ſingulières, qui ne doivent rien à leur ſiècle, lui parurent ſurpaſſer les forces humaines. Il vit partout des dieux agiſſans, qui inſpiroient le vice ou la vertu aux foibles mortels, incapables de ſe ſouſtraire à leurs volontés *. Ce n'eſt pas la prudence qui inſpire à Pandare le deſſein de rompre la trêve, et de décocher un trait au cœur de Ménélas. C'eſt Minerve qui le pouſſe à cet attentat †. La malheureuſe Phèdre n'eſt point coupable. Venus, outrée des mépris d'Hyppolite, allume dans le cœur de cette reine une flamme inceſtueuſe, qui la précipite au crime et à la mort ‡. Un dieu ſe chargea de chaque évènement de la vie, de chaque paſſion de l'ame, et de chaque ordre de la ſociété.

Les anciens ſuivoient le dernier.

* Je ne ſuis pas trop content de cet endroit. Je donne la meilleure raiſon que j'ai pu trouver; mais il me ſemble que dans ces premiers ſiècles, on eût du être guidé par le ſentiment, et le ſentiment eſt tout entier du côté de la liberté.

† Homer. Iliad. L. iv. v. 93, &c.

‡ Αλλ' ετι ταυτη τον δ' εξωτα χρη τιθεσθαι.
Δειξω δε Θησει πραγμα, κακφανησεται.
Και τον μεν ημιν πολεμιον τεθυκοτα
Κτειναι πατηρ αραισι, ...
Η δ' ευκλειης μεν, αλλ' ομως απολυται
Φαιδρα———(1).

(1) Euripid. Hippol. Act. 1. v. 40.

Union des deux eſpèces de dieux.

LXXIII. Mais ces dieux de l'homme, ces paſſions et ces facultés généraliſées et perſonifiées de cette manière, n'avoient qu'une exiſtence métaphyſique et trop peu ſenſible pour les hommes. Il falloit les fondre avec les dieux de la nature, et c'eſt ici que l'allégorie imagina mille rapports fantaſques, car l'eſprit veut au moins une apparence de vérité. Il étoit naturel que le dieu de la mer le fut des matelots. L'expreſſion figurée de cet œil qui voit tout, de ces rayons qui percent les airs, pouvoit aiſément faire du ſoleil, un habile prophète, et un archer adroit. Mais pourquoi la planète Vénus eſt-elle mére des amours ? Pourquoi s'éleve-t-elle de l'écume des flots ? Laiſſons ces énigmes aux devins. Auſſi tôt que les départements des dieux de la nature humaine furent établis, ils durent enlever tout le culte des hommes. Ils parloient au cœur et aux paſſions, au lieu que les dieux phyſiques, qui n'avoient point acquis n'attributs moraux, rentrerent inſenſiblement dans le mépris et dans l'oubli. Auſſi n'eſt-ce que dans l'antiquité la plus reculée que je vois fumer les autels de Saturne *.

Les dieux ont des paſſions humaines.

LXXIV. Les dieux s'intéreſſent donc dans les affaires humaines. Il ne ſe paſſe rien dont ils ne ſoient les auteurs. Mais ſont-ils les auteurs du crime ? Cette conſéquence nous effraye : un payen n'héſitoit point à l'admettre, et ne pouvoit en effet héſiter. Les dieux inſpiroient ſouvent des deſſeins vicieux. Pour les ſuggérer, il falloit les vouloir, et même les aimer. Il ne leur reſtoit pas la reſſource d'un petit mal permis dans le meilleur des mondes poſſibles †. Ce mal n'étoit pas ſeulement permis, il étoit autoriſé, et d'ailleurs les différentes divinités, bornées à leurs départemens particuliers, étoient très indifférentes à un bien général qu'elles ne connoiſſoient point. Chacune ſuivoit ſon caractère, et n'inſpiroit que les paſſions qu'elle reſſentoit. Le dieu de la guerre étoit fier, brutal, et ſanguinaire ; la déeſſe de la prudence, ſage, retenue, peu ſincère ; la mere des amours, aimable, voluptueuſe, emportée dans ſes caprices ; la ruſe et la ſoupleſſe convenoient au dieu des marchands ; et les cris des malheureux flatoient l'oreille du tyran ſoupçonneux des morts, du noir monarque des enfers.

Ils ont des préférences.

LXXV. Un dieu pere des hommes l'eſt de tous également. Il ne connoit ni la haine, ni la faveur. Mais les divinités partiales doivent avoir des favoris. Ne diſtingueront-elles pas ceux dont le goût eſt conforme au leur ? Mars ne peut qu'aimer ces Thraces dont la guerre eſt l'unique occupation ‡,

* J'entens chez les Grecs ; ſon culte ſe conſerva long tems en Italie.

† Fontenelle dans l'Eloge de M. de Leibnitz.

‡ Herodot. L. v. c. 4, 5. Meziriac. Comm. ſur les Epitr. d'Ovide, tom. i. p. 162.

et

et ces Scythes dont la boiſſon la plus délicieuſe eſt le ſang de leurs ennemis *. Les mœurs d'un habitant de Cypre † ou de Corinthe, lieux où tout reſpiroit le luxe et la moleſſe, devoient plaire à la déeſſe des amours. La reconnoiſſance ſe joignoit au goût. Des ſentimens de préférence étoient dus à des peuples, dont les mœurs n'étoient qu'un culte détourné de leurs dieux tutélaires. Le culte même qu'on leur rendoit ſe rapportoit toujours à leur caractère. Ces victimes humaines qui expiroient ſur l'autel de Mars ‡, ces mille courtiſanes qui ſe dévouoient au temple de Venus §, toutes ces femmes diſtinguées de Babylone, qui lui immoloient leur pudeur ‖, ne pouvoient qu'attirer à ces divers peuples, la faveur la plus diſtinguée de leurs protecteurs. Mais comme les intérêts des nations ne ſont pas moins oppoſés que leurs mœurs, il falloit que les dieux adoptaſſent les querelles de leurs adorateurs. " Quoi ! voir avec patience que cette ville qui m'éleve cent tem- " ples ſuccombe ſous le fer d'un conquerant ? Ah ! plutôt !. . . ." C'eſt ainſi que chez les Grecs, une guerre parmi les hommes en allumoit une parmi les dieux. Troye bouleverſa le ciel. Le Scamandre vit briller l'égide de Minerve, il fut témoin de l'effet des fleches ſorties du carquois d'Apollon, il ſentit le redoutable trident de Neptune, qui ſoulevoit la terre ſur ſes fondemens. Quelquefois les arrêts inévitables du deſtin rétabliſſoient la paix ¶.

Leurs querelles.

* Herodot. L. iv. c. 64, 65.

† M. de Vaugelas m'apprend que lorſqu'il s'agit de l'antiquité il faut toujours dire Cypre, quoique le nom moderne ſoit Chypre (1). Je vois que MM. de Fenelon (2) et de Vertot (3) ont fait cette diſtinction.

‡ Herod. L. v. c. 4, 5. Minuc. Fœl. Octav. c. 25. p. 258. Luc. Pharſ. L. i. Lactant. L. i. c. 25.

§ Strab. Geog. L. viii. p. 378.

‖ Herod. L. i. c. 199.

Elles étoient tenues de ſe proſtituer une fois de leur vie au premier venu, dans le temple de Venus. M. de Voltaire, qui leur impoſe cette obligation une fois tous les ans, la traite de fable inſenſée (4). Cependant Hérodote avoit voyagé ſur les lieux, et M. de Voltaire a trop lu l'hiſtoire, pour ignorer combien de triomphes pareils la ſuperſtition a remportés ſur l'humanité et ſur la vertu. Que penſe-t-il d'un acte de foi ? Je préviens ſa reponſe. Au reſte j'ignorois que Babylone fût la ville de l'univers la mieux policée. Quinte Curce la dépeint comme la plus licencieuſe ; Béroſe le Babylonien ſe plaint lui même que ſes concitoyens, franchiſſant toutes les barrières de la pudeur, vivoient à la manière des bêtes, et le ſcholiaſte de Juvenal nous fait ſentir que de ſon tems ils n'avoient point dégénérés (5).

¶ Mythol. de Banier, tom. ii. p. 487. Ovid. Metam. L. xv.

(1) Rem. de M. de Vaugelas ſur la langue Françoiſe, tom. i. p. 102, 103.
(2) Dans le Telemaque. (3) Dans ſon Hiſt. de Malthe.
(4) Oeuvres de Voltaire, tom. vi. p. 24.
(5) Quint. Curt. Geſt. Alex. L. v. c. 1. et Comment. Freinſheim. in Loc.

Mais le plus ſouvent les divers dieux convenoient mutuellement de s'abandonner réciproquement leurs ennemis * ; car ſur l'Olympe, comme ſur la terre, la haine a toujours été plus puiſſante que l'amitié.

Ils ont la figure humaine.

LXXVI. Un culte épuré eût été peu aſſorti à de telles divinités. Les peuples veulent des objets ſenſibles ; une figure qui décore leurs temples, et fixe leurs idées. Il falloit aſſurément la plus belle de toutes les figures. Mais qu'elle eſt cette figure ? Demandez le aux hommes, c'eſt ſans doute la leur. Peut-être un taureau repondroit-il un peu différemment †. La ſculpture ſe perfectionne pour ſervir à la dévotion, et les temples ſe rempliſſent de ſtatues de vieillards, de jeunes gens, de femmes, et d'enfans, ſuivant les attributs différens de chacun des dieux.

Ils éprouvent les plaiſirs et les maux corporels.

LXXVII. La beauté n'eſt peut-être fondée que ſur l'uſage. La figure humaine n'eſt belle que parce qu'elle ſe rapporte ſi bien aux uſages auxquels elle eſt deſtinée. La figure divine eſt la même ; il faut que ſes uſages le ſoient auſſi, et même ſes défauts. Delà cette génération groſſière des dieux, qui ne compoſent plus qu'une famille à la manière des hommes ; delà leurs ſêtes de nectar et d'ambroſie, et la nourriture qu'ils recoivent dans les ſacrifices ‡. De là encore leur ſommeil ‖, et leurs douleurs §. Des dieux, devenus des hommes très puiſſans, devoient ſouvent viſiter la terre, habiter dans les temples, ſe plaire aux amuſemens de l'homme, aſſiſter à la chaſſe, à la danſe, et quelquefois devenir ſenſibles aux charmes d'une mortelles et donner naiſſance à une race de héros.

Evènemens généraux.

LXXVIII. Dans ces grands évènemens, où, du jeu d'un grand nombre d'acteurs, dont les vues, la ſituation et le caractère diffèrent, il nait une unité d'action, ou plutôt d'effet ; c'eſt peut-être dans les ſeules cauſes générales qu'il faut chercher la leur.

Mélange de cauſes dans les évènemens particuliers.

LXXIX. Dans les évènemens plus particuliers, le procédé de la nature eſt très différent de celui des philoſophes. Chez elle il y a peu d'effets aſſez ſimples, pour ne devoir leur origine qu'à une ſeule cauſe ; au lieu que nos ſages s'attachent d'ordinaire à une cauſe, non ſeulement univerſelle, mais unique. Evitons cet écueil ; pour peu qu'une action paroiſſe compliquée, admettons y les cauſes générales, ſans rejetter le deſſein et le hazard. Sylla ſe démet du pouvoir ſouverain. Céſar le perd avec la vie : cependant leurs

* Eurip. Hippolit. Act v. ver. 1327. et Ovid. Metam. paſſim.

† Cic. de Nat. Deor, L. i. c. 27, 28.

‡ V. les Céſars de Julien par M. Spanheim, p. 257, 258. Rem. 876. les Oiſeaux d'Ariſtophane et Lucien preſque partout.

‖ Hom. Iliad. L. i. v. 609. § Id. L. v. ver. 335.

attentats

attentats avoient été précédés par leurs conquêtes : avant de devenir les plus puiſſans des Romains, ils en étoient les plus renommés. Auguſte les ſuit de près. Tyran ſanguinaire *, ſoupçonné de lâcheté, le plus grand des crimes dans un chef de parti †, il parvient au trône, et fait oublier aux républicains qu'ils euſſent jamais été libres. La diſpoſition de ces républicains diminue ma ſurpriſe. Egalement incapables de liberté ſous Sylla et ſous Auguſte, ils ignoroient cette vérité ſous celui-là : des guerres civiles et deux proſcriptions plus cruelles que la guerre, leur avoient appris, du tems de celui-ci, que la republique, affaiſſée ſous le poids de ſa grandeur et de ſa corruption, ne pouvoit ſubſiſter ſans maître. D'ailleurs Sylla, chef de la nobleſſe, combattoit à la tête de ces fiers patriciens, qui vouloient bien l'armer du glaive du deſpotiſme pour les venger de leurs ennemis et des ſiens, mais non laiſſer entre ſes mains le pouvoir de les détruire eux-mêmes. Ils avoient vaincu, non pour lui mais avec lui : la harangue de Lépide ‡, et la conduite de Pompée § font aſſez ſentir que Sylla aima mieux deſcendre du trône qu'en tomber. Mais Auguſte, à l'exemple de Céſar ‖, ne ſe ſervit que de ces hardis avanturiers, Agrippa, Mecene, Pollion, dont la fortune attachée à la ſienne s'évanouiſſoit dans une ariſtocracie de nobles, diviſés entr'eux, mais unis pour accabler tout homme nouveau. Elévation d'Auguſte.

LXXX. Des circonſtances heureuſes, les débauches d'Antoine, la foibleſſe de Lépide, la crédulité de Cicéron travaillerent de concert pour lui avec cette diſpoſition générale : mais il faut avouer auſſi que, s'il ne fit pas naître ces circonſtances, il les employa en grand politique. La variété de mes objets, que ne me permet-elle de faire connoître ce gouvernement rafiné, ces chaines qu'on portoit ſans les ſentir, ce prince confondu parmi les citoyens, ce ſénat reſpecté par ſon maître ¶ ! Choiſiſſons en un trait. Ses cauſes.

* Après la priſe de Peruſe il ſacrifia trois cens des principaux citoyens ſur un autel érigé à la divinité de ſon père. V. Suet. L. ii. c. 15.

† Sueton. L. ii. c. 16. ‡ Saluſt. Fragm. p. 404. Edit. Thyſ.

§ Freinſheim. Supplem. L. lxxxix. c. 26—33.

‖ Tacit. Annal. L. iv. p. 109. Sueton. ubi infra.

¶ J'attens avec impatience la ſuite des diſſertations ſur ce ſujet, que M. de la Bleterie nous a promiſes. Le ſyſtême d'Auguſte ſi ſouvent méconnu y paroîtra deſſiné juſqu'à ſes moindres rameaux. Cet auteur penſe avec fineſſe et une aimable liberté, il diſcute ſans ſechereſſe, et s'exprime avec toutes les graces d'un ſtyle clair et élégant. Peut-être que, Deſcartes de l'hiſtoire, il raiſonne un peu trop *à priori*, et qu'il établit ſes concluſions moins ſur des autorités particulières que ſur des inductions générales : mais ce défaut eſt celui d'un homme de beaucoup d'eſprit.

Auguſte, maître des revenus de l'empire et des richeſſes du monde, diſtingua toujours ſon patrimoine de particulier du tréſor public. Il fit ainſi paroître à peu de frais ſa modération, qui laiſſoit à ſes heritiers des biens inférieurs à ceux de pluſieurs de ſes ſujets *, et ſon amour de la patrie, qui avoit abandonné au ſervice de l'état, deux patrimoines entiers et une ſomme immenſe provenue des legs de ſes amis défunts †.

Même action cauſe et effet.

LXXXI. Une pénétration ordinaire ſuffit pour ſentir lorſqu'une action eſt à la fois cauſe et effet. Dans le monde moral il y en a beaucoup qui le ſont ; ou plutôt, il y en a très-peu qui ne tiennent plus ou moins de la nature de l'une et de l'autre.

La corruption de tous les ordres des Romains vint de l'étendue de leur empire, et produiſit la grandeur de la republique ‡.

Mais il faut un jugement peu commun, lorſque deux choſes exiſtent toujours enſemble, et paroiſſent intimement liées, pour diſcerner qu'elles ne ſe doivent point leur origine l'une à l'autre.

Les ſciences ne viennent pas du luxe.

LXXXII. Les ſciences, dit-on, naiſſent du luxe : un peuple éclairé ſera toujours vicieux. Je ne le crois pas. Les ſciences ne ſont point les filles du luxe ; mais l'une et l'autre naiſſent de l'induſtrie. Les arts ébauchés ſatisfont aux premiers beſoins de l'homme. Perfectionnés, ils lui en trouvent de nouveaux, depuis le bouclier de Minerve de Vitellius § juſqu'aux entretiens philoſophiques de Cicéron. Mais à-meſure que le luxe corrompt les mœurs, les ſciences les adouciſſent ; ſemblables aux prières dans Homere, qui parcourent toujours la terre à la ſuite de l'injuſtice, pour adoucir les fureurs de cette cruelle divinité ‖.

* Toutes déductions faites de ſes legs au peuple et aux ſoldats, Auguſte ne laiſſa à Tibere et à Livie que millies quingenties, trente millions de livres. L'augure Lentulus mort ſous ſon règne, poſſédoit quater millies, quatre-vingt millions. V. Sueton. L. ii. c. 101. Senec. de Benefic. L. ii.

† Quater decies millies, deux cens quatre vingt millions. V. Suet. Loc. citat et marmor. Ancyran.

‡ V. Monteſq. Conſid. ſur la Grandeur des Romains.

Je diſtingue la grandeur de l'empire Romain d'avec celle de la republique : l'une conſiſtoit dans le nombre des provinces, l'autre dans celle des citoyens.

§ Vitellius envoya des galères juſqu'aux colonnes d'Hercule, pour chercher les poiſſons les plus rares, dont il remplit ce plat monſtrueux. Si nous en croyons M. Arbuthnot, il couta 765,625l. ſterling. V. Sueton. in Vitellio. c. 13. Dr. Arbuthnot's Tables, p. 138.

‖ Μστοπιοβ' ατης αλιγεσι κιεσαι.

Homer. Iliad. L. ix. v. 500.

Voilà quelques réfléxions qui m'ont paru ſolides ſur les différens uſages des Belles-Lettres. Heureux ſi je pouvois en inſpirer le goût ! J'aurois trop bonne opinion de moi-même, ſi je ne ſentois pas les défauts de cet eſſai ; j'en aurois une trop mauvaiſe, ſi je n'eſpérois pas que dans un age moins précoce et avec des connoiſſances plus étendues je pourrai me voir plus en état d'y ſuppléer. On pourra dire que ces réfléxions ſont vraies mais uſées, ou qu'elles ſont nouvelles mais paradoxes. Quel auteur aime les critiques ? Cependant la première me déplairoit le moins. L'avantage de l'art m'eſt plus cher que la gloire de l'artiſte. Concluſion.

CRITICAL OBSERVATIONS

ON THE

DESIGN

OF THE

SIXTH BOOK OF THE ÆNEID.

THE allegorical interpretation which the Biſhop of Glouceſter has given of the ſixth book of the Æneid, ſeems to have been very favourably received by the Public. Many writers, both at home and abroad, have mentioned it with approbation, or at leaſt with eſteem; and I have more than once heard it alleged, in the converſation of ſcholars, as an ingenious improvement on the plain and obvious ſenſe of Virgil. As ſuch, it is not undeſerving of the notice of a candid critic; nor can the enquiry be void of entertainment, whilſt Virgil is our conſtant theme. Whatever may be the fortune of the chace, we are ſure it will lead us through pleaſant proſpects and a fine country.

That I may eſcape the imputation as well as the danger of miſrepreſenting his lordſhip's hypotheſis, I ſhall expoſe it in his own words. "The pur-" poſe of this diſcourſe is to ſhew that Æneas's adventure to the INFERNAL " SHADES, is no other than a figurative deſcription of his INITIATION INTO " THE MYSTERIES; and particularly a very exact one of the SPECTACLES of " the ELEUSINIAN *." This general notion is ſupported with ſingular ingenuity, dreſſed up with an eaſy yet pompous diſplay of learning, and delivered in a ſtyle much fitter for the Hierophant of Eleuſis, than for a modern critic, who is obſerving a remote object through the medium of a glimmering and doubtful light:

Ibant obſcuri, ſolâ ſub nocte, per umbram.

* See Warburton's Diſſertation, &c. in the third volume of Mr. Warton's Virgil. I ſhall quote indifferently that Diſſertation or the Divine Legation itſelf.

His lordſhip naturally enough purſues two different methods, which unite, as he apprehends, in the ſame concluſion. From general principles peculiar to himſelf, he infers the propriety and even neceſſity of ſuch a deſcription of the myſteries; and from a compariſon of particular circumſtances, he labours to prove that Virgil has actually introduced it into the Æneid. Each of theſe methods ſhall be conſidered ſeparately.

As the learned Prelate's opinions branch themſelves out into luxuriant ſyſtems, it is not eaſy to reſume them in a few words. I ſhall, however, attempt to give a ſhort idea of thoſe general principles, which occupy, I know not how, ſo great a ſhare of the *Divine Legation of Moſes demonſtrated.*

"The whole ſyſtem of Paganiſm, of which the myſteries were an eſſen-
"tial part, was inſtituted by the antient lawgivers for the ſupport and benefit
"of ſociety. The myſteries themſelves were a ſchool of morality and re-
"ligion, in which the vanity of Polytheiſm *, and the unity of the Firſt
"Cauſe, were revealed to the initiated. Virgil, who intended his immor-
"tal poem for a republic in action, as thoſe of Plato and Tully were in pre-
"cept, could not avoid diſplaying this firſt and nobleſt art of government.
"His perfect lawgiver muſt be initiated, as the antient founders of ſtates
"had been before him; and as Auguſtus himſelf was many ages after-
"wards."

What a crowd of natural reflections muſt occur to an unbiaſſed mind! Was the civil magiſtrate the mover of the whole machine; the ſole contriver, or at leaſt the ſole ſupport of religion? Were antient laws ALWAYS deſigned for the benefit of the people, and NEVER for the private intereſt of the lawgiver? Could the firſt fathers of rude ſocieties inſtruct their new-made ſubjects in philoſophy as well as in agriculture? Did they all agree, in Britain as in Egypt, in Perſia as in Greece, to found theſe ſecret ſchools on the ſame common principle; which ſubſiſted nearly eighteen hundred years at Eleuſis † in its primæval purity? Can theſe things be? Yes, replies the learned Prelate, they are: "Egypt was the myſterious mother of
"Religion and Policy; and the arts of Egypt were diffuſed with her colonies
"over the antient world. Inachus carried the myſteries into Greece, Zo-

* At leaſt of the vulgar polytheiſm, by revealing that the *dii majorum gentium* had been mere mortals.

† From their inſtitution, 1399 years before the Chriſtian æra, (Marm. Arundel. Ep. 14.) till their ſuppreſſion, towards the end of the fourth century.

"roaſter into Perſia *, &c. &c."—I retire from ſo wide a field, in which it would be eaſy for me to loſe both myſelf and my adverſary. The ANTIENT WORLD, EIGHTEEN CENTURIES, and FOUR HUNDRED AUTHORS GENUINE AND APOCRYPHAL †, would, under tolerable management, furniſh ſome volumes of controverſy; and ſince I have peruſed the two thouſand and fourteen pages of the unfiniſhed *Legation*, I have leſs inclination than ever to ſpin out volumes of laborious trifles.

I ſhall, however, venture to point out a fact, not very agreeable to the favourite notion, that Paganiſm was entirely the religion of the magiſtrate. The oracles were not leſs antient, nor leſs venerable than the myſteries. Every difficulty, religious or civil, was ſubmitted to the deciſion of thoſe infallible tribunals. During ſeveral ages no war could be undertaken, no colony founded, without the ſanction of the Delphic oracle; the firſt and moſt celebrated among ſeveral hundred others ‡. Here then we might expect to perceive the directing hand of the magiſtrate. Yet when we ſtudy their hiſtory with attention, inſtead of the alliance between church and ſtate, we can diſcover only the antient alliance between the avarice of the prieſt and the credulity of the people.

* Though I hate to be poſitive, yet I would almoſt venture to affirm, that Zoroaſter's connection with Egypt is no where to be found, except in the *D. L.*

† See a liſt of four hundred authors, quoted, &c. in the *D. L.* from St. Auſtin and Ariſtotle down to Scarron and Rabelais. Amongſt theſe authors we may obſerve Sanchoniatho, Orpheus, Zaleucus, Charondas, the Oracles of Porphyry, and the Hiſtory of Jeffrey of Monmouth.

The biſhop has entered the liſts with the tremendous Bentley, who treated the laws of Zaleucus and Charondas as the forgeries of a ſophiſt. A whole ſection of miſtakes or miſrepreſentations is devoted to this controverſy: but Bentley is no more, and W———n may ſleep in peace.

I ſhall, however, diſturb his repoſe, by aſking him on what authority he ſuppoſes that the old language of the Twelve Tables was altered for the convenience of ſucceeding ages. The fragments of thoſe laws, collected by Lipſius, Sylburgius, &c. bear the ſtamp of the moſt remote antiquity. Lipſius himſelf (tom. i. p. 206) was highly delighted with thoſe *antiquiſſima verba*: but what is much more deciſive, Horace (L. ii. Ep. i. ver. 23), Seneca (Epiſtol. 114), and Aulus Gellius (XX. 1), rank thoſe laws amongſt the oldeſt remains of the Latin tongue. Their obſolete language was admired by the lawyers, ridiculed by the wits, and pleaded by the friends of antiquity as an excuſe for the frequent obſcurities of that code.

Had an adverſary to the *Divine Legation* been guilty of this miſtake, I am afraid it would have been ſtyled an *egregious blunder*.

‡ See Vandale de Oraculis, p. 559. That valuable book contains whatever can now be known of oracles. I have borrowed his facts; and could with great eaſe have borrowed his quotations.

For my own part, I am very apt to conſider the myſteries in the ſame light as the oracles. An intimate connection ſubſiſted between them*: Both were preceded and accompanied with faſts, ſacrifices, and luſtrations; with myſtic ſights and preternatural ſounds: But the moſt eſſential preparation for the ASPIRANT, was a general confeſſion of his paſt life, which was exacted of him by the prieſt. In return for this implicit confidence, the Hierophant conferred on the initiated a ſacred character; and promiſed them a peculiar place of happineſs in the Elyſian fields, whilſt the ſouls of the profane (however virtuous they had been) were wallowing in the mire †. Nor did the prieſts of the myſteries neglect to recommend to the brethren a ſpirit of friendſhip, and the love of virtue; ſo pleaſing even to the moſt corrupt minds, and ſo requiſite to render any ſociety reſpectable in its own eyes. Of all theſe religious ſocieties, that of Eleuſis was the moſt illuſtrious. From being peculiar to the inhabitants of Attica, it became at laſt common to the whole Pagan world. Indeed, I ſhould ſuſpect that it was much indebted to the genius of the Athenian writers, who beſtowed fame and dignity on whatever had the leaſt connection with their country; nor am I ſurpriſed that Cicero and Atticus, who were both initiated, ſhould expreſs themſelves with enthuſiaſm, when they ſpeak of the ſacred rites of their beloved Athens.

But our curioſity is yet unſatisfied; we would preſs forwards into the ſanctuary; and are eager to learn WHAT was the SECRET which was revealed to the initiated, and to them alone. Many of the profane, poſſeſſed of leiſure and ingenuity, have tried to gueſs, what has been ſo religiouſly concealed. The SECRET of each is curious and philoſophical; for as ſoon as we attempt this enquiry, the honour of the myſteries becomes our own‡. I

too

* The prophet Alexander, whoſe arts are ſo admirably laid open by Lucian, inſtituted his oracle and his myſteries as regular parts of the ſame plan. It is here we may ſay, with the learned catholic, "Les nouveaux Saints me font douter des anciens."

† See Diogen. Laert. vi. 39. and Menag. ad loc.

‡ I ſhall ſum them up in a curious paſſage of the celebrated Freret. "Les ſectes philoſo-
" phiques cherchoient à déviner le dogme caché ſous le voile des ceremonies; et tachoient de le
" ramener chacune à leur doctrine. Dans l'hypothéſe des Epicuriens, adoptée de nos jours
" par M. M. Leclerc et Warburton," (Leclerc *adopted* it in the year 1687; Mr. Warburton *invented* it in the year 1738,) "tout ce qu'on révéloit aux adeptes après tant de préparatifs et
" d'épreuves, c'eſt que les dieux adorés du vulgaire, avoient été des hommes, &c. Les Sto-
" iciens et les Hylozoiſtes ſuppoſoient qu'on enſeignoit aux Initiés, qu'il n'y avoit d'autres
" dieux que les élémens et les parties de l'univers materiel. Enfin ſuivant les nouveaux Plato-
" niciens,

too could frame an hypotheſis, as plauſible perhaps, and as uncertain as any of theirs, did I not feel myſelf checked by the apprehenſion of diſcovering what never exiſted *. I admire the diſcretion of the initiated; but the beſt ſecurity for diſcretion is, the vanity of concealing that we have nothing to reveal.

The examples of great men, when they cannot ſerve as models, may ſerve as warnings to us. I ſhould be very ſorry to have diſcovered, that an ATHEISTICAL HISTORY † was uſed in the celebration of the myſteries, to prove the unity of the Firſt Cauſe, and that an ANTIENT HYMN ‡ was ſung, for the edification of the devout Athenians, which was moſt probably a MODERN FORGERY of ſome Jewiſh or Chriſtian Impoſtor. Had I delivered THESE TWO DISCOVERIES, with an air of confidence and triumph, I ſhould be ſtill more mortified.

After all, as I am not apt to give the name of Demonſtration to what is mere conjecture, his lordſhip may take advantage of my ſcepticiſm, and ſtill affirm, that his favourite myſteries were ſchools of theiſm, inſtituted by the lawgiver. Yet unleſs Æneas is the lawgiver of Virgil's republic, he has no more buſineſs with the myſteries of Athens, than with the laws of Sparta. We will, therefore, reflect a moment on the true nature and plan of the Æneid.

An epic fable muſt be important as well as intereſting: great actions, great virtues, and great diſtreſſes, are the peculiar province of heroic poetry.

" niciens, ces ſymboles ſervoient à couvrir les dogmes d'une théologie et d'une philoſophie ſub- " limes, enſeignées autrefois par les Egyptiens & les Chaldéens." Mr. Freret inclines, though with great diffidence, to the laſt opinion. *Mem. de l'Academie des Inſcriptions, &c. tom.* xxi. *p.* 12. *Hiſt.*

* Je ne ſuis pas ſi convaincu de nôtre ignorance par les choſes qui ſont, et dont la raiſon nous eſt inconnuë; que par celles qui ne ſont point et dont nous trouvons la raiſon. *Oeuvres de Fontenelle, tom.* xi. *p.* 229.

† *The Fragment of Sanchoniatho's Phœnician Hiſtory.* Euſebius and Biſhop Cumberland have already obſerved, that the formation of the world is there attributed to the blind powers of matter, without the leaſt mention of an intelligent cauſe.

‡ *Orpheus's Hymn to Muſæus*, quoted by Juſtin Martyr, and ſeveral other fathers, but rejected as ſpurious by Cudworth (Intellectual Syſtem, p. 300,) by Leclerc (Hiſt. Eccl. p. 692), and by Dr. Jortin (Remarks on Eccleſiaſtical Hiſt. vol. i. p. 199). The firſt of theſe, the *immortal Cudworth*, is often celebrated by the Biſhop of Glouceſter; Leclerc's literary character is eſtabliſhed; and with reſpect to Dr. Jortin, I will venture to call him a learned and moderate critic. The few who may not chooſe to confeſs, that their objections are unanſwerable, will allow that they deſerve to be anſwered.

This rule ſeems to have been dictated by nature and experience, and is very different from thoſe chains in which genius has been bound by artificial criticiſm. The importance I ſpeak of, is not indeed always dependant on the rank or names of the perſonages. Columbus, exploring a new world with three ſloops and ninety ſailors, is a hero worthy of the epic muſe; yet our imagination would be much more ſtrongly affected by the image of a virtuous prince ſaved from the ruins of his country, and conducting his faithful followers through unknown ſeas and through hoſtile lands. Such is the hero of the Æneid. But his peculiar ſituation ſuggeſted other beauties to the Poet, who had an opportunity of adorning his ſubject with whatever was moſt pleaſing in Grecian fable, or moſt illuſtrious in Roman hiſtory. Æneas had fought under the walls of Ilium; and conducted to the banks of the Tyber a colony from which Rome claimed her origin.

The character of the hero is expreſſed by one of his friends in a few words; and, though drawn by a friend, does not ſeem to be flattered:

Rex erat Æneas nobis; quo juſtior alter
Nec pietate fuit, nec bello major & armis *.

Theſe three virtues, of JUSTICE, of PIETY, of VALOR, are finely ſupported throughout the poem †.

1. I ſhall here mention one inſtance of the hero's juſtice, which has been leſs noticed than its ſingularity ſeems to deſerve.

After Evander had entertained his gueſts, with a ſublime ſimplicity, he lamented, that his age and want of power made him a very uſeleſs ally. However, he points out auxiliaries, and a cauſe worthy of a hero. The Etruſcans, tired out with the repeated tyrannies of Mezentius, had driven that monarch from his throne, and reduced him to implore the protection of Turnus. Unſatisfied with freedom, the Etruſcans called loudly for revenge; and, in the Poet's opinion, revenge was juſtice.

Ergo omnis furiis *ſurrexit Etruria* juſtis:
Regem *ad* ſupplicium *præſenti Marte repoſcunt* ‡.

* Æneid, i. 548.

† M. de Voltaire condemns the latter part of the Æneid, as far inferior in fire and ſpirit to the former. As quoted in the *Legation*, he thinks that Virgil

——*s'épuiſe avec Didon et* rate *à la fin Lavinie*;

a pretty odd quotation for a Biſhop; but I moſt ſincerely hope, that neither his lordſhip nor Mrs. W———n are acquainted with the true meaning of the word *rater*.

‡ Æneid, viii. 495.

Æneas,

Æneas, with the approbation of gods and men, accepts the command of theſe brave rebels, and puniſhes the tyrant with the death he ſo well deſerved. The conduct of Æneas and the Etruſcans may, in point of juſtice, ſeem doubtful to many; the ſentiments of the Poet cannot appear equivocal to any one. Milton himſelf, I mean the Milton of the commonwealth, could not have aſſerted with more energy the daring pretenſions of the people, to puniſh as well as to reſiſt a tyrant. Such opinions, publiſhed by a writer whom we are taught to conſider as the creature of Auguſtus, have a right to ſurprize us; yet they are ſtrongly expreſſive of the temper of the times; the republic was ſubverted, but the minds of the Romans were ſtill republican.

2. Æneas's piety has been more generally confeſſed than admired. St. Evremond laughs at it, as unſuitable to his own temper. The Biſhop of Glouceſter defends it, as agreeable to his own ſyſtem of the lawgiver's religion. The French wit was too ſuperficial, the Engliſh ſcholar too profound, to attend to the plain narration of the Poet, and the peculiar circumſtances of antient heroes. WE believe from faith and reaſon: THEY believed from the report of their ſenſes. Æneas had ſeen the Grecian divinities overturning the foundations of fated Troy. He was perſonally acquainted with his mother Venus, and with his perſecutor Juno. Mercury, who commanded him to leave Carthage, was as preſent to his eyes as Dido, who ſtrove to detain him. Such a knowledge of religion, founded on ſenſe and experience, muſt inſinuate itſelf into every inſtant of our lives, and determine every action. All this is, indeed, fiction; but it is fiction in which we chooſe to acquieſce, and which we juſtly conſider as the charm of poetry. If we allow, that Æneas lived in an intimate commerce with ſuperior beings, we muſt likewiſe allow his love or his fear, his confidence or his gratitude, towards thoſe beings, to diſplay themſelves on every proper occaſion. Far from thinking Æneas too pious, I am ſometimes ſurprized at his want of faith. Forgetful of the fates, which had ſo often and ſo clearly pointed out the deſtined ſhores of Latium, he deliberates, whether he ſhall not ſit down quietly in the fields of Sicily. An apparition of his father is neceſſary to divert him from this impious and ungenerous deſign.

3. A hero's valour will not bear the rude breath of ſuſpicion; yet has the courage of Æneas ſuffered from an unguarded expreſſion of the Poet:

Extemplò Æneæ ſolvuntur frigore membra;
Ingemit *.

* Æneid, i. 96.

On

On every other occaſion the Trojan chief is daring without raſhneſs, and prudent without timidity. In that dreadful night, when Troy was delivered up to her hoſtile gods, he performed every duty of a ſoldier, a patriot, and a ſon.

——— *Moriamur, et in media arma ruamus.*
Una ſalus victis, nullam ſperare ſalutem *.

Iliaci cineres, et flamma extrema meorum,
Teſtor, in occaſu veſtro, nec tela, nec ullas
Vitaviſſe vices Danaûm; et, ſi fata fuiſſent
Ut caderem, meruiſſe manu †.

To quote other proofs of the ſame nature, would be to copy the ſix laſt books of the Æneid. I cannot, however, forbear mentioning the calm and ſuperior intrepidity of the hero, when, after the perfidy of the Rutuli, and his wound, he ruſhed again to the field, and reſtored victory by his preſence alone.

Ipſe neque averſos dignatur ſternere morti;
Nec pede congreſſos æquo, nec tela ferentes
Inſequitur: ſolum denſa in caligine Turnum
Veſtigat luſtrans, ſolum in certamina poſcit ‡.

At length, indignant that his victim has eſcaped, his contempt gives way to fury:

Jam tandem invadit medios, & Marte ſecundo
Terribilis, ſævam nullo diſcrimine cædem
Suſcitat, irarumque omnes effundit habenas ‖.

The heroic character of Æneas has been underſtood and admired by every attentive reader. But to diſcover the LAWGIVER in Æneas, and A SYSTEM OF POLITICS in the Æneid, required the CRITICAL TELESCOPE § of the great

* Æneid, ii. 353. † Idem, ii. 431. ‡ Idem, xii. 464. ‖ Idem, xii. 497.

§ Others are furniſhed by criticiſm with a *teleſcope*. They ſee with great clearneſs whatever is too remote to be diſcovered by the reſt of mankind; but are totally blind to all that lies immediately before them. They diſcover in every paſſage ſome ſecret meaning, ſome remote alluſion, ſome artful allegory, or ſome occult imitation, which no other reader ever ſuſpected: but they have no perception of the cogency of arguments, the contexture of narration, the various colours of diction, or the flowery embelliſhments of fancy. Of all that engages the attention of others they are totally inſenſible; while they pry into the worlds of conjecture, and amuſe themſelves with phantoms in the clouds. *Rambler.*

W——n.

W——n. The naked eye of common ſenſe cannot reach ſo far. I revolve in my memory the harmonious ſenſe of Virgil: Virgil ſeems as ignorant as myſelf of his political character. I return to the leſs pleaſing pages of the *Legation:* ſo far from condeſcending to proofs, the Author of the *Legation* is even ſparing of conjectures.

" Many political inſtructions may be drawn from the Æneid." And from what book which treats of MAN, and the adventures of human life, may they not be drawn? His lordſhip's chymiſtry (did his hypotheſis require it) would extract a SYSTEM OF POLICY from the ARABIAN NIGHTS ENTERTAINMENTS.

" A ſyſtem of policy delivered in the example of a great prince, muſt " ſhew him in every public occurrence of life. Hence, Æneas was of ne- " ceſſity to be found voyaging, with Ulyſſes, and fighting, with Achilles *:"

There is another public occurrence, at leaſt as much in the character of a LAWGIVER, as either voyaging or fighting; I mean GIVING LAWS. Except in a ſingle line †, Æneas never appears in that occupation. In Sicily, he compliments Aceſtes with the honour of giving laws to the colony, which he himſelf had founded:

Interea Æneas urbem deſignat aratro,
Sortiturque domos: hoc Ilium, & hæc loca Trojæ
Eſſe jubet. Gaudet regno Trojanus Aceſtes,
Indicitque forum, & patribus dat jura vocatis ‡.

In the ſolemn treaty, which is to fix the fate of his poſterity, he diſclaims any deſign of innovating the laws of Latium. On the contrary, he only demands a hoſpitable ſeat for his gods and his Trojans; and profeſſes to leave the whole authority to king Latinus:

Non ego, nec Teucris Italos parere jubebo,
Nec mihi regna peto: paribus ſe legibus ambæ
Invictæ gentes æterna in fœdera mittant.
Sacra deoſque dabo: ſocer arma Latinus habeto,
Imperium ſolemne ſocer: mihi mœnia Teucri
Conſtituent, urbique dabit Lavinia nomen §.

* D. L. vol. i. p. 212. † Æneid, iii. 137.
‡ Idem, v. 755. § Idem, xii. 189.

" But, after all, is not the fable of the Æneid the eſtabliſhment of an em-
" pire?" Yes, in one ſenſe, I grant it is. Æneas had many external difficulties to ſtruggle with. When the Latins were defeated, Turnus ſlain, and Juno appeaſed, theſe difficulties were removed. The hero's labour was over, the lawgiver's commenced from that moment; and, as if Virgil had a deſign againſt the biſhop's ſyſtem, at that very moment the Æneid ends. Virgil, who corrected with judgment and felt with enthuſiaſm, thought perhaps, that the ſober arts of peace could never intereſt a reader, whoſe mind had been ſo long agitated with ſcenes of diſtreſs and ſlaughter. He might perhaps ſay, like the Sylla of Monteſquieu, " J'aime à remporter des
" victoires, à fonder ou détruire des états, à faire des ligues, à punir un
" uſurpateur; mais pour ces minces détails de gouvernement, où les génies
" médiocres ont tant d'avantages, cette lente exécution des loix, cette diſci-
" pline d'une milice tranquille, mon ame ne ſçauroit s'en occuper *."

Had Virgil deſigned to compoſe a POLITICAL INSTITUTE, the example of Fenelon, his elegant imitator, may give us ſome notion of the manner in which he would have proceeded. The preceptor of the Duke of Burgundy profeſſedly deſigned to educate a prince for the happineſs of the people. Every incident in his pleaſing romance is ſubſervient to that great end. The goddeſs of wiſdom, in a human ſhape, conducts her pupil through a varied ſeries of inſtructive adventure; and every adventure is a leſſon or a warning for Telemachus. The pride of Seſoſtris, the tyranny of Pygmalion, the perfidy of Adraſtus, and the imprudence of Idomeneus, are diſplayed in their true light. The innocence of the inhabitants of Bœtica, the commerce of Tyre, and the wiſe laws of Crete and Salentum, inſtructed the prince of the various means by which a people may be made happy. From the Telemachus of Fenelon, I could paſs with pleaſure to the Cyropœdia of Xenophon. But I ſhould be led too far from my ſubject, were I to attempt to lay open the true nature and deſign of that philoſophical hiſtory. We muſt return from Fenelon and Xenophon to the Biſhop of Glouceſter.

His lordſhip props the legiſlative character of Æneas with an additional ſupport: " Auguſtus, who was ſhadowed in the perſon of Æneas, was initi-
" ated into the Eleuſinian myſteries †. *Ergo, &c.*" This doctrine of types and ſhadows, though true in general, has on this, as well as on graver occaſions, produced a great abuſe of reaſon, or at leaſt of reaſoning. To con-

* Oeuvres de Monteſquieu, tom. iii. p. 555. † D. L. vol. i. p. 228.

fine myſelf to Virgil, I ſhall only ſay, that he was too judicious to compliment the Emperor, at the expence of good ſenſe and probability. Every age has its manners; and the poet muſt ſuit his hero to the age, and not the age to his hero. It is eaſy to give inſtances of this truth. Marc Antony, when defeated and beſieged in Alexandria, challenged his competitor to decide their quarrel by a ſingle combat. This was rejected by Auguſtus with contempt and deriſion, as the laſt effort of a deſperate man *; and the world applauded the prudence of Auguſtus, who preferred the part of a general to that of a gladiator. The temper and good ſenſe of Virgil muſt have made him view things in the ſame light; yet, when Virgil introduces Æneas in ſimilar circumſtances, he gives him a quite different conduct. The hero wiſhes to ſpare the innocent people, provokes Turnus to a ſingle combat, and, even after the perfidy and laſt defeat of the Rutuli, is ſtill ready to riſk his perſon and victory, againſt the unhappy life and deſperate fortunes of his rival. The laws of honour are different in different ages; and a behaviour which in Auguſtus was decent, would have covered Æneas with infamy.

We may apply this obſervation to the very caſe of the Eleuſinian myſteries. Auguſtus was initiated into them, at a time when Eleuſis was become the COMMON TEMPLE OF THE UNIVERSE. The Trojan hero could not, with the ſmalleſt propriety, ſet him that example; as the Trojan hero lived in an age when thoſe rites were confined to the natives of Greece, and even of Attica †.

I have now wandered through the ſcientific maze in which the Biſhop of Glouceſter has concealed his firſt and general argument. It appears (when reſumed) to amount to this irrefragable demonſtration, "THAT IF THE "MYSTERIES WERE INSTITUTED BY LEGISLATORS, (which they probably "were not,) ÆNEAS (who was no legiſlator) MUST OF COURSE BE INI-"TIATED INTO THEM BY THE POET."

And here I ſhall mention a collateral reaſon aſſigned by his lordſhip, which might engage Virgil to introduce a deſcription of the myſteries: the PRACTICE OF OTHER POETS. This proof is ſo exceedingly brittle, that I

* Plutarch, in Vit. M. Anton. tom. i. 950. edit. Wechel.

† Plutarch, in Vit. Theſei, tom. i. p. 16. Herodot. viii. 65. Cicero de Nat. Deor. i. 42. The gradation of Athenians, Greeks, and mankind at large, may be traced in theſe paſſages.

fear to handle it; and ſhall report it faithfully in the words of our ingenious critic *:

" Had the old poem under the name of Orpheus been now extant, it " would perhaps have ſhewn us, that no more was meant than Orpheus's " initiation; and that the hint of this Sixth Book was taken from thence."

As nothing now remains of that old poem, except the title, it is not altogether ſo eaſy to gueſs what it would or would not have ſhewn us.

" But farther, it was cuſtomary for the poets of the Auguſtan age to " exerciſe themſelves on the ſubject of the myſteries, as appears from " Cicero, who deſires Atticus, then at Athens, and initiated, to ſend to " Chilius, a poet of eminence, an account of the Eleuſinian myſteries; in " order, as it ſhould ſeem, to inſert them in ſome poem he was then " writing."

The Eleuſinian myſteries are not mentioned in the original paſſage. Cicero uſing the obſcure brevity of familiar letters, deſires that Atticus would ſend their friend Chilius, ΕΥΜΟΛΠΙΔΩΝ ΠΑΤΡΙΑ †, which may ſignify twenty different things, relative either to the worſhip of Ceres in particular, or to the Athenian inſtitutions in general; but which can hardly be applied to the Eleuſinian myſteries ‡.

" Thus it appears that both the ancient and modern poets afforded Virgil " a pattern for this famous epiſode."

How does this appear? From an old poem, of whoſe contents the critic is totally ignorant, and from an obſcure paſſage, the meaning of which he has moſt probably miſtaken.

Inſtead of conjecturing what Virgil might or ought to do, it would ſeem far more natural to examine what he has done. The Biſhop of Glouceſter attempts to prove, that the deſcent to hell is properly an initiation; ſince the

* D. L. vol. i. p. 233.

† Chilius te rogat, et ego ejus rogatû; ευμολπιδων πατρια. *Cicero ad Attic.* i. 9.

‡ As the B. of G. alleges the authority of Victorius, I ſhall ſhelter myſelf under the names and reaſons of Grœvius and the Abbé Mongault, and even tranſcribe the words of the former. " Non eſt ut hic intelligantur ritus illi ſecretiores, qui tantùm myſtis noti erant, " et ſine capitis periculo vulgari non poterant, ſed illa ſacra et ceremoniæ, quibus in Eleuſi- " niis celebrandis utebantur in omnium oculis Eumolpidæ; quaſque poetæ et priſci ſcriptores " alii commemorant paſſim: aut fortè per Eumolpidas intelligit tectè ipſos Athenienſes: ut pe- " tierit Chilius, Athenienſium leges et diſciplinam ſibi deſcribi et mitti."

Sixth Book of the Æneid really contains the ſecret doctrine as well as the ceremonies of the Eleuſinian myſteries.

What was this SECRET DOCTRINE? As I profeſs my ignorance, we muſt conſult the oracle. "The ſecret doctrine of the myſteries revealed to the "initiated, that JUPITER . . . AND THE WHOLE RABBLE OF LICENTIOUS "DEITIES, WERE ONLY DEAD MORTALS *." Is any thing like this laid open in the Sixth Book of Virgil? Not the remoteſt hint of it can be diſcovered throughout the whole book; and thus, to uſe his Lordſhip's own words, SOMETHING (I had almoſt written EVERY THING) is ſtill wanting "to "complete the IDENTIFICATION †."

Notwithſtanding this diſappointment, which is cautiouſly concealed from the reader, the learned Biſhop ſtill courſes round the Elyſian Fields in queſt of a ſecret. Once he is ſo lucky as to find Æneas talking with the poet Muſæus, whom tradition has reckoned among the founders of the Eleuſinian myſteries. The critic liſtens to their converſation; but, alas! Æneas is only enquiring, in what part of the garden he may find his father's ſhade; to which Muſæus returns a very polite anſwer. Anchiſes himſelf is our laſt hope. As that venerable ſhade explains to his ſon ſome myſterious doctrines, concerning the univerſal mind and the tranſmigration of ſouls, his lordſhip is pleaſed to aſſure us, that theſe are THE HIDDEN DOCTRINES OF PERFECTION revealed only to the initiated. Let us for a moment lay aſide hypotheſis, and read Virgil.

It is obſervable, that the three great poets of Rome were all addicted to the Epicurean philoſophy; a ſyſtem, however, the leaſt ſuited to a poet; ſince it baniſhes all the genial and active powers of nature, to ſubſtitute in their room a dreary void, blind atoms, and indolent gods. A deſcription of the infernal ſhades was incompatible with the ideas of a philoſopher whoſe diſciples boaſted, that he had reſcued the captive world from the tyranny of religion, and the fear of a future ſtate. Theſe ideas Virgil was obliged to reject: but he does ſtill more; he abandons not only the CHANCE of Epicurus, but even theſe gods, whom he ſo nobly employs in the reſt of his poem, that he may offer to the reader's imagination a far more ſpecious and ſplendid ſet of ideas:

Principio cœlum, ac terras, campoſque liquentes,
Lucentemque globum lunæ, Titaniaque aſtra
Spiritus intus alit, totamque infuſa per artus
Mens agitat molem, et magno ſe corpore miſcet ‡.

* D. L. vol. i. p. 154. † Idem, p. 277. ‡ Æneid, vi. 724.

The

The more we examine theſe lines, the more we ſhall feel the ſublime poetry of them. But they have likewiſe an air of philoſophy, and even of religion, which goes off on a nearer approach. The mind which is INFUSED * into the ſeveral parts of matter, and which MINGLES ITSELF with the mighty maſs, ſcarcely retains any property of a ſpiritual ſubſtance; and bears too near an affinity to the principles, which the impious Spinoza revived rather than invented.

I am not inſenſible, that we ſhould be ſlow to ſuſpect, and ſtill ſlower to condemn. The poverty of human language, and the obſcurity of human ideas, make it difficult to ſpeak worthily of THE GREAT FIRST CAUSE. Our moſt religious poets, in ſtriving to expreſs the preſence and energy of the Deity, in every part of the univerſe, deviate unwarily into images, which are ſcarcely diſtinguiſhed from materialiſm. Thus our Ethic Poet:

> " All are but parts of one ſtupendous whole,
> " Whoſe body Nature is, and God the ſoul †;"

and ſeveral paſſages of Thomſon require a like favourable conſtruction. But theſe writers deſerve that favour, by the ſublime manner in which they celebrate the great Father of the Univerſe, and by thoſe effuſions of love and gratitude, which are inconſiſtent with the materialiſt's ſyſtem. Virgil has no ſuch claim to our indulgence. THE MIND of the UNIVERSE is rather a metaphyſical than a theological being. His intellectual qualities are faintly diſtinguiſhed from the powers of matter, and his moral attributes, the ſource of all religious worſhip, form no part of Virgil's creed.

Yet is this creed approved ‡ by our orthodox prelate, as free from any mixture of Spinoziſm. I congratulate his lordſhip on his indulgent and moderate temper. His brethren (I mean thoſe of former times) had much ſharper eyes for ſpying out a latent hereſy. Yet I cannot eaſily perſuade myſelf, that Virgil's notions were ever the creed of a religious ſociety, like that of the myſteries. Luckily, indeed, I have no occaſion to perſuade myſelf of it; unleſs I ſhould prefer his lordſhip's mere authority to the voice of antiquity, which aſſures me, that this ſyſtem was either invented or imported into Greece by Pythagoras; from the writings of whoſe diſciples Virgil might ſo very naturally borrow it.

* Quomodo porro Deus iſte ſi nihil eſſet niſi animus, aut infixus aut *infuſus* eſſet in mundo. *Cicero de Naturâ Deor.* L. i. c. 11.

† Pope's Eſſay on Man, epiſtle i. ver. 267. ‡ D. L. vol. i. p. 278.

Anchiſes

Anchiſes then proceeds to inform his ſon, that the ſouls both of men and of animals were of celeſtial origin, and (as I underſtand him) parts of the univerſal mind; but that by their union with earthly bodies they contracted ſuch impurities as even death could not purge away. Many expiations, continues the venerable ſhade, are requiſite, before the ſoul, reſtored to its original ſimplicity, is capable of a place in Elyſium. The far greater part are obliged to reviſit the upper world, in other characters and in other bodies; and thus, by gradual ſteps, to reaſcend towards their firſt perfection.

This moral tranſmigration was undoubtedly taught in the myſteries. As the Biſhop aſſerts this from the beſt authority, we are ſurprized at a ſort of diffidence, unuſual to his lordſhip, when he advances things from his own intuitive knowledge. In one place, this tranſmigration is part of the hidden doctrine of perfection *; in another, it is one of thoſe principles which were promiſcuouſly communicated to all †. The truth ſeems to be, that his lordſhip was afraid to rank among the ſecrets of the myſteries, what was profeſſed and believed by ſo many nations and philoſophers. The pre-exiſtence of the human ſoul is a very natural idea; and from that idea ſpeculations and fables of its ſucceſſive revolution through various bodies will ariſe. From Japan to Egypt, the tranſmigration has been part of the popular and religious creed ‡. Pythagoras § and Plato ‖ have endeavoured to demonſtrate the truth of it, by facts, as well as by arguments.

Of all theſe viſions (which ſhould have been confined to the poets) none is more pleaſing and ſublime, than that which Virgil has invented. Æneas ſees before him his poſterity, the heroes of ancient Rome; a long ſeries of airy forms

"Demanding life, impatient for the ſkies,"

and prepared to aſſume, with their new bodies, the little paſſions and tranſient glories of their deſtined lives.

Having ¶ thus revealed the ſecret doctrine of the myſteries, the learned Prelate examines the ceremonies. With the aſſiſtance of Meurſius **, he pours out a torrent of erudition to convince us, that the ſcenes through which

* D. L. vol. i. p. 279. † Idem, p. 142.

‡ See our modern relations of Japan, China, India, &c. and for Egypt, Herodotus, L. ii.

§ Ovid. Metamorph. xv. 69, &c. 158, &c.

‖ Plato in Phædro and in Republic. L. x.

¶ I ſhall mention here, once for all, that I do not always confine myſelf to the ORDER of his lordſhip's PROOFS.

** Meurſii Eleuſinia, ſive de Cereris Eleuſinæ ſacro.

Æneas

Æneas paſſed in his deſcent to the ſhades, were the ſame as were repreſented to the aſpirants in the celebration of the Eleuſinian myſteries. From thence his lordſhip draws his great concluſion, that the deſcent is no more than an emblem of the hero's initiation.

A ſtaunch polemic will feed a diſpute, by dwelling on every acceſſary circumſtance, whilſt a candid critic will confine himſelf to the more eſſential points of it. I ſhall, therefore, readily allow, what I believe may in general be true, that the myſteries exhibited a theatrical repreſentation of all that was believed or imagined of the lower world; that the aſpirant was conducted through the mimic ſcenes of Erebus, Tartarus, and Elyſium; and that a warm enthuſiaſt, in deſcribing theſe awful ſpectacles, might expreſs himſelf as if he had actually viſited the infernal regions *. All this I can allow, and yet allow nothing to the Biſhop of Glouceſter's hypotheſis. It is not ſurprizing that the COPY was like the ORIGINAL; but it ſtill remains undetermined, WHETHER VIRGIL INTENDED TO DESCRIBE THE ORIGINAL OR THE COPY.

Lear and Garrick, when on the ſtage, are the ſame; nor is it poſſible to diſtinguiſh the player from the monarch. In the green-room, or after the repreſentation, we eaſily perceive, what the warmth of fancy and the juſtneſs of imitation had concealed from us. In the ſame manner it is from extrinſical circumſtances, that we may expect the diſcovery of Virgil's allegory. Every one of thoſe circumſtances perſuades me, that Virgil deſcribed a real, not a mimic world, and that the ſcene lay in the infernal ſhades, and not in the temple of Ceres.

The ſingularity of the Cumœan ſhores muſt be preſent to every traveller who has once ſeen them. To a ſuperſtitious mind, the thin cruſt, vaſt cavities, ſulphureous ſteams, poiſonous exhalations, and fiery torrents, may ſeem to trace out the narrow confine of the two worlds. The lake Avernus was the chief object of religious horror; the black woods which ſurrounded it, when Virgil firſt came to Naples, were perfectly ſuited to feed the ſuperſtition of the people †. It was generally believed, that this deadly flood was the entrance of hell ‡; and an oracle was once eſtabliſhed on its banks, which pretended, by magic rites, to call up the departed ſpirits §. Æneas, who revolved a more daring enterpriſe, addreſſes himſelf to the prieſteſs of

* See D. L. vol. i. particularly p. 280.
† Strabo, L. v. p. 168.
‡ Silius Italicus, L. xii.
§ Diod. Sicul. L. iv. p. 267. edit. Weſſeling.

thoſe

thoſe dark regions. Their converſation may perhaps inform us, whether an initiation, or a deſcent to the ſhades, was the object of this enterprize. She endeavours to deter the hero, by ſetting before him all the dangers of his raſh undertaking:

—Facilis deſcenſus Averni:
Noctes atque dies patet atri janua Ditis;
Sed revocare gradum, ſuperaſque evadere ad auras,
Hoc opus, hic labor eſt *.

Theſe particulars are abſolutely irreconcileable with the idea of initiation, but perfectly agreeable to that of a real deſcent. That every ſtep, and every inſtant, may lead us to the grave is a melancholy truth. The myſteries were only open at ſtated times, a few days at moſt in the courſe of the year. The mimic deſcent of the myſteries was laborious and dangerous, the return to light eaſy and certain. In real death, this order is inverted:

—Pauci, quos æquus amavit
Jupiter, aut ardens evexit ad æthera virtus,
Diis geniti, potuere †.

Theſe heroes, as we learn from the ſpeech of Æneas, were Hercules, Orpheus, Caſtor and Pollux, Theſeus, and Pirithous. Of all theſe, antiquity believed, that before their death they had ſeen the habitations of the dead; nor, indeed, will any of the circumſtances tally with a ſuppoſed initiation. The adventure of Eurydice, the alternate life of the brothers, and the forcible intruſion of Alcides, Theſeus, and Pirithous, would mock the endeavours of the moſt ſubtle critic, who ſhould try to melt them down into his favourite myſteries. The exploits of Hercules, who triumphed over the king of terrors,

Tartareum ille manu cuſtodem in vincla petivit,
Ipſius à ſolio regis traxitque trementem ‡;

was a wild imagination of the Greeks §. But it was the duty of antient poets to adopt and embelliſh theſe popular traditions; and it is the intereſt of every man of taſte, to acquieſce in THEIR POETICAL FICTIONS.

* Æneid, vi. 126. † Idem, vi. 129. ‡ Idem, vi. 395.
§ Homer, Odyſſ. L. xi. ver. 623. Apoll. Biblioth. L. ii. c. 5.

After this, we may leave ingenious men to ſearch out what, or whether any thing gave riſe to thoſe idle ſtories. Diodorus Siculus repreſents Pluto as a kind of undertaker, who made great improvements in the uſeful art of funerals *. Some have ſought for the poetic hell in the mines of Epirus †, and others in the myſteries of Egypt. As this laſt notion was publiſhed in French ‡, ſix years before it was invented in Engliſh §, the learned author of the *D. L.* has been ſeverely treated by ſome ungenerous adverſaries ‖. Appearances, it muſt be confeſſed, wear a very ſuſpicious aſpect: but what are appearances, when weighed againſt his lordſhip's declaration, "That "this is a point of honour in which he is particularly delicate; and that he "may venture to boaſt, that he believes no author was ever more averſe to "take to himſelf what belonged to another ¶." Beſides, he has enriched this myſterious diſcovery with many collateral arguments, which would for ever have eſcaped all inferior critics. In the caſe of Hercules, for inſtance, he demonſtrates, that the initiation and the deſcent to the ſhades were the ſame thing, becauſe an antient has affirmed that they were different **; and that Alcides was initiated at Eleuſis, before he ſet out for Tænarus, in order to deſcend to the infernal regions.

There is, however, a ſingle circumſtance, in the narration of Virgil, which has juſtly ſurprized critics, unacquainted with any but the obvious ſenſe of the poet; I mean the IVORY GATE. The Biſhop of Glouceſter ſeizes this, as the ſecret mark of allegory, and becomes eloquent in the exultation of triumph ††. I could, however, repreſent to him, that in a work which was deprived of the author's laſt reviſion, Virgil might too haſtily employ what Homer had invented, and at laſt unwarily ſlide into an Epicurean idea ‡‡. Let this be as it may, an obſcure expreſſion is a weak

* Diodor. Sicul. L. v. p. 386. Edit. Weſſeling.

† Leclerc Biblioth. Univerſelle, tom. vi. p. 55.

‡ By the Abbé Teraſſon, in his philoſophical romance of Sethos, printed at Amſterdam in the year 1732. See the third book, from beginning to end. The author was a ſcholar and a philoſopher. His book has far more variety and originality than Telemachus. Yet Sethos is forgotten, and Telemachus will be immortal. That harmony of ſtyle, and the great talent of ſpeaking to the heart and paſſions, which Fenelon poſſeſſed, was unknown to Teraſſon. I am not ſurprized that Homer was admired by the one, and criticized by the other.

§ See D. L. vol. I. p. 228, &c. The firſt edition was printed in London, in the year 1738.

‖ Cowper's Life of Socrates, p. 102.

¶ Letter from a late profeſſor of Oxford, &c. p. 133.

** D. L. vol. III. p. 277. †† Idem, vol. I. p. 229. ‡‡ Idem, vol. I. p. 283.

baſis

baſis for an elaborate ſyſtem; and whatever his lordſhip may chuſe to do, I had much rather reproach my favourite poet with want of care in one line, than with want of taſte throughout a whole book *.

Virgil has borrowed, as uſual, from Homer his epiſode of the infernal ſhades, and, as uſual, has infinitely improved what the Grecian had invented. If, among a profuſion of beauties, I durſt venture to point out the moſt ſtriking beauties of the Sixth Book, I ſhould perhaps obſerve, 1. That after accompanying the hero through the ſilent realms of night and chaos, we ſee with aſtoniſhment and pleaſure a new creation burſting upon us; 2. That we examine, with a delight which ſprings from the love of virtue, the juſt empire of Minos; in which the apparent irregularities of the preſent ſyſtem are corrected; and where the patriot who died for his country is happy, and the tyrant who oppreſſed it is miſerable. 3. As we intereſt ourſelves in the hero's fortunes, we ſhare his feelings: the melancholy Palinurus, the wretched Deiphobus, the indignant Dido; the Grecian kings who tremble at his preſence, and the venerable Anchiſes who embraces his pious ſon, and diſplays to his ſight the future glories of his race; all theſe objects affect us with a variety of pleaſing ſenſations.

Let us for a moment obey the mandate of our great critic, and conſider theſe awful ſcenes as a mimic ſhew, exhibited in the temple of Ceres, by the contrivance of the prieſt, or, if he pleaſes, of the legiſlator. Whatever was animated (I appeal to every reader of taſte), whatever was terrible, or whatever was pathetic, evaporates into lifeleſs allegory:

——*tenuem ſine viribus umbram.*
Dat inania verba,
Dat ſine mente ſonum, greſſuſque effingit euntis.

The end of philoſophy is truth; the end of poetry is pleaſure. I willingly adopt any interpretation which adds new beauties to the original; I aſſiſt in perſuading myſelf, that it is juſt; and could almoſt ſhew the ſame indulgence to the critic's as to the poet's fiction. But ſhould a grave doctor

* Horace ſeems to have uſed as unguarded an expreſſion:

Et adſcribi *quietis*
Ordinibus patiar deorum. *Od. L. iii. 3.*

The word and idea of *Quietus* are perfectly Epicurean; but rather claſh with the active paſſions diſplayed in the reſt of Juno's ſpeech.

His lordſhip (D. L. vol. II. p. 140.) accuſes Virgil himſelf of a like inattention; which, with his uſual gentleneſs, he calls an *abſurdity*.

lay out fourſcore pages in explaining away the ſenſe and ſpirit of Virgil, I ſhould have every inducement to believe, that Virgil's ſoul was very different from the doctor's.

I have almoſt exhauſted my own, and probably my reader's patience, whilſt I have obſequiouſly waited on his lordſhip, through the ſeveral ſtages of an intricate hypotheſis. He muſt now permit me to allege two very ſimple reaſons, which perſuade me, that Virgil has not revealed the ſecret of the Eleuſinian myſteries; the firſt is HIS IGNORANCE, and the ſecond HIS DISCRETION.

1. As his lordſhip has not made the ſmalleſt attempt to prove that Virgil was himſelf initiated, it is plain that he ſuppoſed it, as a thing of courſe. Had he any right to ſuppoſe it? By no means: that ceremony might naturally enough finiſh the education of a young Athenian; but a barbarian, a Roman, would moſt probably paſs through life without directing his devotion to the foreign rites of Eleuſis.

The philoſophical ſentiments of Virgil were ſtill more unlikely to inſpire him with that kind of devotion. It is well known that he was a determined Epicurean *; and a very natural antipathy ſubſiſted between the Epicureans and the managers of the myſteries. The celebration opened with a ſolemn excommunication of thoſe Atheiſtical philoſophers, who were commanded to retire, and to leave that holy place for pious believers †; the zeal of the people was ready to enforce this admonition. I will not deny, that curioſity might ſometimes tempt an Epicurean to pry into theſe ſecret rites; and that gratitude, fear, or other motives, might engage the Athenians to admit ſo irreligious an aſpirant. Atticus was initiated at Eleuſis; but Atticus was the friend and benefactor of Athens ‡. Theſe extraordinary exceptions may be proved, but muſt not be ſuppoſed.

Nay, more; I am ſtrongly inclined to think that Virgil was never out of Italy till the laſt year of his life. I am ſenſible, that it is not eaſy to prove a negative propoſition, more eſpecially when the materials of our knowledge are ſo very few and ſo very defective §; and yet by glancing our eye over the ſeveral

* See the Life of Virgil by Donatus, the Sixth Eclogue, and the Second Georgic, v. 490.

† Lucian in Alexandro, p. 489.

‡ Cornel. Nepos, in Vit. Attici, c. 2, 3, 4.

§ The life of Virgil, attributed to Donatus, contains many characteriſtic particulars; but which are loſt in confuſion, and diſgraced with a mixture of abſurd ſtories, ſuch as none but a monk

ſeveral periods of Virgil's life, we may perhaps attain a ſort of probability, which ought to have ſome weight, ſince nothing can be thrown into the oppoſite ſcale.

Although Virgil's father was hardly of a lower rank than Horace's, yet the peculiar character of the latter afforded his ſon a much ſuperior education: Virgil did not enjoy the ſame opportunities of obſerving mankind on the great theatre of Rome, or of purſuing philoſophy, in her favourite ſhades of the academy.

Adjecêre bonæ paulò plus artis Athenæ:
Scilicet ut poſſem curvo dignoſcere rectum,
Atque inter ſilvas academi quærere verum *.

The ſphere of Virgil's education did not extend beyond Mantua, Cremona, Milan, and Naples †.

After the accidents of civil war had introduced Virgil to the knowledge of the great, he paſſed a few years at Rome, in a ſtate of dependance, the Juvenum Nobilium Cliens ‡. It was during that time that he compoſed his Eclogues, the haſty productions of a muſe capable of far greater things §.

By the liberality of Auguſtus and his courtiers, Virgil ſoon became poſſeſſed of an affluent fortune ‖. He compoſed the Georgics and the Æneid in his elegant villas of Campania and Sicily; and ſeldom quitted thoſe pleaſing retreats even to come to Rome ¶.

After he had finiſhed the Æneid, he reſolved on a journey into Greece and Aſia, to employ three years in reviſing and perfecting that poem, and to devote the remainder of his life to the ſtudy of philoſophy **. He was at Athens, with Auguſtus, in the ſummer of A V C 735; and whilſt Auguſtus was at Athens, the Eleuſinian myſteries were celebrated ††. It is not

a monk of the darker ages could either invent or believe. I always conſidered them as the interpolations of ſome more recent writer; and am confirmed in that opinion by the life of Virgil, pure from thoſe additions which Mr. Spence lately publiſhed, from a Florence MS. at the beginning of Mr. Holdſworth's valuable obſervations on Virgil.

* Horat. L. II. Ep. ii. ver. 43.
† Donat. in Virgil.
‡ Horat. L. IV. Od. xii.
§ Donat. in Virgil.
‖ Prope *Centies Seſtertium*, about eighty thouſand pounds.
¶ Donat in Virgil.
** Id. ibid.
†† They always began the fifteenth of the Attic month Boedromion, and laſted nine days. Thoſe who take the trouble of calculating the Athenian calendar, on the principles laid down by Mr. Dodwell (de Cyclis Antiquis) and by Dr. Halley, will find, that A V C. Varr. 735, the

not impoſſible, that Virgil might then be initiated, as well as the Indian philoſopher *; but the Æneid could receive no improvement from his newly-acquired knowledge. He was taken ill at Megara. The journey increaſed his diſorder, and he expired at Brunduſium, the twenty-ſecond of September of the ſame year 735 †.

Should it then appear probable, that Virgil had no opportunity of learning the SECRET of the myſteries, it will be ſomething more than probable, that he has not revealed what he never knew.

His Lordſhip will perhaps tell me, that Virgil might be initiated into the Eleuſinian myſteries without making a journey to Athens: ſince thoſe myſteries had been brought to Rome long before ‡. Here indeed I ſhould be apt to ſuſpect ſome miſtake, or, at leaſt, a want of preciſion in his Lordſhip's ideas; as Salmaſius § and Caſaubon ‖, men tolerably verſed in antiquity, aſſure me, that indeed ſome Grecian ceremonies of Ceres had been practiſed at Rome from the earlieſt ages; but that the myſteries of Eleuſis were never introduced into that capital, either by the emperor Hadrian, or by any other: and I am the more induced to believe, that theſe rites were not imported in Virgil's time, as the accurate Suetonius ſpeaks of an unſucceſsful attempt for that purpoſe, made by the emperor Claudius, above threeſcore years after Virgil's death ¶.

II. None but the initiated COULD reveal the ſecret of the myſteries; and THE INITIATED COULD NOT REVEAL IT, WITHOUT VIOLATING THE LAWS, AS WELL OF HONOUR AS OF RELIGION. I ſincerely acquit the Biſhop of Glouceſter of any deſign; yet ſo unfortunate is his ſyſtem, that it repreſents a moſt virtuous and elegant poet, as equally devoid of taſte, and of common honeſty.

His Lordſhip acknowledges, that the initiated were bound to ſecrecy by the moſt ſolemn obligations **; that Virgil was conſcious of the imputed impiety of his deſign; that at Athens he never durſt have ventured on it; that even at Rome ſuch a diſcovery was eſteemed not only IMPIOUS but INFA-

the 15th of Boedromion coincided with the 24th of Auguſt of the Julian year. But if we may believe Dion Caſſius, the celebration was this year anticipated, on account of Auguſtus and the Indian philoſopher. L. LIV. p. 739. edit. Reimar.

* Strabo, L. xv. p. 720.
† Donat. in Virgil.
‡ D. L. vol. I. p. 118.
§ Salmaſius ad Scriptores Hiſt. Auguſt. p. 55.
‖ Caſaubon ad Scriptor. Hiſt. Auguſt. p. 25.
¶ Sueton. in Claud. c. 25.
** D. L. vol. I. p. 147.

MOUS: and yet his Lordſhip maintains, that after the compliment of a formal apology,

Sit mihi fas, audita loqui *.

Virgil lays open the whole SECRET of the myſteries under the thin veil of an allegory, which could deceive none but the moſt careleſs readers †.

An apology! an allegory! Such artifices might perhaps have ſaved him from the ſentence of the Areopagus, had ſome zealous or intereſted prieſt denounced him to that court, as guilty of publiſhing A BLASPHEMOUS POEM. But the laws of honour are more rigid, and yet more liberal than thoſe of civil tribunals. Senſe, not words, is conſidered; and guilt is aggravated, not protected, by artful evaſions. Virgil would ſtill have incurred the ſevere cenſure of a contemporary, who was himſelf a man of very little religion.

Vetabo, qui Cereris ſacrum
Vulgârit arcanæ, ſub iiſdem
Sit trabibus, fragilemque mecum
Solvat phaſelum ‡.

Nor can I eaſily perſuade myſelf, that the ingenious mind of Virgil could have deſerved this excommunication.

Theſe lines belong to an ode of Horace, which has every merit, except that of order. That death in our country's cauſe is pleaſant and honourable; that virtue does not depend on the caprice of a popular election; and that the myſteries of Ceres ought not to be diſcloſed, are ideas which have no apparent connection. The beautiful diſorder of lyric poetry, is the uſual apology made by profeſſed critics on theſe occaſions:

Son ſtyle impetueux, ſouvent marche au hazard;
Chez elle, un beau deſordre eſt un effet de l'art §;

An inſufficient apology for the few, who dare judge from their own feelings. I ſhall not deny, that the irregular notes of an untutored muſe have ſometimes delighted me. We can very ſeldom be diſpleaſed with the unconſtrained workings of nature. But the liberty of an outlaw is very different from that of a ſavage. It is a mighty diſagreeable ſight, to obſerve a lyric writer of taſte and reflexion ſtriving to forget the laws of compoſition,

* D. L. vol. I. p. 240. † Idem, p. 277. ‡ Horat. L. III. Od. ii.
§ Boileau, Art Poetique, L. ii. v. 72.

disjointing

disjointing the order of his ideas, and working himself up into artificial madness.

Ut cum ratione insaniat.

I had once succeeded (as I thought) in removing this defect, by the help of an hypothesis which connected the several parts of Horace's ode with each other. My ideas appeared (I mean to myself) most ingeniously conceived. I read the ode once more, and burnt my hypothesis. But to return to our principal subject.

The date of this ode may be of use to us; and the date may be fixed with tolerable certainty, from the mention of the PARTHIANS, who are described as the enemies against whom a brave youth should signalize his valor.

Parthos *feroces*
Vexet eques metuendus hastâ, &c.

Those who are used to the LABOURED HAPPINESS of all Horace's expressions * will readily allow, that if the Parthians are mentioned rather than the Britons or Cantabrians, the Gauls or the Dalmatians, it could be only at a time when the PARTHIAN WAR engaged the public attention. This reflection confines us between the years of Rome 729 and 735. Of these six years, that of 734 has a superior claim to the composition of the ode.

Julius Cæsar was prevented by death from revenging the defeat of Crassus †. This glorious task, unsuccessfully attempted by Marc Antony ‡, seemed to be reserved for the prudence and felicity of Augustus; who became sole master of the Roman world in the year 724; but it was not till the year 729, that, having changed the civil administration and pacified the Western provinces, he had leisure to turn his views towards the East. From that time, Horace, in compliance with the public wish, began to animate both prince and people to revenge the manes of Crassus §. The cautious policy of Augustus, still averse to war, was at length roused in the year 734, by some disturbances in Armenia. He passed over into Asia,

* *Curiosa Felicitas.* The ingenious Dr. Warton has a very strong dislike to this celebrated character of Horace. I suspect that I am in the wrong, since, in a point of criticism, I differ from Dr. Warton. I cannot, however, forbear thinking, that the expression *is itself* what Petronius wished to describe; the happy union of such ease as seems the gift of fortune, with such justness as can only be the result of care and labour.

† Sueton. in Cæsar, c. 44.

‡ Plut. in Vit. Anton. Julian in Cæsar, p. 324. edit. Spanheim.

§ Horat. L. I. Od. ii. L. III. Od. v. L. II. Serm. i. v. 15, &c.

and ſent the young Tiberius with an army beyond the Euphrates. Every appearance promiſed a glorious war. But the Parthian monarch, Phrahates, alarmed at the approach of the Roman legions, and diffident of the fidelity of his ſubjects, diverted the ſtorm, by a timely and humble ſubmiſſion:

——— *Jus, imperiumque Phrahates*
Cæſaris accepit genibus minor *.

Cæſar returned in triumph to Rome, with the Parthian hoſtages, and the Roman enſigns, which had been taken from Craſſus.

Theſe buſy ſcenes, which engage the attention of contemporaries, are far leſs intereſting to poſterity, than the ſilent labours, or even amuſements of a man of genius.

——— *Cæſar dum magnus ad altum*
Fulminat Euphraten bello, victorque volentes
Per populos dat jura, viamque adfectat Olympo.
Illo Virgilium me tempore dulcis alebat
Parthenope, ſtudiis florentem ignobilis otî.

Whilſt Cæſar humbled the Parthians, Virgil was compoſing the Æneid. It is well known, that this noble poem occupied the author, without being able to ſatisfy him, during the twelve laſt years of his life, from the year 723 to the year 735 †. The public expectation was ſoon raiſed, and the modeſt Virgil was ſometimes obliged to gratify the impatient curioſity of his friends. Soon after the death of young Marcellus ‡, he recited the ſecond, fourth, and SIXTH books of the Æneid, in the preſence of Auguſtus and Octavia ‖. He even ſometimes read parts of his work to more numerous companies; with a deſire of obtaining their judgment, rather than their applauſe. In this manner, Propertius ſeems to have heard the SHIELD OF ÆNEAS, and from that ſpecimen he ventures to foretell the approaching birth of a poem, which will ſurpaſs the Iliad.

Actia Virgilium cuſtodis litora Phœbi,
Cæſaris et fortes dicere poſſe rates.

* Horat. L. i. Epiſt. xii. Vall. Pater. L. ii. c. xciv. Tacit. Annal. L. ii. c. i. Sueton. in Octav. c. xxi. and in Tiber. c. xiv. Juſtin, L. xlii. c. v. Dion Caſſius, L. liv. p. 736. edit. Reimar. Joſeph. Ant. L. xv. c. v. Ovid. Faſt. v. ver. 551, &c.

† Donat. in Virgil.

‡ Marcellus died in the latter end of the year 731. *Uſſerii Annales*, p. 555.

‖ Donat. in Virgil.

Qui nunc Æneæ Trojani ſuſcitat arma,
Jactaque Lavinis mœnia litoribus.
Cedite Romani ſcriptores, cedite Graii,
Neſcio quid majus naſcitur Iliade *.

As a friend and as a critic, Horace was entitled to all Virgil's confidence, and was probably acquainted with the whole progreſs of the Æneid, from the firſt rude ſketch, which Virgil drew up in proſe, to that harmonious poetry, which the author alone thought unworthy of poſterity.

To reſume my idea, which depended on this long deduction of circumſtances; when Horace compoſed the ſecond ode of his third book, the Æneid, and particularly the ſixth book, were already known to the public. The deteſtation of the wretch who reveals the myſteries of Ceres, though expreſſed in general terms, muſt be applied by all Rome to the author of the ſixth book of the Æneid. Can we ſeriouſly ſuppoſe, THAT HORACE WOULD HAVE BRANDED WITH SUCH WANTON INFAMY, ONE OF THE MEN IN THE WORLD WHOM HE LOVED AND HONOURED THE MOST †?

Nothing remains to ſay, except that Horace was himſelf ignorant of his friend's allegorical meaning, which the Biſhop of Glouceſter has ſince revealed to the world. It may be ſo; yet, for my own part, I ſhould be very well ſatisfied with underſtanding Virgil no better than Horace did.

It is perhaps ſome ſuch fooliſh fondneſs for antiquity, which inclines me to doubt, whether the BISHOP OF GLOUCESTER has really united the ſevere ſenſe of ARISTOTLE with the ſublime imagination of LONGINUS. Yet a judicious critic (who is now, I believe, ARCHDEACON OF GLOUCESTER) aſſures the public, that his patron's mere amuſements have done much more than the joint labours of the two Grecians. I ſhall conclude theſe Obſervations with a remarkable paſſage from the Archdeacon's Dedication ‡: "It was not enough, in YOUR ENLARGED VIEW OF "THINGS, to reſtore either of theſe models (ARISTOTLE or LONGINUS) to "their original ſplendor. They were both to be revived; or rather A "NEW ORIGINAL PLAN OF CRITICISM to be ſtruck out, WHICH SHOULD "UNITE THE VIRTUES OF EACH OF THEM. This experiment was made on "the two greateſt of our own poets, (Shakſpeare and Pope,) and by re-

* Propert. L. ii. El. xxv. v. 66.

† Horat. L. i. Od. iii. L. i. Serm. v. ver. 39, &c.

‡ See the Dedication of Horace's Epiſtle to Auguſtus, with an Engliſh commentary and notes.

" flecting all the LIGHTS OF THE IMAGINATION ON THE SEVEREST REASON, " every thing was effected which the warmeſt admirer of ancient art could " promiſe himſelf from ſuch a union. BUT YOU WENT FARTHER: by " joining to theſe powers A PERFECT INSIGHT INTO HUMAN NATURE; and " ſo ennobling the exerciſe of literary, by the juſteſt moral cenſure, YOU " HAVE NOW AT LENGTH ADVANCED CRITICISM TO ITS FULL GLORY."

POSTSCRIPT.

I WAS not ignorant, that ſeveral years ſince, the Rev. Dr. Jortin had favoured the Public with a DISSERTATION ON THE STATE OF THE DEAD, AS DESCRIBED BY HOMER AND VIRGIL*: but the book is now grown ſo ſcarce, that I was not able to procure a ſight of it till after theſe papers had been already ſent to the preſs. I found Dr. Jortin's performance, as I expected, moderate, learned, and critical. Among a variety of ingenious obſervations, there are two or three which are very cloſely connected with my preſent ſubject.

I had paſſed over in ſilence one argument of the Biſhop of Glouceſter, or rather of Scarron and the Biſhop of Glouceſter; ſince the former found the remark, and the latter furniſhed the inference.

Diſcite juſtitiam moniti, & non temnere divos,

cries the unfortunate Phlegyas. In the midſt of his torments, he preaches juſtice and piety, like Ixion in Pindar. A very uſeful piece of advice, ſays the French buffoon, for thoſe who were already damned to all eternity:

Cette ſentence eſt bonne et belle:
Mais en enfer, de quoi ſert elle?

From this judicious piece of criticiſm his lordſhip argues, that Phlegyas was preaching not to the dead, but to the living; and that Virgil is only deſcribing the mimic Tartarus, which was exhibited at Eleuſis for the inſtruction of the initiated.

I ſhall tranſcribe one or two of the reaſons, which Dr. Jortin condeſcends to oppoſe to Scarron's criticiſm.

* Six Diſſertations on different Subject, publiſhed in a volume in octavo, in the year 1755. It is the Sixth Diſſertation, p. 207—324.

" To preach to the damned, says he, is labour in vain. And what if it " is? It might be part of his punishment, to exhort himself and others, when " exhortations were too late. This admonition, as far as it relates to himself " and his companions in misery, is to be looked upon not so much as an ad- " monition to mend, but as a bitter sarcasm, and reproaching of past ini- " quities.

" It is labour in vain. But in the poetical system, it seems to have been " the occupation of the damned to labour in vain, to catch at meat and drink " that fled from them, &c.

" His instruction, like that of Ixion in Pindar, might be for the use of " the living. You will say, *how can that be?* Surely nothing is more " easy and intelligible. The muses hear him—The muses reveal it to the " poet, and the inspired poet reveals it to mankind. And so much for " Phlegyas and Monsieur Scarron."

It is prettily observed by Dr. Jortin, " That Virgil, after having shone " out with full splendor through the sixth book, sets at last in a cloud." The IVORY GATE puzzles every commentator, and grieves every lover of Virgil: yet it affords no advantages to the Bishop of Glocester. The objection presses as hard on the notion of an initiation, as on that of a real descent to the shades. " The troublesome conclusion still remains as it was; and " from the manner in which the hero is dismissed after the ceremonies, we " learn, that in those initiations, the machinery, and the whole shew, was (in " the Poet's opinion) a representation of things, which had no truth or " reality.

" *Altera candenti perfecta nitens elephanto:*
" *Sed* FALSA *ad cœlum mittunt* INSOMNIA *manes.*

" Dreams in general may be called *vain* and *deceitful*, *somnia vana*, or " *somnia falsa*, if you will, as they are opposed to the *real* objects which " present themselves to us when we are awake. But when *false* dreams are " opposed to *true* ones, there the epithet *falsa* has another meaning. True " dreams represent what is real, and shew what is true; false dreams repre- " sent things which are not, or which are not true. Thus Homer and Vir- " gil, and many other poets, and indeed the nature of the thing, distinguish " them."

Dr. Jortin, though with reluctance, acquiesces in the common opinion, that by six unlucky lines, Virgil is destroying the beautiful system, which it

has

has coſt him eight hundred to raiſe. He explains too this prepoſterous conduct, by the uſual expedient of the Poet's epicureiſm. I only differ from him in attributing to haſte and indiſcretion, what he conſiders as the reſult of deſign.

Another reaſon, both new and ingenious, is aſſigned by Dr. Jortin, for Virgil explaining away his hero's deſcent into an idle dream. "All communication with the dead, the infernal powers, &c. belonged to the art "magic, and magic was held in abomination by the Romans." Yet if it was held in ABOMINATION, it was ſuppoſed to be real. A writer would not have made his court to James the Firſt, by repreſenting the ſtories of witchcraft as the phantoms of an over-heated imagination.

Whilſt I am writing, a ſudden thought occurs to me, which, rude and imperfect as it is, I ſhall venture to throw out to the public. It is this. After Virgil, in imitation of Homer, had deſcribed the two gates of ſleep, the horn, and the ivory, he again takes up the firſt in a different ſenſe:

—— QUA VERIS FACILIS DATUR EXITUS UMBRIS.

The TRUE SHADES, VERÆ UMBRÆ, were thoſe airy forms which were continually ſent to animate new bodies, ſuch light and almoſt immaterial natures as could without difficulty paſs through a thin tranſparent ſubſtance. In this new ſenſe, Æneas and the Sybill, who were ſtill encumbered with a load of fleſh, could not pretend to the prerogative of TRUE SHADES. In their paſſage over Styx, they had almoſt ſunk Charon's boat.

—— *Gemuit ſub pondere cymba*
Sutilis, et multam accepit rimoſa paludem.

Some other expedient was requiſite for their return; and ſince the horn gate would not afford them an eaſy diſmiſſion, the other paſſage, which was adorned with poliſhed ivory, was the only one that remained either for them, or for the Poet.

By this explanation, we ſave Virgil's judgment and religion, though I muſt own, at the expence of an uncommon harſhneſs and ambiguity of expreſſion. Let it only be remembered, that thoſe, who in deſperate caſes conjecture with modeſty, have a right to be heard with indulgence.

A

DISSERTATION

ON THE SUBJECT OF

L'HOMME AU MASQUE DE FER.

THE myſterious hiſtory of the famous French priſoner, known by the appellation of *l'Homme au Maſque de Fer*, is related by M. Voltaire, in the *Siècle de Louis XIV.*, and in the *Queſtions ſur l'Encyclopedie*. That writer, the moſt ſceptical and lively of his age, never attempts either to conteſt the truth, or to reveal the ſecret of that wonderful affair. *Je ne connois point de fait ni plus extraordinaire ni mieux conſtaté* is the juſt concluſion of his firſt account. In his ſubſequent additions, he refutes with force and contempt the idle ſuppoſitions that this unknown priſoner was the Duc de Beaufort, the Count de Vermandois, or the Duke of Monmouth. At length, breaking off abruptly, he throws out a dark intimation, *qu'il en ſait peut être plus que le Pere Grifet, et qu'il n'en dira pas davantage.*

If we are diſpoſed to exerciſe our curioſity and conjectures upon this hiſtorical anecdote, we muſt ſteadily remember, that no hypotheſis can deſerve the leaſt credit, unleſs it correſponds with and explains the following circumſtances:

1. The priſoner who paſſed his melancholy life in the iſles de St. Marguerite and the Baſtile was called *Marchiali*. As the name was moſt aſſuredly fictitious, this circumſtance ſeems, and indeed is, of ſmall importance. However, in caſe an Italian was either the author of his birth, or the guardian of his infancy, a name drawn from that language would moſt naturally preſent itſelf.

2. Marchiali was buried ſecretly and by night, in the pariſh church of St. Paul's, on the third day of March in the year 1703, as is proved by the journal of the Pere Grifet, who was entruſted with the very delicate employment of confeſſor to the Baſtille. A few days before his death, the unknown priſoner told his phyſician that he believed himſelf about ſixty years of age. If he reckoned with preciſion, he was born in the ſpring of the year 1643, about the time of the death of Louis the Thirteenth. But the dreary hours

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of a priſon move ſlowly, and the infirmities of age are haſtened by grief and ſolitude. Marchiali could ſpeak only from conjecture; nor is it unlikely that he might be ſomewhat younger than he ſuppoſed himſelf.

3. He was conducted to the Iſles de St. Marguerite on the coaſt of Provence, ſome months after the death of Cardinal Mazarin; that is to ſay, about the end of the year 1661, or the beginning of 1662. This is the firſt among the few events of his life. M. de Voltaire mentions, in one place, a previous confinement at Pignerol; but without being perfectly clear, or even conſiſtent, on that head.

4. Marchiali, whoever he was, had never acted any diſtinguiſhed part on the public theatre of the world. The ſudden abſence of ſuch a perſon, in any part of Europe, would infallibly have occaſioned much wonder and enquiry, ſome traces of which muſt have reached our knowledge. But in this inſtance, uſing the ampleſt latitude of time, we cannot even diſcover any one important *death*, that leaves the minuteſt opening for our moſt licentious ſuſpicions.

5. An illuſtrious birth was therefore the only advantage by which the priſoner could be diſtinguiſhed; and his birth muſt indeed have been illuſtrious, ſince, when Monſieur de Louvois made him a viſit, he ſpoke to him ſtanding, and *avec une conſidération qui tenoit du reſpect.* We muſt aſcend very high ere we can attain a rank which that proud and powerful miniſter of the French monarchy could think it his duty to *reſpect.*

6. The moſt extraordinary precautions were employed, not only to ſecure, but to conceal, this myſterious captive; and his guards were ordered to kill him, if he made the leaſt attempt to diſcover himſelf. That order, as well as the ſilver plate which he threw out of the priſon window, after writing ſomething upon it, and which fell into the hands of an illiterate fiſherman, ſufficiently prove that he was acquainted with his own name and condition. The maſk, which he never was permitted to lay aſide, ſhews the apprehenſion of the diſcovery of ſome very ſtriking reſemblance.

7. Priſoners of ſuch alarming importance are ſeldom ſuffered to live. Of all precautions, the dagger or the bowl are undoubtedly the ſureſt. Nothing but the moſt powerful motives, or, indeed, the tendereſt ties, could have ſtopped the monarch's hand, and induced him rather to riſk a diſcovery, than to ſpill the blood of this unfortunate man. He was lodged in the beſt apartment of the Baſtille, his table was ſerved in the moſt delicate manner, he was allowed to play on the guitar, and ſupplied with the fineſt laces and linen, of which he was paſſionately fond. Every kind attention was ſtudi-

ouſly practiſed, that could in any wiſe alleviate the irkſomeneſs of his perpetual impriſonment.

8. When Monſieur de Chamillard, in the year 1721, was on his death-bed, his ſon-in-law, the Marechal de la Feuillade, begged, on his knees, that he would diſcloſe to him that myſterious tranſaction. The dying miniſter refuſed to gratify this unſeaſonable curioſity. "It was the ſecret of the "ſtate, (he ſaid,) and he had taken an oath never to divulge it." The priſoner had then been dead eighteen years, and Louis the Fourteenth almoſt ſix. It muſt have been a ſecret of no common magnitude that could ſtill affect the peace and welfare of future generations.

Before we proceed to a probable ſolution of theſe ſtrange circumſtances, let us try to connect them with ſome facts of a more public and general nature.

1. The doubtful birth of Louis XIV. often occurs, in converſation, as the ſubject of hiſtorical ſcepticiſm. The firſt grounds of the ſuſpicion are obvious. He was born after a ſterile union of twenty-three years between Louis the Thirteenth and Anne of Auſtria. But as ſuch an event, however unfrequent, is neither deſtitute of poſſibility, nor even of example, the ſcandalous rumour would long ſince have died away in oblivion, had it not derived additional ſtrength from the character and ſituation of the royal pair.

2. Though Louis XIII. wanted not either parts or courage, his character was degraded by a coldneſs and debility, both of mind and body, which had little affinity with his heroic father. Had his indifference towards the ſex been confined to the queen, it might have been conſidered as the mere effect of perſonal diſlike; but his *chaſte* amours with his female favourites betrayed to the laughing court, that the king was leſs than a man.

3. Without reviving all the obſolete ſcandal of the *fronde*, we may reſpectfully inſinuate that Anne of Auſtria's reputation of chaſtity was never ſo firmly eſtabliſhed as that of her huſband. To the coquetry of France, the queen united the warm paſſions of a Spaniard. Her friends acknowledge that ſhe was gay, indiſcreet, vain of her charms, and ſtrongly addicted at leaſt to romantic gallantry. It is well known that ſhe permitted ſome diſtinguiſhed favourites to entertain her with ſoft tales of her beauty and their love; and thus removed the diſtant ceremony, which is perhaps the ſureſt defence of royal virtue. Anne of Auſtria paſſed twenty-eight years with a huſband, alike incapable of gratifying her tender or her ſenſual inclinations. At the age of forty-three, ſhe was left an independent widow, miſtreſs of herſelf, and of the kingdom.

4. The civil wars which raged during the minority of Louis XIV. aroſe from the blind and unaccountable attachment of the queen to Cardinal Mazarin, whom ſhe obſtinately ſupported againſt the univerſal clamour of the French nation. The Auſtrian pride, perhaps, and the uſeful merit of the miniſter, might determine the queen to brave an inſolent oppoſition; but a connection, formed by policy, might very eaſily terminate in love. The neceſſity of buſineſs would engage that princeſs in many a ſecret and midnight conference with an Italian of an agreeable perſon, vigorous conſtitution, looſe morals, and artful addreſs. The amazing anecdote hinted at in the honeſt memoirs of La Porte, ſufficiently proves that Mazarin was capable of employing every expedient to inſinuate himſelf into *every part* of the royal family.

5. If Anne of Auſtria yielded to ſuch opportunities, and to ſo artful a lover; if ſhe became a mother after her huſband's death, her weakneſs, and the conſequences of it, would have been carefully ſcreened from the eye of curious malignity. When Louis XIV. ſucceeded to the poſſeſſion of the kingdom, and of the fatal ſecret, he was deeply intereſted in the guard of his own, and of his mother's honour. Had her frailty been revealed to the world, the living proof would have awakened and confirmed all the latent ſuſpicions, diffuſed a ſpirit of diſtruſt and diviſion among the people, and ſhaken the hereditary claim of the monarch. If the ſtrong graſp of Louis XIV. retained the French ſceptre, the doubt and the danger were entailed on future ages. In ſome feeble, or infant reign, an ambitious Condé might embrace the fair pretence to aſſert the right to his genuine branch, and to exclude from the ſucceſſion the ſpurious poſterity of Louis XIII.

In a word, the child of Anne of Auſtria and of Cardinal Mazarin would have been at once the brother and the moſt dangerous enemy of his ſovereign. The humanity of Louis XIV. might have declined a brother's murder; but pride, policy, and even patriotiſm, muſt have compelled that prince to hide his face and his exiſtence with an iron maſk and the walls of the Baſtille.

It is ſcarcely neceſſary to add, that I ſuppoſe the unfortunate Marchiali to have been that child. If the ſeveral facts which I have drawn together blend themſelves, without conſtraint, into a conſiſtent and natural ſyſtem, it is ſurely no weak argument in favour of the truth, or at leaſt of the probability of my opinion.

May 27th, 1774.

MEMOIRE JUSTIFICATIF

POUR SERVIR DE

REPONSE à l'EXPOSÉ des MOTIFS de la Conduite du Roi de FRANCE relativement à l'ANGLETERRE.

L'AMBITION d'une puiſſance, toujours ennemie du répos public, a obligé enfin le roi de la Grande Bretagne à employer dans une guerre juſte et legitime ces forces que Dieu et ſon peuple lui ont confiées.—C'eſt en vain que la France eſſaye de juſtifier ou plutôt de déguiſer ſa politique aux yeux de l'Europe par ſon dernier manifeſte, que l'orgueil et l'artifice ſemblent avoir dicté, mais qui ne peut ſe concilier avec la vérité des faits et les droits des nations. L'équité, la modération, l'amour de la paix, qui ont toujours réglé les démarches du roi, l'engagent maintenant à ſoumettre ſa conduite et celle de ſes ennemis au jugement du tribunal libre et reſpectable, qui prononce ſans crainte et ſans flatterie l'arrêt de l'Europe, du ſiècle préſent et de la poſterité. Ce tribunal, compoſé des hommes éclairés et déſintereſſés de toutes les nations, ne s'arrête jamais aux profeſſions, et c'eſt par les actions des princes qu'il doit juger des motifs de leurs procédés et des ſentiments de leurs cœurs.

Lorſque le roi monta ſur le trône, il jouiſſoit du ſuccés de ſes armes dans les quatre parties du monde. Sa modération rétablit la tranquillité publique, dans le même inſtant qu'il ſoutenoit avec fermeté la gloire de ſa couronne, et qu'il procuroit à ſes ſujets les avantages les plus ſolides. L'expérience lui avoit fait connoître combien les fruits de la victoire même ſont triſtes et amers ; combien les guerres heureuſes ou malheureuſes épuiſent les peuples ſans aggrandir les princes. Ses actions prouvoient à l'univers, qu'il ſentoit tout le prix de la paix, et il étoit au moins à préſumer que la raiſon qui l'avoit éclairé ſur les malheurs inévitables de la guerre, et la dangereuſe vanité des conquêtes, lui inſpireroit la reſolution ſincère et inébranlable de maintenir la tranquillité publique, dont il étoit lui même l'auteur et le garant. Ces principes ont ſervi de baſe à la conduite invariable de ſa majeſté pendant

les quinze années qui ont ſuivi la paix conclué à Paris en 1763 : époque heureuſe de repos et de félicité, dont la mémoire ſera long tems conſervée par le ſouvenir et peut-être par les regrets des nations de l'Europe.—Les inſtructions du roi à tous ſes miniſtres portoient l'empreinte de ſon caractère et de ſes maximes. Il leur recommandoit comme le plus important de leurs devoirs d'écouter avec une attention ſcrupuleuſe les plaintes et les repréſentations des puiſſances, ſes alliés ou ſes voiſins, de prevenir, dans leur origine, tous les ſujets de querelle qui pourroient aigrir ou aliener les eſprits, de détourner le fleau de la guerre par tous les expédiens compatibles avec la dignité du ſouverain d'une nation reſpectable, et d'inſpirer à tous les peuples une juſte confiance dans le ſyſtême politique d'une cour qui déteſtoit la guerre ſans la craindre, qui n'employoit pour ſes moyens que la raiſon et la bonne foi, et qui n'avoit pour objet que la tranquillité générale. Au milieu de cette tranquillité les premières étincelles de la diſcorde s'allumerent en Amerique. Les intrigues d'un petit nombre de chefs audacieux et criminels, qui abuſerent de la ſimplicité crédule de leurs compatriotes, ſéduiſirent inſenſiblement la plus grande partie des colonies Angloiſes à lever l'étendart de la revolte contre la mere patrie, à qui elles étoient redevables de leur exiſtence et de leur bonheur. La cour de Verſailles oublia ſans peine la foi des traités, les dévoirs des alliés, et les droits des ſouverains, pour eſſayer de profiter des circonſtances qui paroiſſoient favorables à ſes deſſeins ambitieux. Elle ne rougit point d'avilir ſa dignité par les liaiſons ſécrettes qu'elle forma avec des ſujets rebelles, et après avoir épuiſé toutes les reſſources honteuſes de la perfidie et de la diſſimulation, elle ôſa avouer à la face de l'Europe, indignée de ſa conduite, le traité ſolemnel que les miniſtres du roi très Chrétien avoient ſigné avec les agens ténébreux des colonies Angloiſes, qui ne fondoient leur indépendance prétendue que ſur la hardieſſe de leur revolte. La déclaration offenſante que le Marquis de Noailles fut chargé de faire à la cour de Londres, le 13 Mars de l'année dernière, autoriſa ſa majeſté à repouſſer par les armes l'inſulte inouie qu'on venoit d'offrir à l'honneur de ſa couronne ; et le roi n'oublia pas dans cette occaſion importante ce qu'il devoit à ſes ſujets et à lui-même. Le même eſprit de fauſſeté et d'ambition regnoit toujours dans les conſeils de la France. L'Eſpagne, qui s'eſt repentie plus d'une fois d'avoir negligé ſes vrais intérêts pour ſervir aveuglément les projets deſtructeurs de la branche ainée de la maiſon de Bourbon, fut engagée à changer le rôle de médiateur pour celui d'ennemi de la Grande Bretagne. Les calamités de la guerre ſe ſont multipliées ; mais la cour de Verſailles ne

doit

doit pas juſqu'à preſent ſe vanter du ſuccés de ſes opérations militaires; et l'Europe ſait apprécier ces victoires navales, qui n'exiſtent que dans les Gazettes et dans les manifeſtes des vainqueurs prétendus.

Puiſque la guerre et la paix impoſent aux nations des devoirs entièrement différens et même oppoſés, il eſt indiſpenſable de diſtinguer ces deux états dans le raiſonnement auſſi bien que dans la conduite; mais dans le dernier manifeſte que la France vient de publier ces deux états ſont perpétuellement confondus. Elle prétend juſtifier ſa conduite en faiſant valoir tour-à-tour et preſqu'au même inſtant, ces droits qu'il n'eſt permis qu'à un ennemi de reclamer, et ces maximes qui règlent les obligations et les procédés de l'amitié nationale. L'addreſſe de la cour de Verſailles à brouiller ſans ceſſe deux ſuppoſitions qui n'ont rien de commun, eſt la conſéquence naturelle d'une politique fauſſe et inſidieuſe, incapable de ſoutenir la lumière du grand jour. Les ſentimens et les démarches du roi, qui n'ont point à redouter l'examen le plus ſévère, l'invitent au contraire à diſtinguer clairement ce que ſes ennemis ont confondu avec tant d'artifice. Il n'appartient qu'à la juſtice de parler ſans crainte le langage de la raiſon et de la vérité.

La pleine juſtification de ſa majeſté et la condamation indélébile de la France, ſe reduit donc à la preuve de deux propoſitions ſimples et preſqu'évidentes; premièrement, Qu'une paix profonde, permanente, et de la part de l'Angleterre ſincère et véritable, ſubſiſtoit entre les deux nations, lorſque la France forma des liaiſons d'abord ſécrettes, et enſuite publiques et avouées, avec les colonies revoltées de l'Amerique: ſecondement, Que ſuivant les maximes les mieux reconnues du droit des gens, et ſelon la teneur même des traités actuellement ſubſiſtans entre les deux couronnes, ces liaiſons pouvoient être regardées comme une infraction de la paix, et que l'aveu public de ces liaiſons équivaloit à une déclaration de guerre de la part du roi très Chrétien. C'eſt peut-être la première fois qu'une nation reſpectable ait eu beſoin de prouver deux vérités auſſi inconteſtables, et la juſtice de la cauſe du roi eſt dejà reconnue par tous les hommes qui jugent ſans intérêt et ſans prévention.

" Lorſque la Providence appella le roi au trône la France jouiſſoit de la " paix la plus profonde." Telles ſont les expreſſions du dernier manifeſte de la cour de Verſailles, qui reconnoit ſans peine les aſſurances ſolemnelles d'une amitié ſincere et des diſpoſitions les plus pacifiques qu'elle recut dans cette occaſion de la part de ſa majeſté Britannique, et qui furent ſouvent renouvellées

nouvellées par l'entremiſe des ambaſſadeurs aux deux cours, pendant quatre ans juſqu'au moment fatal et déciſif de la déclaration du marquis de Noailles. Il s'agit donc de prouver que dans ces tems heureux de la tranquillité générale, l'Angleterre cachoit une guerre ſécrette ſous les apparences de la paix, et que ſes procédés injuſtes et arbitraires étoient portés au point de légitimer du côté de la France les démarches les plus fortes, et qui ne ſeroient permiſes qu'à un ennemi declaré. Pour remplir cet objet il faudroit porter devant le tribunal de l'Europe des griefs clairement articulés et ſolidement établis. Ce grand tribunal exigeroit des preuves formelles et peut-être reitérées de l'injure et de la plainte, le refus d'une ſatisfaction convenable, et la proteſtation de la partie ſouffrante qu'elle ſe tenoit hautement offenſée par ce refus, et qu'elle ſe regardoit deſormais comme affranchie des devoirs de l'amitié et du lien des traités. Les nations qui reſpectent la ſainteté des ſermens et les avantages de la paix, ſont les moins promptes à ſaiſir les occaſions qui ſemblent les diſpenſer d'une obligation ſacrée et ſolemnelle, et ce n'eſt qu'en tremblant qu'elles ôſent renoncer à l'amitié des puiſſances dont elles ont long tems eſſuyé l'injuſtice et les inſultes.

Mais la cour de Verſailles a ignoré ou a mépriſé ces principes ſages et ſalutaires, et au lieu de poſer les fondemens d'une guerre juſte et légitime, elle ſe contente de ſemer dans tous les pages de ſon manifeſte des plaintes vagues et générales, exprimées dans une ſtyle de métaphore et d'exagération. Elle remonte plus de ſoixante ans pour accuſer le peu de ſoin de l'Angleterre à ratifier quelques réglemens de commerce, quelques articles du traité d'Utrecht. Elle ſe permet de reprocher aux miniſtres du roi d'employer le langage de la hauteur et de l'ambition, ſans s'abaiſſer juſqu'au devoir de prouver des imputations auſſi peu vraiſemblables qu'elles ſont odieuſes. Les ſuppoſitions gratuites de la mauvaiſe foi et de l'ambition de la cour de Londres ſont confuſément entaſſées, comme ſi l'on craignoit de s'y arréter. L'on inſinue d'une manière très obſcure les inſultes prétendues qu'ont eſſuyés le commerce, le pavillon et même le territoire François, " et on laiſſe " échapper enfin l'aveu des engagemens que le roi très Chrétien avoit " déjà formés avec l'Eſpagne, pour venger leurs griefs reſpectifs et pour " mettre un terme à l'empire tyrannique que l'Angleterre a uſurpé et pré- " tend conſerver ſur toutes les mers."

Il eſt difficile de combattre des fantomes, on de repondre d'une manière nette et préciſe au langage de la déclamation. La juſte confiance du roi deſireroit

deſireroit ſans doute de ſe livrer à l'examen le plus approfondi de ces plaintes vagues, de ces griefs prétendus, ſur leſquels la cour de Verſailles a ſi prudemment évité de s'expliquer avec la clarté et le détail qui pourroient ſeuls appuyer ſes raiſons et faire excuſer ſes procédés. Pendant une paix de quinze ans les intérêts de deux nations puiſſantes et peut-être jalouſes, qui ſe touchent par tant d'endroits différens dans l'ancien et dans le nouveau monde, fourniſſent inévitablement des ſujets de plainte et de diſcuſſion, que la modération réciproque ſauroit toujours aſſoupir, mais qui ne ſont que trop facilement aigris et empoiſonnés par la haine réelle et les ſoupçons affectés d'un ennemi ſécret et ambitieux : et les malheurs de l'Amerique étoient très propres à multiplier les eſpérances, les prétextes et les prétenſions injuſtes de la France. Cependant telle a été la conduite toujours uniforme et toujours pacifique du roi et de ſes miniſtres, qu'elle a ſouvent reduit ſes ennemis au ſilence, et s'il eſt permis d'appercevoir le vrai ſens de ces accuſations vagues et équivoques, dont l'obſcurité étudiée décele les traits de la honte et de l'artifice, s'il eſt permis de démêler des objets qui n'ont point d'exiſtence, on peut aſſurer avec la hardieſſe de la vérité qu'il eſt pluſieurs de ces griefs prétendus qui ſont annoncés pour la première fois dans une déclaration de guerre, ſans avoir jamais été propoſés à la cour de Londres dans le tems qu'elle auroit pu les écouter avec l'attention ſérieuſe et favorable de l'amitié. A l'égard des plaintes que l'ambaſſadeur de ſa majeſté très Chrétienne communiquoit de tems en tems aux miniſtres du roi, il ſeroit aiſé de donner ou plutôt de renouveller les réponſes ſatisfaiſantes qui prouverent aux yeux de la France elle-même la modération du roi, ſon amour de la juſtice, et la ſincerité de ſes diſpoſitions à conſerver la tranquillité générale de l'Europe. Ces repréſentations, dont la cour de Verſailles pourroit ſe diſpenſer de rappeller le ſouvenir, étoient rarement marquées au coin de la raiſon et de la vérité, et il ſe trouvoit le plus ſouvent que les perſonnes en Europe, en Amerique, ou ſur les mers, deſquelles elle tenoit ſon intelligence ſuſpecte et malfondée, n'avoient pas craint d'abuſer de ſa confiance, pour mieux ſervir ſes intentions ſécrettes. Si les faits que la France faiſoit valoir comme le ſujet de ſes plaintes étoient appuyés quelque fois ſur une baſe moins fragile, les miniſtres du roi les éclairciſſoient ſur le champ par la juſtification la plus nette et la plus entière des motifs et des droits de leur ſouverain, qui pouvoit ſans bleſſer le repos public punir la contrebande qui ſe faiſoit ſur ſes côtes, et à qui les loix des nations accordoient le droit légitime d'arrêter tous les

vaiſſeaux qui portoient des armes et des munitions de guerre à ſes ennemis ou à ſes ſujets rebelles. Les tribunaux étoient toujours ouverts aux particuliers de toutes les nations, et il faut bien peu connoître la conſtitution Britannique pour ſuppoſer que la puiſſance royale eut été capable de les exclure des moyens d'appel. Dans le théâtre vaſte et éloigné des opérations d'une guerre navale, la vigilance la plus active, l'autorité la plus ferme ſont incapables de découvrir ou de réprimer tous les deſordres ; mais toutes les fois que la cour de Verſailles a pu établir des torts réels que ſes ſujets avoient éprouvés ſans la connoiſſance ou l'approbation du roi, ſa majeſté a donné les ordres les plus prompts et les plus efficaces pour arrêter les abus qui bleſſoient ſa dignité, autant que les intérêts de ſes voiſins, qui avoient été envéloppés dans les malheurs de la guerre. L'objet et l'importance de cette guerre ſuffiroient pour démontrer à l'Europe les principes qui ont du régler les démarches politiques de l'Angleterre. Dans le tems qu'elle employoit ſes forces pour ramener à leur devoir les colonies revoltées de l'Amerique, eſt il vraiſemblable qu'elle eût choiſi ce moment pour irriter par l'injuſtice ou l'inſolence de ſes procédés les puiſſances les plus reſpectables de l'Europe ?—L'équité a toujours préſcrit les ſentimens et la conduite du roi, mais dans cette occaſion importante ſa prudence même eſt le garant de ſa ſincerité et de ſa modération.

Mais pour établir clairement le ſyſtême pacifique qui ſubſiſtoit entre les deux nations, il ne faudroit qu'en appeller au temoignage même de la cour de Verſailles. A l'époque où elle ne rougit pas de placer toutes ces infractions pretendues de la tranquillité publique, qui auroient engagé " un prince " moins avare du ſang de ſes ſujets, à uſer ſans-héſiter de répréſailles, et à " repouſſer l'inſulte par la force de ſes armes," les miniſtres du roi très Chrétien parloient le langage de la confiance et de l'amitié. Au lieu d'annoncer les deſſeins de la vengeance avec ce ton de hauteur qui épargne du moins à l'injuſtice les reproches de perfidie et de diſſimulation, la cour de Verſailles cachoit la conduite la plus inſidieuſe ſous les profeſſions les plus ſéduiſantes ; mais ces profeſſions mêmes ſervent aujourd'hui à démentir ſes déclarations, et à rappeller les ſentiments qui auroient du faire la règle de ſa conduite.—Si la cour de Verſailles ne veut pas s'accuſer de la diſſimulation la moins digne de ſa grandeur, elle ſera forcée de convenir que juſqu'au moment qu'elle dicta au marquis de Noailles la déclaration qui a été reçue comme le ſignal de la guerre, elle ne connoiſſoit pas des ſujets de plainte

aſſez réels ou aſſez importans pour l'autoriſer à violer les obligations de la paix, et la foi de traités qu'elle avoit jurés à la face de Dieu et de l'univers, et à ſe diſpenſer de l'amitié nationale dont elle avoit réiteré juſqu'au dernier inſtant les aſſurances les plus vives et les plus ſolemnelles.

Lorſqu'un adverſaire eſt incapable de juſtifier ſa violence dans l'opinion publique, ou même à ſes propres yeux, par les injures qu'il prétend avoir eſſuyées, il a recours au danger chimerique auquel ſa patience auroit pu l'expoſer ; et à la place des faits ſolides dont il eſt dépourvu, il eſſaye de ſubſtituer un vain tableau qui n'exiſte que dans ſon imagination, ou peut-être dans ſon cœur.—Les miniſtres du roi très Chrétien qui paroîſſent avoir ſenti la foibleſſe des moyens qu'ils ont été reduits à employer, font encore des efforts impuiſſants pour ajouter à ces moyens l'appui des ſoupçons les plus odieux, et les plus étranges, " La cour de Londres faiſoit dans ſes ports des " préparatifs et des armemens qui ne pouvoient avoir l'Amérique pour objet: " leur but étoit par conſéquent trop déterminé pour que le roi pût s'y mé- " prendre, et dès lors il devint un devoir rigoureux de faire des diſpoſitions " capables de prévenir les mauvais deſſeins de ſon ennemi, &c. Dans cet " état des choſes le roi ſentit qu'il n'y avoit pas un moment à perdre.". Tel eſt le langage de la France : nous allons faire entendre celui de la vérité.

Pendant les diſputes qui s'allumoient entre la Grande Bretagne et ſes colonies, la cour de Verſailles s'étoit appliquée avec l'ardeur la plus vive et la plus opiniâtre à l'augmentation de ſa marine. Le roi ne prétend pas regner en tyran ſur toutes les mers, mais il ſait que les forces maritimes ont fait dans tous les ſiècles la ſureté et la gloire de ſes états ; et qu'elles ont ſouvent contribué à proteger la liberté de l'Europe contre la puiſſance ambitieuſe qui a ſi longtems travaillé à l'aſſervir.

Le ſentiment de ſa dignité et la juſte connoiſſance de ſes devoirs et de ſes intérêts engageoient ſa majeſté à veiller d'un œil attentif ſur les démarches de la France, dont la politique dangereuſe, ſans motif et ſans ennemi, précipitoit dans tous ſes ports la conſtruction et l'armement des vaiſſeaux, et qui détournoit une partie conſidérable de ſes revenus, pour ſubvenir aux frais de ces préparatifs militaires, dont il étoit impoſſible d'annoncer la néceſſité ou l'objet.—Dans cette conjoncture le roi n'a pu ſe diſpenſer de ſuivre les conſeils de ſa prudence, et l'exemple de ſes voiſins; l'augmentation ſucceſſive de leur marine a ſervi de règle à la ſienne ; et ſans bleſſer les égards qu'elle devoit aux puiſſances amies, ſa majeſté a publiquement déclaré à ſon parlement aſſemblé, qu'il convenoit dans la ſituation actuelle des affaires, que

la défenſe de l'Angleterre ſe trouvât dans un état reſpectable. Les forces navales qu'elle fortifioit avec tant de ſoin n'étoient deſtinées qu'à maintenir la tranquillité générale de l'Europe, et pendant que le temoignage de ſa conſcience diſpoſoit le roi à ajouter foi aux profeſſions de la cour de Verſailles, il ſe préparoit à ne point craindre les deſſeins perfides de ſon ambition.—Elle ôſe maintenant ſuppoſer qu'au lieu de ſe borner aux droits d'une défenſe légitime, le roi s'étoit livré à l'eſpérance des conquêtes, et que la " Reconci- " liation de la Grande Bretagne avec ſes colonies annonçoit de ſa part un " projet formé de les rallier à ſa couronne pour les armer contre la France." Puiſque le cour de Verſailles ne peut excuſer ſes démarches qu'à la faveur d'une ſuppoſition deſtituée de vérité et de vraiſemblance, le roi eſt en droit de la ſommer à la face de l'Europe, de montrer la preuve d'une aſſertion auſſi odieuſe qu'elle eſt hazardée, et de développer ces opérations publiques, ou ces intrigues ſécrettes qui puiſſent autoriſer les ſoupçons de la France, que la Grande Bretagne après un combat long et pénible n'a offert la paix à ſes ſujets que dans le deſſein d'entreprendre une guerre nouvelle contre une puiſſance reſpectable avec laquelle elle conſervoit tous les dehors de l'amitié.

Après avoir fidèlement expoſé les motifs frivoles et les griefs prétendus de la France, on rappelle, avec une aſſurance juſtifiée par la raiſon et par les faits, cette première propoſition ſi ſimple et ſi importante, qu'un état de paix ſubſiſtoit entre les deux nations, et que la France étoit liée par toutes les obligations de l'amitié et des traités envers le roi, qui n'avoit jamais manqué à ſes engagemens légitimes.

Le premier article du traité, ſigné à Paris le 10 Fevrier 1763, entre leurs majeſtés Britannique, très Chrétienne, Catholique, et très Fidèle, confirme de la manière la plus préciſe et la plus ſolemnelle les obligations, que le droit naturel impoſe à toutes les nations, qui ſe reconnoiſſent mutuellement pour amies, mais ces obligations ſont détaillées et ſtipulées dans ce traité par des expreſſions auſſi vives qu'elles ſont juſtes.—Après avoir renfermé dans une formule générale tous les états et tous les ſujets des hautes parties contractantes, elles annoncent leur réſolution non-ſeulement à ne jamais permettre des hoſtilités quelconques par terre ou par mer, mais encore à ſe procurer réciproquement dans toute occaſion tout ce qui pourroit contribuer à leur gloire, intérêts, ou avantages mutuels, ſans donner aucun ſécours ou protection directement ou indirectement à ceux qui voudroient porter quelque préjudice à l'une ou à l'autre des hautes parties contractantes.—Tel fut l'engagement ſacré que la France contracta avec la Grande Bretagne,

et

et on ne ſauroit ſe diſſimuler qu'une ſemblable promeſſe doit s'appliquer avec plus de force encore et d'énergie aux rebelles domeſtiques qu'aux ennemis étrangers des deux couronnes.—La révolte des Américains a mis à l'épreuve la fidélité de la cour de Verſailles, et malgré les exemples fréquens que l'Europe a deja vu de ſon peu de reſpect pour la foi des traités, ſa conduite dans ces circonſtances a étonné et indigné toutes les nations, qui ne ſont pas aveuglement dévouées aux intérêts et même aux caprices de ſon ambition. Si la France s'étoit propoſée de remplir ſes dévoirs, il lui étoit impoſſible de les méconnoitre ; l'eſprit auſſi bien que la lettre du traité de Paris lui impoſoit l'obligation de fermer ſes ports aux vaiſſeaux des Américains, d'interdire à ſes ſujets tout commerce avec ce peuple rebelle, et de ne point accorder ſon ſecours ni ſa protection aux ennemis domeſtiques d'une couronne à laquelle elle avoit juré une amitié ſincere et inviolable. Mais l'expérience avoit trop bien éclairé le roi ſur le ſyſtême politique de ſes anciens adverſaires pour lui faire eſperer qu'ils ſe conformeroient exactement aux principes juſtes et raiſonnables qui aſſurent la tranquillité générale.

Auſſitôt que les colonies révoltées eurent conſommé leurs attentats criminels, par la déclaration ouverte de leur indépendance prétendue, elles ſongerent à former des liaiſons ſécrettes avec les puiſſances les moins favorables aux intérêts de la mere patrie, et à tirer de l'Europe les ſecours militaires, ſans leſquels il leur auroit été impoſſible de ſoutenir la guerre qu'elles avoient entrepriſe. Leurs agens eſſayerent de pénétrer et de ſe fixer dans les différens états de l'Europe ; mais ce ne fut qu'en France qu'ils trouverent un azyle, des eſpérances et des ſécours. Il ne convient pas à la dignité du roi de vouloir rechercher l'époque ou la nature de la correſpondence qu'ils eurent l'addreſſe de lier avec les miniſtres de la cour de Verſailles, et dont on vit bientôt les effets publics dans la liberté générale, ou plutôt dans la licence effrénée d'un commerce illégitime. On ſait aſſez que la vigilance des loix ne peut pas toujours prévenir la contrebande habile, qui ſe reproduit ſous mille formes différentes, et à qui l'avidité du gain fait braver tous les dangers, et éluder toutes les précautions ; mais la conduite des négocians François, qui faiſoient paſſer en Amérique non-ſeulement les marchandiſes utiles ou néceſſaires, mais encore le ſalpetre, la poudre à canon, les munitions de guerre, les armes, l'artillerie, annonçoit hautement qu'ils étoient aſſurés non-ſeulement de l'impunité, mais de la protection même et de la faveur des miniſtres de la cour de Verſailles.

On ne tentoit point une entrepriſe auſſi vaine et auſſi difficile que celle de cacher aux yeux de la Grande Bretagne et de l'Europe entière les démarches d'une compagnie de commerce, qui s'étoit aſſociée pour fournir aux Américains tout ce qui pouvoit nourrir et entretenir le feu de la révolte. Le public inſtruit nommoit le chef de l'entrepriſe dont la maiſon étoit établie à Paris : ſes correſpondans à Dunkerque, à Nantes, à Bordeaux étoient égalemen connus. Les magazins immenſes qu'ils formoient et qu'ils renouvelloient tous les jours furent chargés ſucceſſivement ſur les vaiſſeaux qu'ils conſtruiſoient ou qu'ils achetoient, et dont on eſſayoit à peine de diſſimuler l'objet et la deſtination. Ces vaiſſeaux prenoient ordinairement de fauſſes lettres de mer pour les îſles Françoiſes de l'Amérique, mais les marchandiſes dont leurs cargaiſons étoient compoſées ſuffiſoient avant le moment de leur départ pour laiſſer entrevoir la fraude et l'artifice : ces ſoupçons étoient bientôt confirmés par la direction du cours de ces vaiſſeaux ; et au bout de quelques ſemaines l'on apprenoit ſans ſurpriſe qu'ils étoient tombés entre les mains des officiers du roi qui croiſoient dans les mers de l'Amérique, et qui les arrêtoient à la vue même des côtes des colonies révoltées. Cette vigilance n'étoit que trop bien juſtifiée par la conduite de ceux qui eurent la fortune ou l'addreſſe de s'y dérober ; puiſqu'ils n'aborderent en Amérique que pour livrer aux rébelles les armes et les munitions de guerre dont ils étoient chargés pour leur ſervice.—Les indices de ces faits, qui ne pouvoient être conſidérés que comme une infraction manifeſte de la foi des traités, ſe multiplioient toujours, et la diligence de l'ambaſſadeur du roi à communiquer à la cour de Verſailles ſes plaintes et ſes preuves, ne lui laiſſoit pas même la reſſource honteuſe et humiliante de paroître ignorer ce qui ſe paſſoit et ſe répétoit continuellement au cœur de ſes états. Il indiquoit les noms, le nombre et la qualité des vaiſſeaux, que les agens du commerce de l'Amérique faiſoint équiper dans le ports de la France, pour porter aux rebelles des armes, des munitions de guerre, et même des officiers François qu'on avoit engagés dans les ſervice des colonies révoltées. Les dates, les lieux, les perſonnes, étoient toujours déſignées avec une préciſion qui offroit aux miniſtres de ſa majeſté très Chretienne les plus grandes facilités pour s'aſſurer de la vérité de ces rapports, et pour arrêter, pendant qu'il en étoit tems, le progrès de ces armemens illicites.—Parmi une foule d'exemples qui accuſent le peu d'attention de la cour de Verſailles à remplir les conditions de la paix, ou plutôt ſon attention conſtante et ſoutenue à nourrir la diſcorde et la guerre, il eſt impoſſible de tout dire, et il eſt très difficile de choiſir les objets les plus

frappans.

frappans. Les neuf gros vaiſſeaux équipés et fretés par le Sieur de Beaumarchais et ſes aſſociés, au mois de Janvier de l'an 1777, ne ſont point confondus avec le vaiſſeau l'Amphitrite, qui porta vers le même tems une grande quantité de munitions de guerre, et trente officiers François, qui paſſerent impunément au ſervice des rébelles. Chaque mois et preſque tous les jours fourniſſoient de nouveaux ſujets de plainte; et une courte notice du mémoire que le vicomte de Stormont, ambaſſadeur du roi, communiqua au comte de Vergennes au mois de Novembre de la même année, donnera une idée juſte, mais très imparfaite, de l'eſpèce de torts que la Grande Bretagne avoit ſi ſouvent eſſuïés. " Il y a à Rochfort un vaiſſeau de ſoixante " pièces de canon, et à l'Orient un vaiſſeau des Indes percé pour ſoixante " canons. Ces deux vaiſſeaux ſont deſtinés pour l'uſage des rebelles. Ils " ſeront chargés de différentes marchandiſes, et frétés par Meſſieurs Chau- " mont, Holken, et Sabatier.—Le vaiſſeau l'Heureux eſt parti de Mar- " ſeilles, ſous un autre nom, le vingt-ſix de Septembre. Il va en droiture " à la Nouvelle Hampſhire, quoiqu'il prétend aller aux Iſles. On y a per- " mis l'embarquement de trois mille fuſils, et de deux mille cinq cents livres " de ſouffre, marchandiſe auſſi néceſſaire aux Américains qu'elle eſt inutile " dans les Iſles. Ce vaiſſeau eſt commandé par M. Lundi, officier Fran- " çois, officier de diſtinction, ci-devant lieuténant de M. de Bougainville.— " L'Hippopotame, appartenant au Sieur Beaumarchais, doit avoir à ſon " bord quatorze mille fuſils, et beaucoup de munitions de guerre, pour l'uſage " des rebelles.—Il y a environ cinquante vaiſſeaux François, qui ſe pré- " parent à partir pour l'Amérique Septentrionale, chargés de munitions de " guerre et de différentes marchandiſes pour l'uſage des rebelles. Ils " partiront de Nantes, de l'Orient, de St. Malo, du Havre, de Bordeaux, " de Bayonne, et de différens autres ports. Voici les noms de quelques uns " des principaux intéreſſés: M. Chaumont, M. Mention, et ſes aſſociés, " &c. &c."

Dans un royaume où la volonté du prince ne trouve point d'obſtacle, des ſecours ſi conſidérables, ſi publics, ſi long tems ſoutenus, ſi néceſſaires enfin à l'entrétien de la guerre en Amérique, annonçoient aſſez clairement les intentions ſécrettes des miniſtres du roi très Chrétien. Mais ils porterent bien plus loin l'oubli et le mépris des engagemens les plus ſolemnels, et ce ne fut point ſans leur permiſſion qu'une guerre ſourde et dangereuſe ſortoit des ports de la France, ſous le maſque trompeur de la paix, et le pavillon prétendu des colonies Américaines. L'accueil favorable, que leurs agens trouverent

verent auprès des miniſtres de la cour de Verſailles, les encouragea bientôt à former et à exécuter le projet audacieux d'établir une place d'armes dans le païs qui leur avoit ſervi d'azyle. Ils avoient apporté, ou ils ſçurent fabriquer, des lettres de marque au nom du Congrès Américain, qui a eu la hardieſſe d'uſurper tous les droits de la ſouveraineté. Les aſſociés, dont les vuës intéreſſées ſe prêtoient ſans peine à tous leurs deſſeins, firent équiper des vaiſſeaux qu'ils avoient conſtruits ou achetés. On les arma pour aller en courſe dans les mers de l'Europe, et même ſur les côtes de la Grande Bretagne. Pour ſauver les apparences, les capitaines de ces corſaires arboroient le pavillon prétendu de l'Amérique; mais leurs équipages étoient toujours compoſés d'un grand nombre de François, qu'on enrôloit avec impunité ſous les yeux même des gouverneurs, et des officiers des provinces maritimes. Un eſſaim nombreux de ces corſaires, animé par l'eſprit de rapine, ſortoit des ports de la France, et après avoir couru les mers Britanniques, ils rentroient, ou ils ſe réfugioient dans ces mêmes ports. Ils y ramenoient leurs priſes, et à la faveur de l'artifice groſſier et foible, qu'on daignoit quelquefois emploier, la vente de ces priſes ſe faiſoit aſſez publiquement, et aſſez commodément ſous les yeux des officiers roïaux, toujours diſpoſés à protéger le commerce de ces négocians qui violoient les loix, pour ſe conformer aux intentions du miniſtère François. Les corſaires s'enrichiſſoient des dépouilles des ſujets du roi, et après avoir profité d'une liberté entière de réparer leurs pertes, de pourvoir à leurs beſoins, et de ſe procurer toutes les munitions de guerre, la poudre, les canons, les agrêts qni pouvoient ſervir à de nouvelles enterpriſes, ils reſortoient librement des mêmes ports, pour ſe remettre en mer et en courſe. L'hiſtore du corſaire le *Repriſal* peut ſe citer parmi une foule d'exemples, qui montrent au jour la conduite injuſte mais à peine artificieuſe de la cour de Verſailles. Ce vaiſſeau, qui avoit amené en Europe le Sieur Franklin, agent des colonies révoltées, fut reçu avec ſes deux priſes qu'il avoit faites en route ; il reſta dans le port de Nantes auſſi long tems qu'il convenoit à ſes vues, ſe rémit deux fois en mer pour piller les ſujets du roi, et ſe rétira tranquillement à l'Orient avec de nouvelles priſes qu'il venoit de faire. Malgré les repréſentations les plus fortes de l'ambaſſadeur du roi et les aſſurances les plus ſolemnelles des miniſtres François, on permit au capitaine de ce corſaire de demeurer à l'Orient tout le tems dont il avoit beſoin pour radouber ſon vaiſſeau, de ſe pourvoir de cinquante bariques de poudre à canon, et de recevoir ſur ſon bord tous les matelots François qui vouloient bien s'engager avec lui. Muni de ces renforts, le *Repriſal* ſortit pour la troiſième fois

fois des ports de ſes nouveaux alliés, et forma bientôt une petite eſcadre de pirates, par la jonction concertée du *Lexington* et du *Dolphin*, deux armateurs, dont le premier avoit déjà conduit plus d'une priſe à la rivière de Bordeaux, et dont le ſécond, armé à Nantes, et monté par un équiqage entièrement François, n'avoit rien d'Américain que le nom et ſon commandant.—Ces trois vaiſſeaux, qui jouiſſoient ſi publiquement de la protection de la cour de Verſailles, s'emparerent en très peu de tems de quinze navires Anglois, dont la plus part furent ramenés et ſécrettement vendus dans les ports de France.—De pareils faits, qu'il ſeroit aiſé de multiplier, tiennent lieu de raiſonnemens et de reproches, et l'on peut ſe diſpenſer de réclamer dans cette occaſion la foi des traités; et il n'eſt point néceſſaire de démontrer qu'une puiſſance alliée, ou même neutre, ne peut jamais permettre la guerre ſans violer la paix.—Les principes du droit des gens refuſeroient ſans doute à l'ambaſſadeur de la couronne la plus reſpectable ce privilege d'armer des corſaires, que la cour de Verſailles accordoit ſourdement aux agens des rebelles dans le ſein de la France. Dans ſes îſles la tranquillité publique fut violée d'une manière encore plus audacieuſe, et malgré le changement du gouverneur, les ports de la Martinique ſervoient toujours d'azile aux corſaires qui couroient les mers ſous un pavillon Américain, mais avec un équipage François. Le Sieur Bingham, agent des rebelles, qui jouiſſoit de la faveur et de la confiance des deux gouverneurs ſucceſſifs de la Martinique, dirigeoit l'armement des corſaires, et la vente publique de leurs priſes. Deux vaiſſeaux marchands, le *Lancaſhire Hero*, et l'*Iriſh Gimblet*, qui devinrent la proie du *Revenge*, aſſûrent que ſur cent-vingt-cinq hommes d'équipage il n'y avoit que deux Américains, et que le propriétaire, qui l'étoit en même tems de onze autres corſaires, ſe reconnoiſſoit pour habitant de la Martinique, où il étoit reſpecté comme le favori et l'agent ſécret du gouverneur lui même.

Au milieu de tous ces actes d'hoſtilité, qu'il eſt impoſſible de qualifier d'un autre nom, la cour de Verſailles continuoit toujours de parler le langage de la paix et de l'amitié, et ſes miniſtres épuiſerent toutes les reſſources de l'artifice et de la diſſimulation pour aſſoupir les juſtes plaintes de la Grande Bretagne, pour tromper ſes ſoupçons et pour arrêter les effets de ſon reſſentiment. Depuis la première époque des troubles de l'Amérique juſqu'au moment de la déclaration de guerre par le marquis de Noailles, les miniſtres du roi très Chrétien ne ceſſoient de renouveller les proteſtations les plus fortes et les plus expreſſes de leurs diſpoſitions pacifiques; et ſi la conduite ordinaire de la cour de Verſailles étoit propre à inſpirer une juſte défiance, le cœur

de ſa majeſté lui fourniſſoit des motifs puiſſans pour croire que la France avoit enfin adopté un ſyſtême de modération et de paix, qui perpétueroit le bonheur ſolide et réciproque des deux nations. Les miniſtres de la cour de Verſailles tâcherent d'excuſer l'arrivée et le ſéjour des agens des rebelles, par l'aſſurance la plus forte qu'ils ne trouveroient en France qu'un ſimple azile ſans diſtinction et ſans encouragement.

La liberté du commerce et l'avidité du gain ſervirent quelquefois de prétexte pour couvrir les entrepriſes illégitimes des ſujets François, et dans le moment qu'on alléguoit vainement l'impuiſſance des loix, pour prévenir des abus que des états voiſins ſavoient ſi bien réprimer, on condamna, avec toutes les apparences de la ſincérité, le tranſport des armes et des munitions de guerre, qui ſe permettoit impunement, pour le ſervice des rebelles. Aux premières repréſentations de l'ambaſſadeur du roi, au ſujet des corſaires qui s'armoient ſous le pavillon de l'Amérique, mais dans les ports de France, les miniſtres de ſa majeſté très Chrétienne répondirent par des expreſſions de ſurpriſe et d'indignation, et par la déclaration poſitive, qu'on ne ſouffriroit jamais des entrepriſes auſſi contraires à la foi des traités et à la tranquillité publique. La ſuite des évènements, dont on a déjà vu un petit nombre, montra bientôt l'inconſtance ou plutôt la fauſſeté de la cour de Verſailles; et l'Ambaſſadeur du roi fut chargé de mettre devant les yeux des miniſtres François les conſéquences ſérieuſes mais inévitables de leur politique. Il remplit ſa commiſſion avec tous les égards qui ſont dûs à une puiſſance reſpectable, dont on deſireroit de conſerver l'amitié, mais avec la fermeté digne d'un ſouverain, et d'une nation, peu accoutumés à faire ou à ſupporter des injuſtices. La cour de Verſailles fut ſommée de s'expliquer, ſans délai et ſans détour, ſur ſa conduite et ſur ſes intentions, et le roi lui propoſa l'alternative de la paix où de la guerre.—Elle choiſit la paix, mais ce ne fut que pour bleſſer ſes ennemis d'une manière ſûre et ſécrette, ſans avoir rien à craindre de leur juſtice. Elle condamna ſévèrement ces ſecours et ces armemens, que les principes du droit public ne lui permettoient pas de juſtifier. Elle déclara à l'ambaſſadeur du roi, qu'elle étoit réſolue a faire ſortir ſur le champ les corſaires Américains de tous les ports de France, pour n'y jamais rentrer, et qu'on prendroit déſormais les précautions les plus rigoureuſes pour arrêter la vente des priſes qu'ils auroient faites ſur les ſujets de la Grande Bretagne. Les ordres qui furent donnés pour cet effet étonnerent les partiſans des rebelles, et ſemblerent arrêter le progrés du mal: mais les ſujets de plainte renaiſſoient tous les jours, et le manière dont ces ordres furent d'abord

éludés, violés enſuite, et enfin tout-à-fait oubliés par les négocians, les corſaires, et même par les officiers royaux, n'étoit point excuſée par les proteſtations d'amitié dont la cour de Verſailles accompagna ces infractions de la paix, juſqu'à ce moment qu'elle annonça, par ſon ambaſſadeur à Londres, le traité d'alliance qu'elle venoit de ſigner avec les agens des colonies révoltées de l'Amérique.

Si un ennémi étranger, reconnû parmi les puiſſances de l'Europe, avoit fait la conquête des états du roi dans l'Amérique, et que la France eût confirmé, par un traité ſolemnel, un acte de violence qui dépouilloit, au milieu d'une paix profonde, le voiſin reſpectable dont elle ſe diſoit l'amie et l'alliée, l'Europe entière ſe ſeroit ſoulevée contre l'injuſtice d'un procédé qui violoit ſans pudeur tout ce qu'il y a de plus ſaint parmi les hommes. La première découverte, la poſſeſſion non interrompue de deux cens ans et le conſentement de toutes les nations, auroient ſuffi pour conſtater les droits de la Grande Bretagne aux terres de l'Amérique Septentrionale, et ſa ſouveraineté ſur le peuple qui y avoit formé des établiſſemens avec la permiſſion et ſous le gouvernement des prédéceſſeurs du roi. Si ce peuple même a ôſé ſécouer le joug de l'autorité ou plutôt des loix, s'il a uſurpé les provinces et les prérogatives de ſon ſouverain, et s'il a recherché l'alliance des étrangers pour appuïer ſon indépendance prétendue; ces étrangers ne peuvent accepter ſon alliance, ratifier ſes uſurpations, et reconnoitre ſon indépendance, ſans ſuppoſer que la révolte a des droits plus étendus que ceux de la guerre, et ſans accorder aux ſujets rebelles un titre légitime aux conquêtes qu'ils n'avoient pu faire qu'au mépris de la juſtice et des loix. Les ennemis ſécrets de la paix, de la Grande Bretagne et peut-être de la France même, eurent cependant l'addreſſe criminelle de perſuader à ſa majeſté très Chrétienne qu'elle pouvoit, ſans violer la foi des traités, déclarer publiquement qu'elle recevoit au nombre de ſes alliés les ſujets révoltés d'un roi, ſon voiſin et ſon allié. Les profeſſions d'amitié, dont on accompagna cette déclaration que le marquis de Noailles fut chargé de faire à la cour de Londres, ne ſervoient qu'à aggraver l'injure par l'inſulte, et il étoit réſervé pour la France de ſe vanter de ſes diſpoſitions pacifiques dans l'inſtant même que ſon ambition lui inſpira d'exécuter et d'avouer un acte de perfidie ſans exemple dans l'hiſtoire des nations. " Cependant, (tel eſt le langage que la cour de Verſailles ôſe " encore ſe permettre,) Cependant ce ſeroit s'abuſer de croire que c'eſt la " reconnoiſſance que le roi a fait de l'indépendance des treize états unis de " l'Amérique Septentrionale qui a irrité le roi d'Angleterre: ce prince " n'ignore pas ſans doute tous les exemples de ce genre que fourniſſent les

" annales Britanniques et même ſon propre regne."—Jamais ces exemples prétendus n'ont exiſté.—Jamais le roi n'a reconnu l'indépendance d'un peuple qui avoit ſecoué le joug de ſon prince légitime ; et il eſt triſte, ſans doute, que les miniſtres de ſa majeſté très Chrétienne aient ſurpris la religion de leur ſouverain pour couvrir d'un nom auſſi reſpectable des aſſertions ſans fondement et ſans vraiſemblance, qui ſont démenties par le ſouvenir de l'Europe entière.

Au commencement des diſputes qui s'élevoient entre la Grande Bretagne et ſes colonies, la cour de Verſailles déclara qu'elle ne prétendoit point être juge de la querelle ; et ſon ignorance des principes de la conſtitution Britannique, auſſi bien que des privileges et des obligations des colonies, auroit dû l'engager à perſiſter toujours dans une déclaration auſſi ſage et modeſte. Elle ſe ſeroit épargné la honte de tranſcrire les manifeſtes du Congrès Américain, et de prononcer aujourdhui, " Que les procédés de la cour de Lon-" dres forcerent ſes anciennes colonies de recourir à la voie des armes pour " maintenir leurs droits, leurs privileges et leur liberté." Ces vains prétextes ont dejà été réfutés de la manière la plus convaincante, et les droits de la Grande Bretagne ſur ce peuple révolté, ſes bienfaits et ſa longue patience, ont été dejà prouvés par la raiſon et par les faits. Il ſuffit ici de remarquer, que la France ne peut ſe prévaloir de l'injuſtice qu'elle réproche à la cour de Londres ſans introduire dans la juriſprudence de l'Europe des maximes auſſi nouvelles qu'elles ſeroient fauſſes et dangereuſes ; ſans ſuppoſer que les diſputes qui s'élevent au ſein d'un état indépendant et ſouverain ſont ſoumiſes à la juriſdiction d'un prince étranger, et que ce prince peut évoquer à ſon tribunal ſes alliés et leurs ſujets révoltés, pour juſtifier la conduite du peuple qui s'eſt affranchi des devoirs de l'obéïſſance légitime. Les miniſtres du roi très Chrétienne s'appercevront peut-être un jour que l'ambition les a fait oublier les intérêts et les droits de tous les ſouverains. L'approbation que la cour de Verſailles vient de donner à la révolte des colonies Angloiſes ne lui permettroit pas de blamer le ſoulevement de ſes propres ſujets dans le nouveau monde ou de ceux de l'Eſpagne, qui auroient des motifs bien plus puiſſans pour ſuivre le même exemple, s'ils n'en étoient point détournés par la vue des calamités dans leſquelles ces malheureuſes colonies ſe ſont précipitées.

Mais la France elle-même paroit ſentir la foibleſſe, le danger et l'indécence de ces prétenſions, et ſe rélâchant dans la déclaration du marquis de Noailles, auſſi bien que dans le dernier manifeſte, ſur le droit de l'indépendance, elle ſe contente de ſoutenir que ces colonies révoltées jouiſſoient dans

le fait de cette indépendance qu'elles s'étoient donnée ; que l'Angleterre même l'avoit en quelque ſorte reconnue elle-même en laiſſant ſubſiſter des actes qui tiennent à la ſouveraineté, et qu'ainſi la France, ſans violer la paix, pouvoit conclure un traité d'amitié et de commerce avec les états unis de l'Amérique Septentrionale.—Voici de quelle manière la Grande Bretagne avoit reconnu cette indépendance également imaginaire dans le droit et dans le fait. Deux ans ne s'étoient pas encore paſſés depuis le jour que les rebelles avoient déclaré leur réſolution criminelle de ſecouer le joug de la mere-patrie, et ce terme avoit été rempli par les évènemens d'une guerre ſanglante et opiniâtre. Les ſuccès avoient été balancés, mais l'armée du roi, qui occupoit les plus importantes des villes maritimes, continuoit toujours de menacer les provinces intérieures ; le pavillon Anglois regnoit ſur toutes les mers de l'Amérique ; et le rétabliſſement de ſa dépendance légitime étoit poſé comme la condition indiſpenſable de la paix que la Grande Bretagne offroit à des ſujets révoltés, dont elle reſpectoit les droits, les intérêts et même les préjugés. La cour de Verſailles qui annonce avec tant " de franchiſe et de ſimplicité" le traité ſigné avec ces prétendus états de l'Amérique, qu'elle trouvoit dans une ſituation indépendante, avoit ſeule contribué par ſes ſecours clandeſtins à nourrir le feu de la révolte, et ce fut la crainte de la paix qui engagea la France à ſe ſervir du bruit de cette alliance comme du moïen le plus efficace pour enflammer les eſprits des peuples qui commençoient deja à ouvrir les yeux ſur les ſuites malheureuſes de la révolte, la tyrannie de leurs nouveaux chefs et les diſpoſitions paternelles de leur ſouverain légitime.

Dans ces circonſtances il eſt impoſſible de nier ſans inſulter trop groſſièrement à la raiſon et à la vérité, que la déclaration du marquis de Noailles du 13 Mars de l'année dernière ne dût être reçue comme une véritable déclaration de guerre de la part du roi très Chrétien ; et les aſſurances " qu'il " avoit pris des meſures éventuelles avec les états unis de l'Amérique, pour " ſoutenir la liberté d'un commerce," qui avoit tant de fois excité les plaintes légitimes de la Grande Bretagne, autoriſoient le roi à conſiderer dès ce moment la France au nombre de ſes ennemis. La cour de Verſailles ne peut pas s'empêcher de reconnoitre que le roi d'Angleterre après avoir rappellé " ſon ambaſſadeur, denonça à ſon parlement la démarche de ſa ma- " jeſté comme un acte d'hoſtilité, comme une aggreſſion formelle et pré- " méditée." Telle fut, il eſt vrai, la déclaration que l'honneur et la juſtice exigerent du roi, et qu'il communiqua ſans délai à tous ſes miniſtres dans les différentes cours de l'Europe, pour juſtifier d'avance les effets d'un reſ-

ſentiment légitime. Dès lors il eſt aſſez inutile de rechercher les ordres qui furent envoïés aux Indes Orientales, de marquer le jour préeis auquel les flottes d'Angleterre ou de France ſortirent de leurs ports reſpectifs, ou d'examiner les circonſtances du combat avec la *Belle Poule*, et de la priſe des deux frégates qui furent effectivement enlevées à la vue même des côtes de la France. Dès lors le reproche qu'on ſe permet de faire au roi d'avoir ſi long tems ſuſpendu la déclaration formelle de la guerre, s'évanouit de lui même. Ces déclarations ne ſont que des moïens dont les nations ſont réciproquement convenues pour éviter la trahiſon et la ſurpriſe ; mais les cérémonies qui annoncent ce changement terrible de la paix à la guerre, les hérauts, les proclamations, les manifeſtes, ne ſont jamais néceſſaires, et ne ſont pas toujours les mêmes. La declaration du marquis de Noailles fut le ſignal de l'infraction publique de la paix : le roi proclama ſur le champ à toutes les nations qu'il acceptoit la guerre que la France lui offroit ; les démarches ultérieures de ſa majeſté étoient du reſſort de ſa prudence plutôt que de ſa juſtice, et l'Europe peut juger maintenant ſi la cour de Londres manquoit de " moïens pour juſtifier une déclaration de guerre, et ſi elle n'ôſoit pas ac- " cuſer publiquement la France d'être l'aggreſſeur."

Puiſque l'alliance de la France avec les colonies révoltées de l'Amérique avoit été une infraction manifeſte de la paix et le motif légitime de la guerre, la cour de Verſailles devoit naturellement s'attendre qu'à la première propoſition d'un accommodement entre les deux couronnes, le Roi exigeroit de ſa part qu'on lui accordât une juſte ſatisfaction ſur un objet auſſi important, et que la France rénonçât à ces liaiſons qui avoient forcé ſa majeſté à prendre les armes. La ſurpriſe affectée que les miniſtres du roi très Chrétien font paroître aujourdhui de la fermeté de la cour de Londres eſt aſſez conforme à l'orgueil qui leur dicta des conditions de paix que les plus grands ſuccès auroient à peine juſtifiées ; et la propoſition qu'ils hazarderent pour engager le roi à retirer ſes troupes de l'Amérique, et à reconnoitre l'indépendance de ſes ſujets révoltés, ne pouvoit qu'exciter l'étonnement et l'indignation de ſa majeſté. Le peu d'ouverture que la cour de Verſailles trouva à une eſpérance auſſi vaine, l'obligea bientôt à ſe replier d'une autre manière ; elle a propoſé, par l'entremiſe de la cour de Madrid, un projet d'accommodement moins offenſant peut-être dans la forme, mais auſſi peu admiſſible par le fonds. Le roi Catholique, avec le conſentement de la France, communiqua aux miniſtres du roi la propoſition d'une trève à longues années, ou bien d'une ſuſpenſion générale et indéfinie de toutes hoſtilités, pendant laquelle les colonies

revoltées, les prétendus états unis de l'Amérique Septentrionale, ſeroient traités comme indépendans de fait. La réfléxion la plus ſimple ſuffit pour découvrir l'artifice de ce projet inſidieux, et pour juſtifier aux yeux de l'Europe le refus du roi. Entre les ſouverains qui ſe reconnoiſſent mais qui ſe combattent, les trèves à longues années, les ſuſpenſions d'hoſtilités ſont les moïens doux et ſalutaires pour applanir les difficultés qui s'oppoſent à l'entière concluſion d'une paix qu'on renvoïe ſans diſgrace et ſans danger à un moment plus favorable. Mais dans la querelle domeſtique de la Grande Bretagne et ſes colonies, la ſouveraineté même, l'indépendance de droit ou de fait, eſt l'objet de la diſpute ; et la dignité du roi ne lui permettoit point d'accepter ces propoſitions qui accordoient dès l'entrée de la négociation tout ce qui pouvoit contenter l'ambition des Americains rebelles, pendant qu'elles exigerent de ſa majeſté que ſans aucune ſtipulation en ſa faveur, elle ſe deſiſtât pendant un terme long ou indéfini des prétentions les plus légitimes. La cour de Verſailles daignoit, il eſt vrai, conſentir que celle de Londres traitât avec le Congrès ſoit directement, ſoit par l'entremiſe du roi d'Eſpagne. Sa majeſté aſſurément ne s'abbaiſſera point juſqu'à ſe plaindre de cet orgueil, qui ſemble lui accorder comme une grace la permiſſion de traiter directement avec ſes ſujets rebelles. Mais ſi les Américains eux mêmes ne ſont pas aveuglés par la paſſion et la prévention, ils verront clairement dans le procédé de la France que leurs nouveaux alliés deviendroient bientôt leurs tyrans ; et que cette indépendance prétendue, achetée par tant de malheurs et tant de ſang, ſeroit ſoumiſe à la volonté deſpotique d'une cour étrangère.

Si la France pouvoit vérifier cet empreſſement qu'elle attribue à la cour de Londres à rechercher la médiation de l'Eſpagne, un pareil empreſſement ſerviroit à prouver la juſte confiance du roi dans la bonté de ſa cauſe, et ſon eſtime pour une nation généreuſe qui a toujours mépriſé la fraude et la perfidie. Mais la cour de Londres eſt forcée à convenir que la médiation lui fut offerte par les miniſtres du roi Catholique, et qu'elle n'a d'autre mérite que celui d'avoir fait paroître dans toutes les occaſions une inclination vive et ſincere de delivrer ſes ſujets et même ſes ennemis du fléau de la guerre. La conduite de la cour de Madrid pendant cette négociation fit bientôt connoître au roi qu'un médiateur qui oublioit ſes intérêts les plus chers pour ſe livrer à l'ambition et au reſſentiment d'une puiſſance étrangère, ſeroit incapable de propoſer un accommodement ſûr ou honorable. L'expérience confirma ſes ſoupçons : le projet injuſte et inadmiſſible qu'on vient d'expoſer fut le ſeul fruit de la médiation. Et à l'inſtant même que les miniſtres du

roi

roi Catholique offroient avec les profeſſions les plus déſintéreſſées ſa capitale, ſes bons offices, ſa garantie pour faciliter la concluſion du traité, ils laiſſerent entrevoir dans le fond de l'obſcurité, de nouveaux ſujets de diſcuſſion qui regardoient particulièrement l'Eſpagne, mais ſur leſquels ils refuſerent toujours de s'expliquer. Le refus de ſa majeſté d'accéder à l'*ultimatum* de la cour de Madrid fut accompagné de tous les ménagemens et de tous les égards convenables ; et à moins que cette cour ne s'arrogeât le droit de dicter les conditions de paix à un voiſin indépendant et reſpectable, il ne ſe paſſa rien dans cette conjoncture qui dût altérer l'harmonie des deux couronnes. Mais les démarches offenſives de l'Eſpagne, qu'elle n'a jamais pu revêtir des plus foibles apparences de l'équité, montrerent bientôt que ſa réſolution étoit déjà priſe, et que cette réſolution lui avoit été inſpirée par le miniſtère François, qui n'avoit retardé la déclaration de la cour de Madrid que dans l'eſpérance de porter ſous le maſque de l'amitié un coup mortel à l'honneur et aux intérêts de la Grande Bretagne.

Tels ſont les ennemis injuſtes et ambitieux qui ont mépriſé la foi des traités pour violer la tranquillité publique, et contre leſquels le roi defend maintenant les droits de ſa couronne et de ſon peuple. L'évènement eſt encore dans la main du Tout-puiſſant ; mais ſa majeſté, qui ſe confie avec une aſſurance ferme mais humble dans la protection Divine, ſe perſuade que les vœux de l'Europe appuïeront la juſtice de ſa cauſe, et applaudiront au ſuccès de ſes armes, qui n'ont point d'autre objet que de rétablir le repos des nations ſur une baſe ſolide et inébranlable.

A

VINDICATION

OF

Some PASSAGES in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Chapters

OF THE

Hiſtory of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.

PERHAPS it may be neceſſary to inform the Public, that not long ſince an Examination of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Chapters of the Hiſtory of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire was publiſhed by Mr. Davis. He ſtyles himſelf a Bachelor of Arts, and a Member of Baliol College in the univerſity of Oxford. His title-page is a declaration of war; and in the proſecution of his religious cruſade, he aſſumes a privilege of diſregarding the ordinary laws which are reſpected in the moſt hoſtile tranſactions between civilized men or civilized nations. Some of the harſheſt epithets in the Engliſh language are repeatedly applied to the hiſtorian, a part of whoſe work Mr. Davis has choſen for the object of his criticiſm. To this author Mr. Davis imputes the crime of betraying the confidence and ſeducing the faith of thoſe readers, who may heedleſsly ſtray in the flowery paths of his diction, without perceiving the poiſonous ſnake that lurks concealed in the graſs—*Latet anguis in herbâ.* The Examiner has aſſumed the province of reminding them of "the unfair proceedings of ſuch an inſidious friend, who "offers the deadly draught in a golden cup, that they may be leſs ſenſible "of the danger*. In order to which Mr. Davis has ſelected ſeveral of the "more notorious inſtances of his miſrepreſentations and errors; reducing "them to their reſpective heads, and ſubjoining a long liſt of almoſt incre-"dible inaccuracies: and ſuch ſtriking proofs of ſervile plagiariſm, as the "world will be ſurpriſed to meet with in an author who puts in ſo bold a

* Davis, Preface, p. ii.

"claim

" claim to originality and extenſive reading * ?" Mr. Davis proſecutes this attack through an octavo volume of not leſs than two hundred and eighty-four pages with the ſame implacable ſpirit; perpetually charges his adverſary with perverting the ancients, and tranſcribing the moderns; and, inconſiſtently enough, imputes to him the oppoſite crimes of art and careleſſneſs, of groſs ignorance and of wilful falſehood. The Examiner cloſes his work † with a ſevere reproof of thoſe feeble critics who have allowed any ſhare of knowledge to an odious antagoniſt. He preſumes to pity and to condemn the firſt hiſtorian of the preſent age, for the generous approbation which he had beſtowed on a writer, who is content that Mr. Davis ſhould be his enemy, whilſt he has a right to name Dr. Robertſon for his friend.

When I delivered to the world the Firſt Volume of an important Hiſtory, in which I had been obliged to connect the progreſs of Chriſtianity with the civil ſtate and revolutions of the Roman Empire, I could not be ignorant that the reſult of my enquiries might offend the intereſt of ſome and the opinions of others. If the whole work was favourably received by the Public, I had the more reaſon to expect that this obnoxious part would provoke the zeal of thoſe who conſider themſelves as the Watchmen of the Holy City. Theſe expectations were not diſappointed; and a fruitful crop of Anſwers, Apologies, Remarks, Examinations, &c. ſprung up with all convenient ſpeed. As ſoon as I ſaw the advertiſement, I generally ſent for them; for I have never affected, indeed I have never underſtood, the ſtoical apathy, the proud contempt of criticiſm, which ſome authors have publicly profeſſed. Fame is the motive, it is the reward, of our labours; nor can I eaſily comprehend how it is poſſible that we ſhould remain cold and indifferent with regard to the attempts which are made to deprive us of the moſt valuable object of our poſſeſſions, or at leaſt of our hopes. Beſides this ſtrong and natural impulſe of curioſity, I was prompted by the more laudable deſire of applying to my own, and the public benefit, the well-grounded cenſures of a learned adverſary; and of correcting thoſe faults which the indulgence of vanity and friendſhip had ſuffered to eſcape without obſervation. I read with attention ſeveral criticiſms which were publiſhed againſt the two laſt chapters of my Hiſtory, and unleſs I much deceived myſelf, I weighed them in my own mind without prejudice and without reſentment. After I was clearly ſatisfied that their principal ob-

* Davis, Preface, p. iii. † Davis, p. 282, 283.

jections

jections were founded on misrepresentation or mistake, I declined with sincere and disinterested reluctance the odious task of controversy, and almost formed a tacit resolution of committing my intentions, my writings, and my adversaries to the judgment of the Public, of whose favourable disposition I had received the most flattering proofs.

The reasons which justified my silence were obvious and forcible: the respectable nature of the subject itself, which ought not to be rashly violated by the rude hand of controversy; the inevitable tendency of dispute, which soon degenerates into minute and personal altercation; the indifference of the Public for the discussion of such questions as neither relate to the business nor the amusement of the present age. I calculated the possible loss of temper and the certain loss of time, and considered, that while I was laboriously engaged in a humiliating task, which could add nothing to my own reputation, or to the entertainment of my readers, I must interrupt the prosecution of a work which claimed my whole attention, and which the Public, or at least my friends, seemed to require with some impatience at my hands. The judicious lines of Dr. Young sometimes offered themselves to my memory, and I felt the truth of his observation, That every author lives or dies by his own pen, and that the unerring sentence of Time assigns its proper rank to every composition and to every criticism, which it preserves from oblivion.

I should have consulted my own ease, and perhaps I should have acted in stricter conformity to the rules of prudence, if I had still persevered in patient silence. But Mr. Davis may, if he pleases, assume the merit of extorting from me the notice which I had refused to more honourable foes. I had declined the consideration of their *literary Objections*; but he has compelled me to give an answer to his *criminal Accusations*. Had he confined himself to the ordinary, and indeed obsolete charges of impious principles, and mischievous intentions, I should have acknowledged with readiness and pleasure that the religion of Mr. Davis appeared to be very different from mine. Had he contented himself with the use of that style which decency and politeness have banished from the more liberal part of mankind, I should have smiled, perhaps with some contempt, but without the least mixture of anger or resentment. Every animal employs the note, or cry, or howl, which is peculiar to its species; every man expresses himself in the dialect the most congenial to his temper and inclination, the most familiar to the company in which he has lived, and to the authors with whom

he is converſant; and while I was diſpoſed to allow that Mr. Davis had made ſome proficiency in eccleſiaſtical ſtudies, I ſhould have conſidered the difference of our language and manners as an unſurmountable bar of ſeparation between us. Mr. Davis has overleaped that bar, and forces me to contend with him on the very dirty ground which he has choſen for the ſcene of our combat. He has judged, I know not with how much propriety, that the ſupport of a cauſe, which would diſclaim ſuch unworthy aſſiſtance, depended on the ruin of my moral and literary character. The different miſrepreſentations, of which he has drawn out the ignominious catalogue, would materially affect my credit as an hiſtorian, my reputation as a ſcholar, and even my honour and veracity as a gentleman. If I am indeed incapable of underſtanding what I read, I can no longer claim a place among thoſe writers who merit the eſteem and confidence of the Public. If I am capable of wilfully perverting what I underſtand, I no longer deſerve to live in the ſociety of thoſe men, who conſider a ſtrict and inviolable adherence to truth as the foundation of every thing that is virtuous or honourable in human nature. At the ſame time, I am not inſenſible that his mode of attack has given a tranſient pleaſure to my enemies, and a tranſient uneaſineſs to my friends. The ſize of his volume, the boldneſs of his aſſertions, the acrimony of his ſtyle, are contrived with tolerable ſkill to confound the ignorance and candour of his readers. There are few who will examine the truth or juſtice of his accuſations; and of thoſe perſons who have been directed by their education to the ſtudy of eccleſiaſtical antiquity, many will believe, or will affect to believe, that the ſucceſs of their champion has been equal to his zeal, and that the *ſerpent* pierced with an hundred wounds lies expiring at his feet. Mr. Davis's book *will* ceaſe to be read (perhaps the grammarians may already reproach me for the uſe of an improper tenſe); but the oblivion towards which it ſeems to be haſtening, will afford the more ample ſcope for the artful practices of thoſe, who may not ſcruple to affirm, or rather to inſinuate, that Mr. Gibbon was publickly convicted of falſehood and miſrepreſentation; that the evidence produced againſt him was unanſwerable; and that his ſilence was the effect and the proof of conſcious guilt. Under the hands of a malicious ſurgeon, the ſting of a waſp may continue to feſter and inflame, long after the vexatious little inſect has left its venom and its life in the wound.

The defence of my own honour is undoubtedly the firſt and prevailing motive which urges me to repel with vigour an unjuſt and unprovoked attack;

attack; and to undertake a tedious vindication, which, after the perpetual repetition of the vaineſt and moſt diſguſting of the pronouns, will only prove that *I* am innocent, and that Mr. Davis, in his charge, has very frequently ſubſcribed his own condemnation. And yet I may preſume to affirm, that the Public have ſome intereſt in this controverſy. They have ſome intereſt to know, whether the writer whom they have honoured with their favour is deſerving of their confidence; whether they muſt content themſelves with reading the Hiſtory of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire as a *tale amuſing enough*, or whether they may venture to receive it as a fair and authentic hiſtory. The general perſuaſion of mankind, that where *much* has been poſitively aſſerted, *ſomething* muſt be true, may contribute to encourage a ſecret ſuſpicion, which would naturally diffuſe itſelf over the whole body of the work. Some of thoſe friends who may now tax me with imprudence for taking this public notice of Mr. Davis's book, have perhaps already condemned me for ſilently acquieſcing under the weight of ſuch ſerious, ſuch direct, and ſuch circumſtantial imputations.

Mr. Davis, who in the laſt page of his work * appears to have recollected that modeſty is an amiable and uſeful qualification, affirms, that his plan required only that he ſhould conſult the authors to whom he was directed by my references; and that the judgment of riper years was not ſo neceſſary to enable him to execute with ſucceſs the pious labour to which he had devoted his pen. Perhaps, before we ſeparate, a moment to which I moſt fervently aſpire, Mr. Davis may find that a mature judgment is indiſpenſably requiſite for the ſucceſsful execution of *any* work of literature, and more eſpecially of criticiſm. Perhaps he will diſcover, that a young ſtudent, who haſtily conſults an unknown author, on a ſubject with which he is unacquainted, cannot always be guided by the moſt accurate reference to the knowledge of the ſenſe, as well as to the ſight of the paſſage which has been quoted by his adverſary. Abundant proofs of theſe maxims will hereafter be ſuggeſted. For the preſent, I ſhall only remark, that it is my intention to purſue, in my defence, the order, or rather the courſe, which Mr. Davis has marked out in his Examination; and that I have numbered the ſeveral articles of my impeachment according to the moſt natural diviſion of the ſubject. And now let me proceed on this hoſtile march over a dreary and barren deſert, where thirſt, hunger, and intolerable wearineſs, are much more to be dreaded than the arrows of the enemy.

* Davis, p. 284.

I.

QUOTATIONS IN GENERAL.

" The remarkable mode of quotation which Mr. Gibbon adopts, muſt " immediately ſtrike every one who turns to his notes. He ſometimes only " mentions the author, perhaps the book; and often leaves the reader the " toil of finding out, or rather gueſſing at the paſſage. The policy, how- " ever, is not without its deſign and uſe. By endeavouring to deprive us " of the means of comparing him with the authorities he cites, he flattered " himſelf, no doubt, that he might ſafely have recourſe to *miſrepreſent-* " *ation* *." Such is the ſtyle of Mr. Davis; who in another place † mentions this mode of quotation " as a good artifice to eſcape detection;" and applauds, with an agreeable irony, his own labours in turning over a *few* pages of the Theodoſian code.

I ſhall not deſcend to animadvert on the rude and illiberal ſtrain of this paſſage, and I will frankly own that my indignation is loſt in aſtoniſhment. The Fifteenth and Sixteenth Chapters of my Hiſtory are illuſtrated by three hundred and eighty-three Notes; and the nakedneſs of a few Notes, which are not accompanied by any quotation, is amply compenſated by a much greater number, which contain two, three, or perhaps four diſtinct references; ſo that upon the whole my ſtock of quotations, which ſupport and juſtify my facts, cannot amount to leſs than eight hundred or a thouſand. As I had often felt the inconvenience of the looſe and general method of quoting which is ſo falſely imputed to me, I have carefully diſtinguiſhed the *books*, the *chapters*, the *ſections*, the *pages* of the authors to whom I referred, with a degree of accuracy and attention, which might claim ſome gratitude, as it has ſeldom been ſo regularly practiſed by any hiſtorical writers. And here I muſt confeſs ſome obligation to Mr. Davis, who, by ſtaking my credit and his own on a circumſtance ſo obvious and palpable, has given me this early opportunity of ſubmitting the merits of our cauſe, or at leaſt of our characters, to the judgment of the Public. Hereafter, when I am ſummoned to defend myſelf againſt the imputation of miſquoting the text, or miſrepreſenting the ſenſe of a Greek or Latin author, it will not be in my power to communicate the knowledge of the languages, or the poſſeſſion of the books, to thoſe readers who may be deſtitute either of one or of the other; and the part which *they* are obliged to take between aſſertions equally ſtrong and peremptory, may ſometimes be attended with doubt and

* Davis, Preface, p. ii. † Id. p. 230.

heſitation.

heſitation. But, in the preſent inſtance, every reader who will give himſelf the trouble of conſulting the firſt volume of my Hiſtory, is a competent judge of the queſtion. I exhort, I ſolicit him to run his eye down the columns of Notes, and to count *how many* of the quotations are minute and particular, *how few* are vague and general. When he has ſatisfied himſelf by this eaſy computation, there *is* a word which may naturally ſuggeſt itſelf; an epithet, which I ſhould be ſorry either to deſerve or uſe; the boldneſs of Mr. Davis's aſſertion, and the confidence of my appeal, will tempt, nay, perhaps, will force him to apply that epithet either to one or to the other of the adverſe parties.

I have confeſſed that a critical eye may diſcover *ſome* looſe and general references; but as they bear a very *inconſiderable* proportion to the whole maſs, they cannot ſupport, or even excuſe, a falſe and ungenerous accuſation, which muſt reflect diſhonour either on the object or on the author of it. If the examples in which I have occaſionally deviated from my ordinary practice were ſpecified and examined, I am perſuaded that they might always be fairly attributed to one of the following reaſons. 1. In ſome *rare* inſtances, which I have never attempted to conceal, I have been obliged to adopt quotations, which were expreſſed with leſs accuracy than I could have wiſhed. 2. I may have accidentally recollected the ſenſe of a paſſage which I had formerly read, without being able to find the place, or even to tranſcribe from memory the preciſe words. 3. The whole tract (as in a remarkable inſtance of the ſecond apology of Juſtin Martyr) was ſo ſhort, that a more particular deſcription was not required. 4. The form of the compoſition ſupplied the want of a local reference; the preceding mention of the *year* fixed the paſſage of the annaliſt; and the reader was guided to the proper ſpot in the commentaries of Grotius, Valeſius, or Godefroy, by the more accurate citation of their original author. 5. The idea which I was deſirous of communicating to the reader, was ſometimes the general reſult of the author or treatiſe that I had quoted; nor was it poſſible to confine, within the narrow limits of a particular reference, the ſenſe or ſpirit which was mingled with the whole maſs. Theſe motives are either laudable, or at leaſt innocent. In two of theſe exceptions, my ordinary mode of citation was ſuperfluous; in the other three, it was impracticable.

In quoting a compariſon which Tertullian had uſed to expreſs the rapid increaſe of the Marcionites, I expreſsly declared that I was obliged to quote it from

from memory *. If I have been guilty of comparing them to *bees* inſtead of *waſps*, I can however moſt ſincerely diſclaim the ſagacious ſuſpicion of Mr. Davis †, who imagines that I was tempted to amend the ſimile of Tertullian, from an improper partiality for thoſe odious heretics.

A reſcript of Diocletian, which declared *the* old law (not *an* old law ‡) had been alleged by me on the reſpectable authority of Fra-Paolo. The Examiner, who thinks that he has turned over the pages of the Theodoſian code, informs ‖ his reader that it may be found, l. vi. tit. xxiv. leg. 8.; he will be ſurpriſed to learn that this reſcript could not be *found* in a code where it does not exiſt, but that it may diſtinctly be read in the ſame number, the ſame title, and the ſame book of the CODE of JUSTINIAN. He who is ſevere ſhould at leaſt be juſt: yet I ſhould probably have diſdained this minute animadverſion, unleſs it had ſerved to diſplay the general ignorance of the critic in the hiſtory of the Roman juriſprudence. If Mr. Davis had not been an abſolute ſtranger, the moſt treacherous guide could not have perſuaded him that a reſcript of Diocletian was to be found in the Theodoſian code, which was deſigned only to preſerve the laws of Conſtantine and his ſucceſſors. "Compendioſam (ſays Theodoſius himſelf) Divalium Conſtitu-" tionum ſcientiam, ex D. Conſtantini temporibus roboramus." (Novell. ad calcem Cod. Theod. L. i. tit. i. leg. 1.)

ERRORS OF THE PRESS.

II. Few objects are below the notice of Mr. Davis, and his criticiſm is never ſo formidable as when it is directed againſt the guilty corrector of the preſs, who on ſome occaſions has ſhewn himſelf negligent of my fame and of his own. Some errors have ariſen from the omiſſion of letters; from the confuſion of cyphers, which perhaps were not very diſtinctly marked in the original manuſcript. The *two* of the Roman, and the *eleven* of the Arabic numerals, have been unfortunately miſtaken for each other; the ſimilar forms of a 2 and a 3, a 5 and a 6, a 3 and an 8, have improperly been tranſpoſed; A*n*tolycus for A*u*tolycus, Idolatria for Ido*l*olatria, Holſte*r*ius for Holſte*n*ius, had eſcaped my own obſervation, as well as the diligence of the perſon who was employed to reviſe the ſheets of my Hiſtory. Theſe important errors, from the indulgence of a deluded Public, have been multiplied in the numerous impreſſions of three different editions; and for the

* Gibbon's Hiſtory, p. 551. I ſhall uſually refer to the third edition, unleſs there are any various readings.

† Davis, p. 144. ‡ Gibbon, p. 593. ‖ Davis, p. 230.

preſent I can only lament my own defects, while I deprecate the wrath of Mr. Davis, who ſeems ready to infer that I cannot either read or write. I ſincerely admire his patient induſtry, which I deſpair of being able to imitate; but if a future edition ſhould ever be required, I could wiſh to obtain, on any reaſonable terms, the ſervices of ſo uſeful a corrector.

DIFFERENCE OF EDITIONS.

III. Mr. Davis had been directed by my references to ſeveral paſſages of Optatus Milevitanus *, and of the Bibliotheque Eccleſiaſtique of M. Dupin †. He eagerly conſults thoſe places, is unſucceſsful, and is happy. Sometimes the place which I have quoted does not offer any of the circumſtances which I had alleged, ſometimes only a few; and ſometimes the ſame paſſages exhibit a ſenſe totally adverſe and repugnant to mine. Theſe ſhameful miſrepreſentations incline Mr. Davis to ſuſpect that I have never conſulted the original, (not even of a common French book!) and he aſſerts his right to cenſure my preſumption. Theſe important charges form two diſtinct articles in the liſt of *miſrepreſentations*; but Mr. Davis has amuſed himſelf with adding to the ſlips of the pen or of the preſs, ſome complaints of his ill-ſucceſs, when he attempted to verify my quotations from Cyprian and from Shaw's Travels ‡.

The ſucceſs of Mr. Davis would indeed have been ſomewhat extraordinary, unleſs he had conſulted the ſame *editions*, as well as the ſame places. I ſhall content myſelf with mentioning the editions which I have uſed, and with aſſuring him, that if he renews his ſearch, he will not, or rather that he will, be diſappointed.

Mr. Gibbon's Editions.	Mr. Davis's Editions.
Optatus Milevitanus, by Dupin, fol. Paris, 1700.	Fol. Antwerp, 1702.
Dupin. Bibliotheque Eccleſiaſtique, 4to. Paris, 1690.	8vo. Paris, 1687.
Cypriani Opera, Edit. Fell. fol. Amſterdam, 1700.	Moſt probably Oxon, 1682.
Shaw's Travels, 4to. London, 1757.	The folio Edition.

JEWISH HISTORY, TACITUS.

IV. The nature of my ſubject had led me to mention, not the real origin of the Jews, but their firſt *appearance* to the eyes of other nations; and I cannot avoid tranſcribing the ſhort paſſage in which I had introduced them. "The Jews, who under the Aſſyrian and Perſian monarchies had "languiſhed for many ages the moſt deſpiſed portion of their ſlaves,

* Davis, p. 73. † Id. p. 132—136. ‡ Id. p. 151—155.

"emerged

" emerged from their obſcurity under the ſucceſſors of Alexander. And as " they multiplied to a ſurpriſing degree in the eaſt, and afterwards in the " weſt, they ſoon excited the curioſity and wonder of other nations *." This ſimple abridgment ſeems in its turn to have excited the wonder of Mr. Davis, whoſe ſurpriſe almoſt renders him eloquent. " What a ſtrange aſ- " ſemblage," ſays he, " is here? It is like Milton's chaos, without bound, " without dimenſion, where time and place are loſt. In ſhort, what does " this diſplay afford us, but a deal of boyiſh colouring to the prejudice of " much good hiſtory †?" If I rightly underſtand Mr. Davis's language, he cenſures, as a piece of confuſed declamation, the paſſage which he has produced from my Hiſtory; and if I collect the angry criticiſms which he has ſcattered over twenty pages of controverſy ‡, I think I can diſcover that there is hardly a period, or even a word, in this unfortunate paſſage, which has obtained the approbation of the Examiner.

As nothing can eſcape his vigilance, he cenſures me for including the twelve tribes of Iſrael under the common appellation of JEWS §, and for extending the name of ASSYRIANS to the ſubjects of the kings of Babylon ‖; and again cenſures me, becauſe ſome facts which are affirmed or inſinuated in my text, do not agree with the ſtrict and proper limits which he has aſſigned to thoſe national denominations. The name of *Jews* has indeed been eſtabliſhed by the ſceptre of the tribe of *Judah*, and, in the times which precede the captivity, it is uſed in the more general ſenſe with ſome ſort of impropriety; but ſurely I am not peculiarly charged with a fault which has been conſecrated with the conſent of twenty centuries, the practice of the beſt writers, ancient as well as modern, (ſee Joſephus and Prideaux, even in the titles of their reſpective works,) and by the uſage of modern languages, of the Latin, the Greek, and if I may credit Reland, of the Hebrew itſelf (ſee Paleſtin, L. i. c. 6). With regard to the other word, that of Aſſyrians, moſt aſſuredly I will not loſe myſelf in the labyrinth of the Aſiatic monarchies before the age of Cyrus; nor indeed is any more required for my juſtification, than to prove that Babylon was conſidered as the capital and royal ſeat of Aſſyria. If Mr. Davis were a man of learning, I might be moroſe enough to cenſure his ignorance of ancient geography, and to overwhelm him under a load of quotations, which might be collected and tranſcribed with very little trouble: but as I *muſt* ſuppoſe that he has received a

* Gibbon, p. 537. † Davis, p. 5. ‡ Id. p. 2—22.
§ Id. p. 3. ‖ Id. p. 2.

claſſical education, I might have expected him to have read the firſt book of Herodotus, where that hiſtorian deſcribes, in the cleareſt and moſt elegant terms, the ſituation and greatneſs of Babylon: Της δε Ασσυριης τα μεν κου και αλλα πολισματα μεγαλα πολλα, το δε ονομαστοτατον και ισχυροτατον και ενθα σφι, Νινου αναστατου γενομενης, τα βασιληια κατεστηκες, ην Βαβυλων. (Clio. c. 178.) I may be ſurpriſed that he ſhould be ſo little converſant with the Cyropœdia of Xenophon, in the whole courſe of which the King of Babylon, the adverſary of the Medes and Perſians, is repeatedly mentioned by the ſtyle and title of THE ASSYRIAN, Ὁ δε Ασσυριος, ὁ Βαβυλωνα τε εχων και την αλλην Ασσυριαν. (L. ii. p. 102, 103, edit. Hutchinſon.) But there remains ſomething more: and Mr. Davis muſt apply the ſame reproaches of *inaccuracy, if not ignorance,* to the prophet Iſaiah, who, in the name of Jehovah, announcing the downfall of Babylon and the deliverance of Iſrael, declares with an oath, "And as I have purpoſed the thing ſhall ſtand: to "cruſh the ASSYRIAN in my land, and to trample him on my mountains. "Then ſhall his yoke depart from off them; and his burthen ſhall be re-"moved from off their ſhoulders." (Iſaiah, xiv. 24, 25. Lowth's new tranſlation. See likewiſe the Biſhop's note, p. 98.) Our old tranſlation expreſſes, with leſs elegance, the ſame meaning; but I mention with pleaſure the labours of a reſpectable Prelate, who in this, as well as in a former work, has very happily united the moſt critical judgment, with the taſte and ſpirit of poetry.

The jealouſy which Mr. Davis affects for the honour of the Jewiſh people will not ſuffer him to allow that they were *ſlaves* to the conquerors of the Eaſt: and while he acknowledges that they were tributary and dependent, he ſeems deſirous of introducing, or even inventing, ſome milder expreſſion of the ſtate of vaſſalage and *ſubſervience**; from whence Tacitus aſſumed the words of *deſpectiſſima pars ſervientium.* Has Mr. Davis never heard of the diſtinction of civil and political ſlavery? Is he ignorant that even the natural and victorious ſubjects of an Aſiatic deſpot have been deſervedly marked with the opprobrious epithet of ſlaves by every writer acquainted with the name and advantage of freedom? Does he not know that, under ſuch a government, the yoke is impoſed with double weight on the necks of the vanquiſhed, as the rigour of tyranny is aggravated by the abuſe of conqueſt? From the firſt invaſion of Judæa by the arms of the Aſſyrians, to

* Davis, p. 6.

the ſubverſion of the Perſian monarchy by Alexander, there elapſed a period of above four hundred years, which included about twelve ages or generations of the human race. As long as the Jews aſſerted their independence, they repeatedly ſuffered every calamity which the rage and inſolence of a victorious enemy could inflict: the throne of David was overturned, the temple and city were reduced to aſhes, and the whole land, a circumſtance perhaps unparalleled in hiſtory, remained threeſcore and ten years without inhabitants, and without cultivation. (2 Chronicles, xxxvi. 21.) According to an inſtitution which has long prevailed in Aſia, and particularly in the Turkiſh government, the moſt beautiful and ingenious youths were carefully educated in the palace, where ſuperior merit ſometimes introduced theſe fortunate *ſlaves* to the favour of the conqueror, and to the honours of the ſtate. (See the book and example of Daniel.) The reſt of the unhappy Jews experienced the hardſhips of captivity and exile in diſtant lands; and while individuals were oppreſſed, the nation ſeemed to be diſſolved or annihilated. The gracious edict of Cyrus was offered to all thoſe who worſhipped the God of Iſrael in the temple of Jeruſalem; but it was accepted by no more than forty-two thouſand perſons of either ſex and of every age, and of theſe about thirty thouſand derived their origin from the tribes of Judah, of Benjamin, and of Levi. (See Ezra, i. Nehemiah, vii. and Prideaux's Connections, vol. i. p. 107. fol. edit. London, 1718.) The inconſiderable band of exiles, who returned to inhabit the land of their fathers, cannot be computed as the hundred and fiftieth part of the mighty people that had been numbered by the impious raſhneſs of David. After a ſurvey, which did not comprehend the tribes of Levi and Benjamin, the monarch was aſſured that he reigned over *one million five hundred and ſeventy thouſand men* that drew ſword (1 Chronicles, xxi. 1—6), and the country of Judæa muſt have contained near ſeven millions of free inhabitants. The progreſs of reſtoration is always leſs rapid than that of deſtruction; Jeruſalem, which had been ruined in a few months, was rebuilt by the ſlow and interrupted labours of a whole century; and the Jews, who gradually multiplied in their native ſeats, enjoyed a ſervile and precarious exiſtence, which depended on the capricious will of their maſter. The books of Ezra and Nehemiah do not afford a very pleaſing view of their ſituation under the Perſian empire; and the book of Eſther exhibits a moſt extraordinary inſtance of the degree of eſtimation in which they were held at the court of Suſa. A miniſter addreſſed his king in the following words, which may be conſidered as a

commentary on the *deſpectiſſima pars ſervientium* of the Roman hiſtorian: "And Haman ſaid to king Ahaſuerus, There is a certain people ſcattered "abroad, and diſperſed among the people in all the provinces of thy king- "dom; and their laws are diverſe from all people, neither keep they the "King's laws; therefore it is not for the King's profit to ſuffer them. If it "pleaſe the King, let it be written that they may be deſtroyed; and I will "pay ten thouſand talents of ſilver to the hands of thoſe that have the charge "of the buſineſs, to bring it to the King's treaſuries. And the king took "his ring from his hand, and gave it to Haman, the ſon of Hammedatha "the Agagite, the Jews' enemy. And the king ſaid unto Haman, The "ſilver is given unto thee; the people alſo, to do with them as it ſeemeth "good to thee." (Eſther, iii. 8—11.) This trifling favour was aſked by the Miniſter, and granted by the Monarch, with an eaſy indifference, which expreſſed their contempt for the lives and fortunes of the Jews; the buſineſs paſſed without difficulty through the forms of office; and had Eſther been leſs lovely, or leſs beloved, a ſingle day would have conſummated the univerſal ſlaughter of a ſubmiſſive people, to whom no legal defence was allowed, and from whom no reſiſtance ſeems to have been dreaded. I am a ſtranger to Mr. Davis's political principles; but I ſhould think that the epithet of *ſlaves*, and of *deſpiſed* ſlaves, may, without injuſtice, be applied to a captive nation, over whoſe head the ſword of tyranny was ſuſpended by ſo ſlender a thread.

The policy of the Macedonians was very different from that of the Perſians; and yet Mr. Davis, who reluctantly confeſſes that the Jews were oppreſſed by the former, does not underſtand how long they were favoured and protected by the latter *. In the ſhock of thoſe revolutions which divided the empire of Alexander, Judæa, like the other provinces, experienced the tranſient ravages of an advancing or retreating enemy, who led away a multitude of captives. But, in the age of Joſephus, the Jews ſtill enjoyed the privileges granted by the kings of Aſia and Egypt, who had fixed numerous colonies of that nation in the new cities of Alexandria, Antioch, &c. and placed them in the ſame honourable condition (ισοπολιτας, ισοτιμους) as the Greeks and Macedonians themſelves. (Joſeph. Antiquitat. L. xii. c. 1. 3. p. 585. 596. vol. i. edit. Havercamp.) Had they been treated with leſs indulgence, their ſettlement in thoſe celebrated cities, the ſeats of commerce and learning, was enough to introduce them to the

* Davis, p. 4.

knowledge of the world, and to juſtify my *abſurd* propoſition, that they emerged from obſcurity under the ſucceſſors of Alexander.

The Jews remained and flouriſhed under the mild dominion of the Macedonian princes, till they were compelled to aſſert their civil and religious rights againſt Antiochus Epiphanes, who had adopted new maxims of tyranny; and the age of the Maccabees is perhaps the moſt glorious period of the Hebrew annals. Mr. Davis, who on this occaſion is bewildered by the ſubtlety of Tacitus, does not comprehend why the hiſtorian ſhould aſcribe the independence of the Jews to three *negative* cauſes, "Macedonibus "invalidis, Parthis nondum adultis, et Romani procul aberant." To the underſtanding of the critic, Tacitus might as well have obſerved, that the Jews were not deſtroyed by a plague, a famine, or an earthquake; and Mr. Davis cannot ſee, for his own part, any reaſon why they may not have elected kings of their own two or three hundred years before *. Such indeed was not the reaſon of Tacitus: he probably conſidered that every nation, depreſſed by the weight of a foreign power, naturally riſes towards the ſurface, as ſoon as the preſſure is removed; and he might think that, in a ſhort and rapid hiſtory of the independence of the Jews, it was ſufficient for him to ſhew that the obſtacles did not exiſt, which, in an earlier or in a later period, would have checked their efforts. The curious reader, who has leiſure to ſtudy the Jewiſh and Syrian hiſtory, will diſcover, that the throne of the Aſmonæan princes was confirmed by the two great victories of the Parthians over Demetrius Nicator, and Antiochus Sidetes (ſee Joſeph. Antiquitat. Jud. L. xiii. c. 5, 6. 8, 9. Juſtin, xxxvi. 1. xxxviii. 10. with Uſher and Prideaux, before Chriſt 141 and 130); and the expreſſion of Tacitus, the more cloſely it is examined, will be the more rationally admired.

My quotations † are the object of Mr. Davis's criticiſm ‡, as well as the text of this ſhort, but obnoxious paſſage. He corrects the error of my memory, which had ſuggeſted *ſervitutis* inſtead of *ſervientium*; and ſo natural is the alliance between truth and moderation, that on this occaſion he forgets his character, and candidly acquits me of any malicious deſign to miſrepreſent the words of Tacitus. The other references, which are contained in the firſt and ſecond Notes of my Fifteenth Chapter, are connected with each other, and can only be miſtaken after they have been forcibly

* Davis, p. 8. † Gibbon, p. 537, Note 1, 2. ‡ Davis, p. 10, 11. 20.

ſeparated.

ſeparated. The ſilence of Herodotus is a fair evidence of the obſcurity of the Jews, who had eſcaped the eyes of ſo curious a traveller. The Jews are firſt mentioned by Juſtin, when he relates the ſiege of Jeruſalem by Antiochus Sidetes; and the conqueſt of Judæa, by the arms of Pompey, engaged Diodorus and Dion to introduce that ſingular nation to the acquaintance of their readers. Theſe epochs, which are within ſeventy years of each other, mark the age in which the Jewiſh people, emerging from their obſcurity, began to act a part in the ſociety of nations, and to excite the curioſity of the Greek and Roman hiſtorians. For that purpoſe only, I had appealed to the authority of Diodorus Siculus, of Juſtin, or rather of Trogus Pompeius, and of Dion Caſſius. If I had deſigned to inveſtigate the Jewiſh antiquities, reaſon, as well as faith, muſt have directed my inquiries to the Sacred Books, which, even as human productions, would deſerve to be ſtudied as one of the moſt curious and original monuments of the Eaſt.

I ſtand accuſed, though not indeed by Mr. Davis, for profanely depreciating the *promiſed* Land, as well as the *choſen* People. The Gentleman without a name has placed this charge in the front of his battle *, and if my memory does not deceive me, it is one of the few remarks in Mr. Apthorpe's book, which have any immediate relation to my Hiſtory. They ſeem to conſider in the light of a reproach, and of an unjuſt reproach, the idea which I had given of Paleſtine, as of a territory ſcarcely ſuperior to Wales in extent and fertility †; and they ſtrangely convert a geographical obſervation into a theological error. When I recollect that the imputation of a ſimilar error was employed by the implacable Calvin, to precipitate and to juſtify the execution of Servetus, I muſt applaud the felicity of this country, and of this age, which has diſarmed, if it could not mollify, the fierceneſs of eccleſiaſtical criticiſm. (See Dictionnaire Critique de Chauffepie, tom. iv. p. 223.)

As I had compared the narrow extent of Phœnicia and Paleſtine with the important bleſſings which thoſe celebrated countries had diffuſed over the reſt of the earth, their minute ſize became an object not of cenſure but of praiſe.

Ingentes animos anguſto in pectore verſant.

* Remarks, p. 1. † Gibbon, p. 30.

The preciſe meaſure of Paleſtine was taken from Templeman's Survey of the Globe: he allows to Wales 7011 ſquare Engliſh miles, to the Morea or Peloponneſus 7220, to the Seven United Provinces 7546, and to Judæa or Paleſtine 7600. The difference is not very conſiderable, and if any of theſe countries has been magnified beyond its real ſize, Aſia is more liable than Europe to have been affected by the inaccuracy of Mr. Templeman's maps. To the authority of this modern ſurvey, I ſhall only add the ancient and weighty teſtimony of Jerom, who paſſed in Paleſtine above thirty years of his life. From Dan to Berſhebah, the two fixed and proverbial boundaries of the Holy Land, he reckons no more than one hundred and ſixty miles (Hieronym. ad Dardanum, tom. iii. p. 66), and the breadth of Paleſtine cannot by any expedient be ſtretched to one half of its length. (See Reland, Paleſtin. L. ii. c. 5. p. 421.)

The degrees and limits of fertility cannot be aſcertained with the ſtrict ſimplicity of geographical meaſures. Whenever we ſpeak of the productions of the earth, in different climates, our ideas muſt be relative, our expreſſions vague and doubtful; nor can we always diſtinguiſh between the gifts of Nature and the rewards of induſtry. The emperor Frederick II., the enemy and the victim of the Clergy, is accuſed of ſaying, after his return from his Cruſade, that the God of the Jews would have deſpiſed his promiſed land, if he had once ſeen the fruitful realms of Sicily and Naples. (See Giannone Iſtoria Civile del Regno di Napoli, tom. ii. p. 245.) This raillery, which malice has perhaps falſely imputed to Frederick, is inconſiſtent with truth and piety; yet it muſt be confeſſed, that the ſoil of Paleſtine does not contain that inexhauſtible, and as it were ſpontaneous principle of fecundity, which, under the moſt unfavourable circumſtance, has covered with rich harveſts the banks of the Nile, the fields of Sicily, or the plains of Poland. The Jordan is the only navigable river of Paleſtine: a conſiderable part of the narrow ſpace is occupied, or rather loſt, in the *Dead Sea*, whoſe horrid aſpect inſpires every ſenſation of diſguſt, and countenances every tale of horror. The diſtricts which border on Arabia partake of the ſandy quality of the adjacent deſert. The face of the country, except the ſea-coaſt and the valley of the Jordan, is covered with mountains, which appear for the moſt part as naked and barren rocks; and in the neighbourhood of Jeruſalem there is a real ſcarcity of the two elements of earth and water. (See Maundrel's Travels, p. 65, and Reland

Paleſtin. tom. i. p. 238—395.) Theſe diſadvantages, which now operate in their fulleſt extent, were formerly corrected by the labours of a numerous people, and the active protection of a wiſe government. The hills were cloathed with rich beds of artificial mould, the rain was collected in vaſt ciſterns, a ſupply of freſh water was conveyed by pipes and aqueducts to the dry lands, the breed of cattle was encouraged in thoſe parts which were not adapted for tillage, and almoſt every ſpot was compelled to yield ſome production for the uſe of the inhabitants. (See the ſame teſtimonies and obſervations of Maundrel and Reland.)

——— *Pater ipſe colendi*
Haud facilem eſſe viam voluit, primuſque per artem
Movit agros; curis acuens mortalia corda
Nec torpere gravi paſſus SUA REGNA *veterno.*

Such are the uſeful victories which have been atchieved by MAN on the lofty mountains of Switzerland, along the rocky coaſt of Genoa, and upon the barren hills of Paleſtine; and ſince Wales has flouriſhed under the influence of Engliſh freedom, that rugged country has ſurely acquired ſome ſhare of the ſame induſtrious merit and the ſame artificial fertility. Thoſe Critics who interpret the compariſon of Paleſtine and Wales as a tacit libel on the former, are themſelves guilty of an unjuſt ſatire againſt the latter, of thoſe countries. Such is the injuſtice of Mr. Apthorpe and of the anonymous *Gentleman:* but if Mr. Davis (as we may ſuſpect from his name) is himſelf of Cambrian origin, his patriotiſm on this occaſion has protected me from his zeal.

V. I ſhall begin this article by the confeſſion of an error which candour might perhaps excuſe, but which my Adverſary magnifies by a pathetic interrogation. "When he tells us, that he has carefully examined all the "original materials, are we to believe him? or is it his deſign to try how "far the credulity and eaſy diſpoſition of the age will ſuffer him to proceed "unſuſpected and undiſcovered*?" *Quouſque tandem abuteris Catilina patientiâ noſtrâ?*

In ſpeaking of the danger of idolatry, I had quoted the pictoreſque expreſſion of Tertullian, "Recogita ſylvam et quantæ latitant ſpinæ," and finding it marked c. 10. in my Notes, I haſtily, though naturally, added

* Davis, p. 25.

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de Idololatria, instead of *de Corona Militis*, and referred to one Treatise of Tertullian instead of another *. And now let me ask in my turn, whether Mr. Davis had any real knowledge of the passage which I had misplaced, or whether he made an ungenerous use of his advantage, to insinuate that I had invented or perverted the words of Tertullian? Ignorance is less criminal than malice, and I shall be satisfied if he will plead guilty to the milder charge.

The same observation may be extended to a passage of Le Clerc, which asserts, in the clearest terms, the ignorance of the more ancient Jews with regard to a future state. Le Clerc lay open before me, but while my eye moved from the book to the paper, I transcribed the reference c. 1. sect. 8. instead of sect. 1. c. 8. from the natural, but erroneous persuasion, that *Chapter* expressed the larger, and *Section* the smaller division †: and this difference, of such trifling moment and so easily rectified, holds a distinguished place in the list of Misrepresentations which adorn Mr. Davis's Table of Contents ‡. But to return to Tertullian.

The *infernal* picture, which I had produced § from that vehement writer, which excited the horror of every humane reader, and which even Mr. Davis will not explicitly defend, has furnished him with a few critical cavils ‖. Happy should I think myself, if the materials of my History could be always exposed to the Examination of the Public; and I shall be content with appealing to the impartial Reader, whether my Version of this Passage is not as fair and as faithful, as the more literal translation which Mr. Davis has exhibited in an opposite column. I shall only justify two expressions which have provoked his indignation. 1. I had observed that the zealous African pursues the infernal description in a long variety of affected and unfeeling witticisms; the instances of Gods, of Kings, of Magistrates, of Philosophers, of Poets, of Tragedians, were introduced into my Translation. Those which I had omitted, relate to the Dancers, the Charioteers, and the Wrestlers; and it is almost impossible to express those conceits which are connected with the language and manners of the Romans. But the reader will be *sufficiently* shocked, when he is informed that Tertullian alludes to the improvement which the agility of the Dancers, the red livery of the Charioteers, and the attitudes of the Wrestlers, would derive from

* Gibbon, p. 553. Note 40.
† Gibbon, p. 560. Note 58.
‡ Davis, p. 19.
§ Gibbon, p. 566.
‖ Davis, p. 29—33.

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the effects of fire. " Tunc hiſtriones cognoſcendi ſolutiores multo per " ignem; tunc ſpectandus Auriga in flammea rota totus ruber. Tunc " Xyſtici contemplandi, non in Gymnaſiis, ſed in igne jaculati." 2. I cannot refuſe to anſwer Mr. Davis's very particular queſtion, Why I appeal to Tertullian for the condemnation of the wiſeſt and moſt virtuous of the Pagans? *Becauſe* I am inclined to beſtow that epithet on Trajan and the Antonines, Homer and Euripides, Plato and Ariſtotle, who are all manifeſtly included within the fiery deſcription which I had produced.

I am accuſed of miſquoting Tertullian ad Scapulam *, as an evidence that Martyrdoms were lately introduced into Africa †. Beſides Turtullian, I had quoted from Ruinart (Acta Sincera, p. 84.) the Acts of the Scyllitan Martyrs; and a very moderate knowledge of Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory would have informed Mr. Davis, that the two authorities thus connected eſtabliſh the propoſition aſſerted in my Text. Tertullian, in the above-mentioned Chapter, ſpeaks of one of the Proconſuls of Africa, Vigellius Saturninus, " qui *primus hic* gladium in nos egit;" the Acta Sincera repreſent the ſame Magiſtrate as the Judge of the Scyllitan Martyrs; and Ruinart, with the conſent of the beſt critics, aſcribes their ſufferings to the perſecution of Severus. Was it my fault if Mr. Davis was incapable of ſupplying the intermediate ideas?

Is it likewiſe neceſſary that I ſhould juſtify the frequent uſe which I have made of Tertullian? His copious writings diſplay a lively and intereſting picture of the primitive Church, and the ſcantineſs of original materials ſcarcely left me the liberty of choice. Yet as I was ſenſible, that the Montaniſm of Tertullian is the convenient ſcreen which our orthodox Divines have placed before his errors, I have, with peculiar caution, confined myſelf to thoſe works which were compoſed in the more early and ſounder part of his life.

As a collateral juſtification of my frequent appeals to this African Preſbyter, I had introduced, in the third edition of my Hiſtory, two paſſages of Jerom and Prudentius, which prove that Tertullian was the maſter of Cyprian, and that Cyprian was the maſter of the Latin Church ‡. Mr. Davis aſſures me, however, that I ſhould have done better not to have " added this note §, as I have only accumulated my inaccuracies." One

* Davis, p. 35, 36.
† Gibbon, p. 609. N. 172.
‡ Gibbon, p. 566. N. 72.
§ Davis, p. 145.

inaccuracy he has indeed detected, an error of the preſs, Hieronym. de Viris illuſtribus, c. 53 for 63; but this advantage is dearly purchaſed by Mr. Davis. Επιδος του διδασκαλον, which he produces as the original words of Cyprian, has a braver and more learned ſound, than *Da magiſtrum*; but the quoting in Greek, a ſentence which was pronounced, and is recorded, in Latin, ſeems to bear the mark of the moſt ridiculous pedantry; unleſs Mr. Davis, conſulting for the firſt time the Works of Jerom, miſtook the Verſion of Sophronius, which is printed in the oppoſite column, for the Text of his original Author. My reference to Prudentius, Hymn. xiii. 100. cannot ſo eaſily be juſtified, as I preſumptuouſly believed that my critics would continue to read till they came to a full ſtop. I ſhall now place before them, not the firſt verſe only, but the entire period, which they will find full, expreſs, and ſatisfactory. The Poet ſays of St. Cyprian, whom he places in Heaven,

> *Nec minus involitat terris, nec ab hoc recedit orbe:*
> *Diſſerit, eloquitur, tractat, docet, inſtruit, prophetat;*
> *Nec* Libyæ populos *tantum reget, exit uſque in ortum*
> *Solis, et uſque obitum*; Gallos *fovet, imbuit* Britannos,
> *Preſidet* Heſperiæ, *Chriſtum ſerit ultimis* Hibernis.

SULPICIUS SEVERUS AND FRA-PAOLO.

VI. On the ſubject of the imminent dangers which the Apocalypſe has ſo narrowly eſcaped *, Mr. Davis accuſes me of miſrepreſenting the ſentiments of Sulpicius Severus and Fra-Paolo †, with this difference, however, that I was incapable of reading or underſtanding the text of the Latin author; but that I wilfully perverted the ſenſe of the Italian hiſtorian. Theſe imputations I ſhall eaſily wipe away, by ſhewing that, in the firſt inſtance, I am probably in the right; and that, in the ſecond, he is certainly in the wrong.

1. The conciſe and elegant Sulpicius, who has been juſtly ſtyled the Chriſtian Salluſt, after mentioning the exile and Revelations of St. John in the iſle of Patmos, obſerves (and ſurely the obſervation is in the language of complaint), "Librum ſacræ Apocalypſis, qui quidem *a pleriſque* aut "ſtulte aut impie non recipitur, conſcriptum edidit." I am found guilty of ſuppoſing *plerique* to ſignify *the greater number*; whereas Mr. Davis, with Stephens's Dictionary in his hand, is able to prove that *plerique* has not *always* that extenſive meaning, and that a claſſic of good authority has uſed

* Gibbon, p. 563, 564. N. 67. † Davis, p. 40—44.

the

the word in a much more limited and qualified ſenſe. Let the Examiner therefore try to apply his exception to this particular caſe. For my part, I ſtand under the protection of the general uſage of the Latin language, and with a ſtrong preſumption in favour of the juſtice of my cauſe, or at leaſt of the innocence and fairneſs of my intentions; ſince I have tranſlated a familiar word, according to its acknowledged and ordinary acceptation.

But, "if I had looked into the paſſage, and found that Sulpicius Severus "there expreſsly tells us, that the Apocalypſe was the work of St. John, I "could not have committed ſo unfortunate a *blunder*, as to cite this Father "as ſaying, That the greater number of Chriſtians denied its Canonical au- "thority *." Unfortunate indeed would have been my blunder, had I aſſerted that the ſame Chriſtians who denied its Canonical authority, admitted it to be the work of an Apoſtle. Such indeed was the opinion of Severus himſelf, and his opinion has obtained the ſanction of the Church; but the Chriſtians whom he taxes with folly or impiety for rejecting this ſacred book, muſt have ſupported their error by attributing the Apocalypſe to ſome uninſpired writer; to John the Preſbyter, or to Cerinthus the Heretic.

If the rules of grammar and of logic authoriſe, or at leaſt allow me to tranſlate *plerique* by the *greater number*, the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of the fourth century illuſtrates and juſtifies this obvious interpretation. From a fair compariſon of the populouſneſs and learning of the Greek and Latin Churches, may I not conclude that the former contained the *greater number* of Chriſtians qualified to paſs ſentence on a myſterious prophecy compoſed in the Greek language? May I not affirm, on the authority of St. Jerom, that the Apocalypſe was generally rejected by the Greek Churches? "Quod ſi eam (the Epiſtle to the Hebrews) Latinorum conſuetudo non "recipit inter Scripturas Canonicas; nec Græcorum Eccleſiæ Apocalypſim "Johannis eadem libertate ſuſcipiunt. Et tamen nos utramque ſuſcipimus, "nequaqam hujus temporis conſuetudinem, ſed veterum auctoritatem ſe- "quentes." Epiſtol. ad Dardanum, tom. iii. p. 68.

It is not my deſign to enter any farther into the controverted hiſtory of that famous book; but I am called upon † to defend my Remark that the Apocalypſe was tacitly excluded from the ſacred canon by the council of Laodicea. (Canon LX.) To defend my Remark, I need only ſtate the

* Davis, p. 270. † By Mr. Davis, p. 41. and by Dr. Chelſum, Remarks, p. 57.

fact in a ſimple but more particular manner. The aſſembled Biſhops of Aſia, after enumerating all the books of the Old and New Teſtament which ſhould be read in churches, omit the Apocalypſe, and the Apocalypſe alone; at a time when it was rejected or queſtioned by many pious and learned Chriſtians, who might deduce a very plauſible argument from the ſilence of the Synod.

2. When the Council of Trent reſolved to pronounce ſentence on the Canon of Scripture, the opinion which prevailed, after ſome debate, was to declare the Latin Vulgate authentic and *almoſt* infallible; and this ſentence, which was guarded by formidable anathemas, ſecured all the books of the Old and New Teſtament which compoſed that ancient verſion, "che ſi di-"chiaraſſero tutti in tutte le parte come ſi trovano nella Biblia Latina, eſſer "di Divina è ugual autorita." (Iſtoria del Concilio Tridentino, L. ii. p. 147. Helmſtadt (*Vicenza*) 1761.) When the merit of that verſion was diſcuſſed, the majority of the theologians urged, with confidence and ſucceſs, that it was abſolutely neceſſary to receive the Vulgate as authentic and inſpired, unleſs they wiſhed to abandon the victory to the Lutherans, and the honours of the church to the Grammarians. "In contrario della "maggior parte dè teologi era detto .... che-queſti nuovi Grammatici con-"fonderanno ogni coſa, e ſarà fargli giudici e arbitri della fède; e in luogo "dè teologi e canoniſti, converrà tener il primo conto nell' aſſumere a Veſ-"covati e Cardinalati dè pedanti." (Iſtoria del Concilio Tridentino, L. ii. p. 149.) The ſagacious hiſtorian, who had ſtudied the Council, and the judicious Le Courayer, who had ſtudied his author (Hiſtoire du Concile de Trente, tom. i. p. 245. Londres 1736.), conſider this *ridiculous* reaſon as the moſt powerful argument which influenced the debates of the Council: but Mr. Davis, jealous of the honour of a ſynod which placed tradition on a level with the Bible, affirms that Fra-Paolo has given another more ſubſtantial reaſon on which theſe Popiſh biſhops built their determination, That after dividing the books under their conſideration into three claſſes; of thoſe which had been always held for divine; of thoſe whoſe authenticity had formerly been doubted, but which by uſe and cuſtom had acquired canonical authority; and of thoſe which had never been properly certified; the Apocalypſe was judiciouſly placed by the Fathers of the Council in the ſecond of theſe claſſes.

The Italian paſſage, which, for that purpoſe, Mr. Davis has alleged at the bottom of his page, is indeed taken from the text of Fra-Paolo; but the reader, who will give himſelf the trouble, or rather the pleaſure, of peruſing

that incomparable hiſtorian, will diſcover that Mr. Davis has *only* miſtaken a motion of the oppoſition, for a meaſure of the adminiſtration. He will find, that this critical diviſion, which is ſo erroneouſly aſcribed to the public reaſon of the council, was no more than the ineffectual propoſal of a temperate minority, which was ſoon over-ruled by a majority of artful ſtateſmen, bigotted monks, and dependent biſhops.

" We have here an evident proof that Mr. Gibbon is equally expert in " miſrepreſenting a modern as an ancient writer, or that he wilfully conceals " the moſt material reaſon, with a deſign, no doubt, to inſtil into his " reader a notion, that the authenticity of the Apocalypſe is built on the " ſlighteſt foundation *."

VII. I had cautiouſly obſerved (for I was apprized of the obſcurity of the ſubject) that the Epiſtle of Clemens does not lead us to diſcover any traces of Epiſcopacy either at Corinth or Rome †. In this obſervation I particularly alluded to the republican form of ſalutation, " The church of God inhabiting " Rome, to the church of God inhabiting Corinth;" without the leaſt mention of a Biſhop or Preſident in either of thoſe eccleſiaſtical aſſemblies. CLEMENS.

Yet the piercing eye of Mr. Davis ‡ can diſcover not only traces, but evident proofs, of Epiſcopacy, in this Epiſtle of Clemens; and he actually quotes two paſſages, in which he diſtinguiſhes by capital letters the word BISHOPS, whoſe inſtitution Clemens refers to the Apoſtles themſelves. But can Mr. Davis hope to gain credit by ſuch egregious trifling? While we are ſearching for the origin of biſhops, not merely as an eccleſiaſtical title, but as the peculiar name of an order diſtinct from that of preſbyters, he idly produces a paſſage, which, by declaring that the Apoſtles eſtabliſhed in every place *biſhops* and *deacons*, evidently confounds the *preſbyters* with one or other of thoſe two ranks. I have neither inclination nor intereſt to engage in a controverſy which I had conſidered only in an hiſtorical light; but I have already ſaid enough to ſhew, that there are more traces of a diſingenuous mind in Mr. Davis, than of an epiſcopal order in the Epiſtle of Clemens.

VIII. Perhaps, on ſome future occaſion, I may examine the hiſtorical character of Euſebius; perhaps I may enquire, how far it appears from his words and actions, that the learned Biſhop of Cæſarea was averſe to the uſe EUSEBIUS.

* Davis, p. 44. † Gibbon, p. 592. N. 110. ‡ Davis, p. 44, 45.

of

of fraud, when it was employed in the ſervice of religion. At preſent, I am only concerned to defend my own truth and honour, from the reproach of miſrepreſenting the ſenſe of the eccleſiaſtical hiſtorian. Some of the charges of Mr. Davis on this head are ſo ſtrong, ſo pointed, ſo vehemently urged, that he ſeems to have ſtaked, on the event of the trial, the merits of our reſpective characters. If his aſſertions are true, I deſerve the contempt of learned, and the abhorrence of good men. If they are falſe, * * * * * * *

1. I had remarked, without any malicious intention, that one of the ſeventeen Chriſtians who ſuffered at Alexandria was likewiſe *accuſed* of robbery *. Mr. Davis † ſeems enraged becauſe I did not add that he was *falſely* accuſed, takes ſome unneceſſary pains to convince me that the Greek word συκοφαντηθη ſignifies *falſo accuſatus*, and "can hardly think that any one "who had looked into the original, would dare thus abſolutely to contra-"dict the plain teſtimony of the author he *pretends* to follow." A ſimple narrative of this fact, in the relation of which Mr. Davis has *really* ſuppreſſed ſeveral material circumſtances, will afford the cleareſt juſtification.

Euſebius has preſerved an original letter from Dionyſius Biſhop of Alexandria to Fabius Biſhop of Antioch, in which the former relates the circumſtances of the perſecution which had lately afflicted the capital of Egypt. He allows a rank among the martyrs to one Nemeſion, an Egyptian, who was falſely or maliciouſly accuſed as a companion of robbers. Before the Centurion he juſtified himſelf from this calumny, which did not relate to him; but being charged as a Chriſtian, he was brought in chains before the governor. That unjuſt magiſtrate, after inflicting on Nemeſion *a double meaſure of ſtripes and tortures*, gave orders that he ſhould be *burnt with the robbers*. (Dionyſ. apud Euſeb. L. vi. c. 41.)

It is evident that Dionyſius repreſents the religious ſufferer as innocent of the criminal accuſation which had been falſely brought againſt him. It is no leſs evident, that whatever might be the opinion of the Centurion, the ſupreme magiſtrate conſidered Nemeſion as guilty, and that he affected to ſhew, by the meaſure of his tortures, and by the companions of his execution, that he puniſhed him, not only as a Chriſtian, but as a robber. The evidence againſt Nemeſion, and that which might be produced in his favour,

* Gibbon, p. 654. N. 75.

† Davis, p. 61, 62, 63. This ridiculous charge is repeated by another *ſycophant*, (in the Greek ſenſe of the word,) and forms one of the *valuable* communications, which the learning of a Randolph ſuggeſted to the candour of a Chelſum. See Remarks, p. 209.

are

are equally loſt; and the queſtion (which fortunately is of little moment) of his guilt or innocence reſts ſolely on the oppoſite judgments of his eccleſiaſtical and civil ſuperiors. I could eaſily perceive that both the biſhop and the governor were actuated by different paſſions and prejudices towards the unhappy ſufferer; but it was impoſſible for me to decide which of the two was the moſt likely to indulge his prejudices and paſſions at the expence of truth. In this doubtful ſituation I conceived that I had acted with the moſt unexceptionable caution, when I contented myſelf with obſerving that Nemeſion was *accuſed*; a circumſtance of a public and authentic nature, in which both parties were agreed.

Mr. Davis will no longer aſk, "What poſſible evaſion then can Mr. Gib-"bon have recourſe to, to convince the world that I have *falſely* accuſed "*him* of a groſs miſrepreſentation of Euſebius?"

2. Mr. Davis * charges me with falſifying (*falſifying* is a very ſerious word) the teſtimony of Euſebius; becauſe it ſuited my purpoſe to magnify the humanity and even kindneſs of Maxentius towards the afflicted Chriſtians †. To ſupport this charge, he produces ſome part of a chapter of Euſebius, the Engliſh in his text, the Greek in his notes, and makes the eccleſiaſtical hiſtorian expreſs himſelf in the following terms: "Although "Maxentius at firſt favoured the Chriſtians with a view of popularity, yet "afterwards, being addicted to magic, and every other impiety, HE exerted "himſelf in perſecuting the Chriſtians, in a more ſevere and deſtructive "manner than his predeceſſors had done before him."

If it were in my power to place the volume and chapter of Euſebius (Hiſt. Eccleſ. L. viii. c. 14.) before the eyes of every reader, I ſhould be ſatisfied and ſilent. I ſhould not be under the neceſſity of proteſting, that in the paſſage quoted, or rather abridged, by my adverſary, the ſecond member of the period, which alone contradicts my account of Maxentius, has not the moſt diſtant reference to that odious tyrant. After diſtinguiſhing the mild conduct which *he* affected towards the Chriſtians, Euſebius proceeds to animadvert with becoming ſeverity on the general vices of his reign; the rapes, the murders, the oppreſſion, the promiſcuous maſſacres, which I had faithfully related in their proper place, and in which the Chriſtians, not in their religious, but in their civil capacity, muſt occaſionally have ſhared with the reſt of his unhappy ſubjects. The eccleſiaſtical hiſtorian then makes a tranſition

* Davis, p. 64, 65. † Gibbon, p. 693. N. 168.

to *another tyrant*, the cruel Maximin, who carried away from his friend and ally Maxentius the prize of ſuperior wickedneſs; for HE was addicted to magic arts, and was a cruel perſecutor of the Chriſtians. The evidence of words and facts, the plain meaning of Euſebius, the concurring teſtimony of Cæcilius or Lactantius, and the ſuperfluous authority of verſions and commentators, eſtabliſh beyond the reach of doubt or cavil, that Maximin, and not Maxentius, is ſtigmatized as a perſecutor, and that Mr. Davis alone has deſerved the reproach of *falſifying* the teſtimony of Euſebius.

Let him examine the chapter on which he founds his accuſation. If in that moment his feelings are not of the moſt painful and humiliating kind, he muſt indeed be an object of pity!

3. *A groſs blunder* is imputed to me by this polite antagoniſt *, for quoting, under the name of Jerom, the Chronicle which I ought to have deſcribed as the work and property of Euſebius †; and Mr. Davis kindly points out the occaſion of my blunder, That it was the conſequence of my looking no farther than Dodwell for this remark, and of not rightly underſtanding his reference. Perhaps the Hiſtorian of the Roman Empire may be credited, when he affirms that he frequently conſulted a Latin Chronicle of the affairs of that empire; and he may the ſooner be credited, if he ſhews that he knows ſomething more of this Chronicle beſides the name and the title-page.

Mr. Davis, who talks ſo familiarly of the Chronicle of Euſebius, will be ſurpriſed to hear that the Greek original no longer exiſts. Some chronological fragments, which had ſucceſſively paſſed through the hands of Africanus and Euſebius, are ſtill extant, though in a very corrupt and mutilated ſtate, in the compilations of Syncellus and Cedrenus. They have been collected, and diſpoſed by the labour and ingenuity of Joſeph Scaliger; but that proud critic, always ready to applaud his own ſucceſs, did not flatter himſelf that he had reſtored the hundredth part of the genuine Chronicle of Euſebius. "Ex eo (*Syncello*) omnia Euſebiana excerpſimus quæ quidem deprehendere "potuimus; quæ, quanquam ne centeſima quidem pars eorum eſſe videtur "quæ ab Euſebio relicta ſunt, aliquod tamen juſtum volumen explere poſ-"ſunt." (Joſ. Scaliger Animadverſiones in Græca Euſebii in Theſauro Temporum, p. 401. Amſtelod. 1658.) While the Chronicle of Euſebius was perfect and entire, the ſecond book was tranſlated into Latin by Jerom,

* Davis, p. 66. † Gibbon, p. 673. N. 125.

with

with the freedom, or rather licence, which that voluminous author, as well as his friend or enemy Rufinus, always aſſumed. "Plurima in vertendo "mutat, infulcit, præterit," ſays Scaliger himſelf, in the Prolegomena, p. 22. In the perſecution of Aurelian, which has ſo much offended Mr. Davis, we are able to diſtinguiſh the work of Euſebius from that of Jerom, by comparing the expreſſions of the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory with thoſe of the Chronicle. The former affirms, that towards the end of his reign, Aurelian was moved by ſome councils to excite a perſecution againſt the Chriſtians; that his deſign occaſioned a great and general rumour; but that when the letters were prepared, and as it were ſigned, divine juſtice diſmiſſed him from the world. Ηδη τισι ξελαις ως αν διωγμον καθ' ἡμων εγειρειεν ανεκινειτο. πολυς τε ην ὁ παρα πασι περι τατε λογος. μελλοντα δε ηδη και σχεδον ειπειν τοις καθ' ἡμων γραμμασιν υποσημειεμενον, θεια μετεισιν δικη. Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccleſ. L. vii. c. 30. Whereas the Chronicle relates, that Aurelian was killed after he had excited or moved a perſecution againſt the Chriſtians, "cum "adverſum nos perſecutionem moviſſet."

From this manifeſt difference I aſſume a right to aſſert; firſt, that the expreſſion of the Chronicle of *Jerom*, which is always proper, became in this inſtance neceſſary; and ſecondly, that the language of the fathers is ſo ambiguous and incorrect, that we are at a loſs to determine how far Aurelian had carried his intention before he was aſſaſſinated. I have neither perverted the *fact*, nor have I been guilty of *a groſs blunder*.

IX. "The perſons accuſed of Chriſtianity had a convenient time allowed "them to ſettle their domeſtic concerns, and to prepare their anſwer*." This obſervation had been ſuggeſted, partly by a general expreſſion of Cyprian (de Lapſis, p. 88. Edit. Fell. Amſtelod. 1700.), and more eſpecially by the ſecond Apology of Juſtin Martyr, who gives a particular and curious example of this legal delay. JUSTIN MARTYR.

The expreſſions of Cyprian, "dies negantibus præſtitutus, &c." which Mr. Davis moſt prudently ſuppreſſes, are illuſtrated by Moſheim in the following words: "Primum qui delati erant aut ſuſpecti, illis certum dierum "ſpatium judex definiebat, quo decurrente, ſecum deliberare poterant, "utrum profiteri Chriſtum an negare mallent; *explorandæ fidei præfiniebantur dies*, per hoc tempus liberi manebant in domibus ſuis; nec impedie-

* Gibbon, p. 663.

" bat aliquis quod ex conſequentibus apparet, ne fugâ ſibi conſulerent. Sa-
" tis hoc erat humanum." (De Rebus Chriſtianis ante Conſtantinum, p. 480.) The practice of Egypt was ſometimes more expeditious and ſevere; but this humane indulgence was ſtill allowed in Africa during the perſecution of Decius.

But my appeal to Juſtin Martyr is encountered by Mr. Davis with the following declaration *: " The reader will obſerve, that Mr. Gibbon does not
" make any reference to any ſection or diviſion of this part of Juſtin's work;
" with what view we may ſhrewdly ſuſpect, when I tell him, that after an
" accurate peruſal of the whole ſecond Apology, I can boldly affirm, that the
" following inſtance is the only one that bears the moſt diſtant ſimilitude to
" what Mr. Gibbon relates as above on the authority of Juſtin. What I find
" in Juſtin is as follows: " A woman being converted to Chriſtianity, is
" afraid to aſſociate with her huſband, becauſe he is an abandoned repro-
" bate, leſt ſhe ſhould partake of his ſins. Her huſband, not being able to
" accuſe *her*, vents his rage in this manner on one Ptolemæus, a teacher of
" Chriſtianity, and who had converted her, *&c.*" Mr. Davis then proceeds to relate the ſeverities inflicted on Ptolemæus, who made a frank and inſtant profeſſion of his faith; and he ſternly exclaims, that if I take every opportunity of paſſing encomiums on the humanity of Roman magiſtrates, it is incumbent on me to produce better evidence than this.

His demand may be eaſily ſatisfied, and I need only for that purpoſe tranſcribe and tranſlate the words of Juſtin, which *immediately* precede the Greek quotation alleged at the bottom of my adverſary's page. I am poſſeſſed of two editions of Juſtin Martyr, that of Cambridge, 1768, in 8vo. by Dr. Aſhton, who only publiſhed the two Apologies; and that of all his works, publiſhed in fol. Paris, 1742, by the Benedictines of the Congregation of St. Maar: the following curious paſſage may be found, p. 164, of the former, and p. 89, of the latter edition: Κατηγοριαν πεποιηται, λεγων αυτην χριστιανην ειναι, και ἡ μεν βιβλιδιον σοι τω αυτοκρατορι αναδεδωκε, προτερον συνχωρηθηναι αυτῃ διοικησασθαι τα εαυτης αξιωσα. επειτα απολογησασθαι περι τε κατηγορματος, μετα την των πραγματων αυτης διοικησιν. και συνεχωρησας τετο. " He brought
" an accuſation againſt her, ſaying, that ſhe was a Chriſtian. But ſhe pre-
" ſented a petition to the Emperor, praying that ſhe might firſt be allowed

* Davis, p. 71, 72.

" to

" to ſettle her domeſtic concerns; and promiſing, that after ſhe had ſettled " them, ſhe would then put in her anſwer to the accuſation. This you " granted."

I diſdain to add a ſingle reflection; nor ſhall I qualify the conduct of my adverſary with any of thoſe harſh epithets, which might be interpreted as the expreſſions of reſentment, though I ſhould be conſtrained to uſe them as the only words in the Engliſh language which could accurately repreſent my cool and unprejudiced ſentiments.

X. In ſtating the toleration of Chriſtianity during the greateſt part of the reign of Diocletian, I had obſerved *, that the principal officers of the palace, whoſe names and functions were particularly ſpecified, enjoyed, with their wives and children, the free exerciſe of the Chriſtian religion. Mr. Davis twice affirms †, in the moſt deliberate manner, that this pretended fact, which is aſſerted on the ſole authority, is contradicted by the poſitive evidence, of Lactantius. In both theſe *affirmations* Mr. Davis is inexcuſably miſtaken. LACTANTIUS.

1. When the ſtorms of perſecution aroſe, the prieſts, who were offended by the ſign of the Croſs, obtained an order from the Emperor, that the profane, the Chriſtians, who accompanied him to the Temple, ſhould be compelled to offer ſacrifice; and this incident is mentioned by the rhetorician, to whom I ſhall not at preſent refuſe the name of Lactantius. The act of idolatry, which, at the expiration of eighteen years, was required of the officers of Diocletian, is a manifeſt proof that their religious freedom had hitherto been inviolate, except in the ſingle inſtance of waiting on their maſter to the Temple; a ſervice leſs criminal than the profane compliance for which the miniſter of the King of Syria ſolicited the permiſſion of the prophet of Iſrael.

2. The reference which I made to Lactantius expreſsly pointed out this exception to their freedom. But the proof of the toleration was built on a different teſtimony, which my diſingenuous adverſary has concealed; an ancient and curious inſtruction compoſed by Biſhop Theonas, for the uſe of Lucian, and the other Chriſtian eunuchs of the palace of Diocletian. This authentic piece was publiſhed in the Spicilegium of Dom Luc d'Acheri; as I had not the opportunity of conſulting the original, I was contented with

* Gibbon, p. 676. N. 133, 134. † Davis, p. 75, 76.

quoting it on the faith of Tillemont, and the reference to it immediately precedes (ch. xvi. note 133.) the citation of Lactantius (note 134).

Mr. Davis may now anſwer his own queſtion, "What apology can be made "for thus aſſerting, on the ſole authority of Lactantius, facts which Lac- "tantius ſo expreſsly denies?"

DION CASSIUS. XI. "I have already given a curious inſtance of our author's aſſerting, on "the authority of Dion Caſſius, a fact not mentioned by that hiſtorian. I "ſhall now produce a very ſingular proof of his endeavouring to conceal "from us a paſſage really contained in him *." Nothing but the angry vehemence with which theſe charges are urged, could engage me to take the leaſt notice of them. In themſelves they are doubly contemptible; they are trifling, and they are falſe.

1. Mr. Davis † had imputed to me as a crime, that I had mentioned, on the ſole teſtimony of Dion (L. lxviii. p. 1145.), the ſpirit of rebellion which inflamed the Jews, from the reign of Nero to that of Antoninus Pius ‡, whilſt the paſſage of that hiſtorian is confined to an inſurrection in Cyprus and Cyrene, which broke out within that period. The reader who will caſt his eye on the note (ch. xvi. note 1.), which is ſupported by that quotation from Dion, will diſcover that it related only to *this* particular fact. The general poſition, which is indeed too notorious to require any proof, I had carefully juſtified in the courſe of the ſame paragraph; partly by another reference to Dion Caſſius, partly by an alluſion to the well-known hiſtory of Joſephus, and partly by *ſeveral* quotations from the learned and judicious Baſnage, who has explained, in the moſt ſatisfactory manner, the principles and conduct of the rebellious Jews.

2. The paſſage of Dion, which I am accuſed of endeavouring to conceal, might perhaps have remained inviſible, even to the piercing eye of Mr. Davis, if *I* had not carefully reported it in its proper place ‖: and it was in my power to report it, without being guilty of any *inconſiderate contradiction.* I had obſerved, that, in the large hiſtory of Dion Caſſius, Xiphilin had not been able to diſcover the name of *Chriſtians:* yet I afterwards quote a paſſage, in which Marcia, the favourite concubine of Commodus, is celebrated as the patroneſs of the *Chriſtians.* Mr. Davis has tranſcribed my quo-

* Davis, p. 83. † Id. p. 11. ‡ Gibbon, p. 622. ‖ Id. p. 667. N. 107.

tation,

tation, but *he* has concealed the important words which I now diſtinguiſh by Italics. (Ch. xvi. note 106. Dion Caſſius, *or rather his abbreviator Xiphilin*, L. lxxii. p. 1206.) The reference is fairly made and cautiouſly qualified: I am already ſecure from the imputations of fraud or inconſiſtency; and the opinion which attributes the laſt-mentioned paſſage to the abbreviator, rather than to the original hiſtorian, may be ſupported by the moſt unexceptionable authorities. I ſhall protect myſelf by thoſe of Reimar (in his edition of Dion Caſſius, tom. ii. p. 1207. note 34.), and of Dr. Lardner; and ſhall only tranſcribe the words of the latter, in his Collection of Jewiſh and Heathen Teſtimonies, vol. iii. p. 57.

" This paragraph I rather think to be Xiphilin's than Dion's. The ſtyle " at leaſt is Xiphilin's. In the other paſſages before quoted, Dion ſpeaks of " *impiety*, or *atheiſm*, or *Judaiſm*; but never uſeth the word *Chriſtians*. " Another thing that may make us doubt whether this obſervation be en- " tirely Dion's, is the phraſe, " it is related (ιστορειται)." For at the be- " ginning of the reign of Commodus, he ſays, " Theſe things, and what " follows, I write not from the report of others, but from my own know- " ledge and obſervation." However, the ſenſe may be Dion's; but I wiſh " we had alſo his ſtyle, without any adulteration." For my own part, I muſt, in my private opinion, aſcribe even the ſenſe of this paſſage to Xiphilin. The *Monk* might eagerly collect and inſert an anecdote which related to the domeſtic hiſtory of the church; but the religion of a courtezan muſt have appeared an object of very little moment in the eyes of a *Roman conſul*, who, at leaſt in every other part of his hiſtory, diſdained or neglected to mention the name of the Chriſtians.

" What ſhall we ſay now? Do we not diſcover the name of Chriſtians in " the Hiſtory of Dion? With what *aſſurance* then can Mr. Gibbon, after " aſſerting a fact manifeſtly *untrue*, lay claim to the merits of diligence and " accuracy, the indiſpenſable duty of an hiſtorian? Or can he expect us to " credit his aſſertion, that he has carefully examined all the original ma- " terials *?"

Mr. Gibbon may ſtill maintain the character of an hiſtorian; but it is difficult to conceive how Mr. Davis will ſupport his pretenſions, if he aſpires to that of a gentleman.

* Davis, p. 83.

I almoſt heſitate whether I ſhould take any notice of another ridiculous charge which Mr. Davis includes in the article of Dion Caſſius. My adverſary owns, that I have occaſionally produced the ſeveral paſſages of the Auguſtan Hiſtory which relate to the Chriſtians; but he fiercely contends that they amount to more than *ſix lines* *. I really have not meaſured them: nor did I mean that looſe expreſſion as a preciſe and definite number. If, on a nicer ſurvey, thoſe ſhort hints, when they are brought together, ſhould be found to exceed ſix of the long lines of my folio edition, I am content that my critical antagoniſt ſhould ſubſtitute eight, or ten, or twelve, lines; nor ſhall I think either my learning or veracity much intereſted in this important alteration.

PLINY, &c. XII. After a ſhort deſcription of the unworthy conduct of thoſe Apoſtates who, in a time of perſecution, deſerted the Faith of Chriſt, I produced the evidence of a Pagan Proconſul †, and of two Chriſtian Biſhops, Pliny, Dionyſius of Alexandria, and Cyprian. And here the unforgiving Critic remarks, "That Pliny has not particularized that difference of conduct "(in the different Apoſtates) which Mr. Gibbon here deſcribes: yet his "name ſtands at the head of thoſe Authors whom he has cited on the oc-"caſion. It is allowed indeed that this diſtinction is made by the other "Authors; but as Pliny, the firſt referred to by Mr. Gibbon, gives him "no cauſe or reaſon to uſe *them*," (I cannot help Mr. Davis's bad Engliſh) "it is certainly very reprehenſible in our Author, thus to confound their "teſtimony, and to make a needleſs and improper reference ‡."

A criticiſm of this ſort can only tend to expoſe Mr. Davis's total ignorance of hiſtorical compoſition. The Writer who aſpires to the name of Hiſtorian, is obliged to conſult a variety of original teſtimonies, each of which, taken ſeparately, is perhaps imperfect and partial. By a judicious re-union and arrangement of theſe diſperſed materials, he endeavours to form a conſiſtent and intereſting narrative. Nothing ought to be inſerted which is not proved by ſome of the witneſſes; but their evidence muſt be ſo intimately blended together, that as it is unreaſonable to expect that each of them ſhould vouch for the whole, ſo it would be impoſſible to define the boundaries of their reſpective property. Neither Pliny, nor Dionyſius, nor Cyprian, mention *all* the circumſtances and *diſtinctions* of

* Gibbon, p. 634. N. 24. † Id. p. 664. N. 102. ‡ Davis, p. 87, 88.

the

the conduct of the Chriſtian Apoſtates; but if any of them was withdrawn, the account which I have given would, in ſome inſtance, be defective.

Thus much I thought neceſſary to ſay, as ſeveral of the ſubſequent *miſrepreſentations* of Oroſius, of Bayle, of Fabricius, of Gregory of Tours, &c.*, which provoked the fury of Mr. Davis, are derived only from the ignorance of this common hiſtorical principle.

Another claſs of miſrepreſentations, which my Adverſary urges with the ſame degree of vehemence (ſee in particular thoſe of Juſtin, Diodorus Siculus, and even Tacitus), requires the ſupport of another principle, which has not yet been introduced into the art of criticiſm; *that* when a modern hiſtorian appeals to the authority of the ancients for the truth of any particular fact, he makes himſelf anſwerable, I know not to what extent, for all the circumjacent errors or inconſiſtencies of the authors whom he has quoted.

XIII. I am accuſed of throwing out a falſe accuſation againſt this Father †, becauſe I had obſerved ‡ that Ignatius, defending againſt the Gnoſtics the reſurrection of Chriſt, employs a vague and doubtful tradition, inſtead of quoting the certain teſtimony of the Evangeliſts: and this obſervation was juſtified by a remarkable paſſage of Ignatius, in his Epiſtle to the Smyrnæans, which I cited according to the volume and the page of the beſt edition of the Apoſtolical Fathers, publiſhed at Amſterdam, 1724, in two volumes in folio. The Criticiſm of Mr. Davis is announced by one of thoſe ſolemn declarations which leave not any refuge, if they are convicted of falſehood. "I cannot find any paſſage that bears the leaſt affinity to what "Mr. Gibbon obſerves, in the whole Epiſtle, which I have read over more "than once." IGNATIUS.

I had already marked the *ſituation*; nor is it in my power to prove the *exiſtence*, of this paſſage, by any other means than by producing the words of the original. Εγω γαρ και μετα την αναστασιν εν σαρκι αυτον οιδα και πιστευω ουτα, και οτε προς τους περι Πετρον ηλθεν, εφη αυτοις, λαβετε, ψηλαφησατε με, και ιδετε οτι ουκ' ειμι δαιμονιον ασωματον. και ευθυς αυτου ηψαντο, και επιστευσαν. "I have known, and I believe, that after his reſurrection likewiſe he ex-"iſted in the fleſh: And when he came to Peter, and to the reſt, he ſaid "unto them, Take, handle me, and ſee that I am not an incorporeal dæ-"mon or ſpirit. And they touched him, and believed." The faith of the

* Davis, p. 88. 90. 137. † Id. p. 100, 101. ‡ Gibbon, p. 551. N. 35.

Apoſtles confuted the impious error of the Gnoſtics, which attributed only the *appearances* of a human body to the Son of God: and it was the great object of Ignatius, in the laſt moments of his life, to ſecure the Chriſtians of Aſia from the ſnares of thoſe dangerous Heretics. According to the tradition of the modern Greeks, Ignatius was the child whom Jeſus received into his arms (ſee Tillemont Mem. Eccleſ. tom. ii. part ii. p. 43.); yet as he could ſcarcely be old enough to remember the reſurrection of the Son of God, he muſt have derived his knowledge *either* from our preſent Evangeliſts, *or* from ſome Apocryphal Goſpel, *or* from ſome unwritten tradition.

1. The Goſpels of St. Luke and St. John would undoubtedly have ſupplied Ignatius with the moſt invincible proofs of the reality of the body of Chriſt, when he appeared to the Apoſtles after his reſurrection; but neither of thoſe Goſpels contain the characteriſtic words of εκ δαιμονιον ασωματον, and the important circumſtance that either Peter, or *thoſe* who were with Peter, touched the body of Chriſt and believed. Had the ſaint deſigned to quote the Evangeliſt on a very nice ſubject of controverſy, he would not ſurely have expoſed himſelf, by an inaccurate, or rather by a falſe, reference, to the juſt reproaches of the Gnoſtics. On this occaſion, therefore, Ignatius did not employ, as he might have done, againſt the Heretics, the certain teſtimony of the Evangeliſts.

2. Jerom, who cites this remarkable paſſage from the Epiſtle of Ignatius to the Smyrnæans (ſee Catalog. Script. Eccleſ. in Ignatio, tom. i. p. 273. edit. Eraſm. Baſil, 1537.), is of opinion that it was taken from the *Goſpel* which he himſelf had lately tranſlated: and *this*, from the compariſon of two other paſſages in the ſame work (in Jacob. et in Matthæo, p. 264.), appears to have been the Hebrew Goſpel, which was uſed by the Nazarenes of Beræa, as the genuine compoſition of St. Matthew. Yet Jerom mentions another Copy of this Hebrew Goſpel (ſo different from the Greek Text), which was extant in the library formed at Cæſarea, by the care of Pamphilus: whilſt the learned Euſebius, the friend of Pamphilus and the Biſhop of Cæſarea, very frankly declares (Hiſt. Eccleſ. L. iii. c. 36.), that *he* is ignorant from whence Ignatius borrowed thoſe words, which are the ſubject of the preſent Inquiry.

3. The doubt which remains, is only whether he took them from an Apocryphal Book, or from *unwritten tradition:* and I thought myſelf ſafe from every ſpecies of Critics, when I embraced the rational ſentiment of Caſaubon and Pearſon. I ſhall produce the words of the Biſhop: "Præ-

"terea

" terea iterum obſervandum eſt, quod de hac re ſcripſit Iſaacus Caſaubonus, " *Quinetiam fortaſſe verius, non ex Evangelio Hebraico, Ignatium illa verba* " *deſcripſiſſe, verum traditionem allegaſſe non ſcriptam, quæ poſtea in literas* " *fuerit relata, et Hebraico Evangelio, quod Matthæo tribuebant, inſerta.* Et " hoc quidem mihi multo veriſimilius videtur." (Pearſon. Vindiciæ Ignatianæ, part ii. c. ix. p. 396. in tom. ii. Patr. Apoſtol.)

I may now ſubmit to the judgment of the Public, whether I have looked into the Epiſtle which I cite with ſuch a parade of learning, and *how profitably* Mr. Davis has read it over more than once.

XIV. The learning and judgment of Moſheim had been of frequent uſe in the courſe of my Hiſtorical Inquiry, and I had not been wanting in proper expreſſions of gratitude. My vexatious adverſary is always ready to ſtart from his ambuſcade, and to haraſs my march by a mode of attack which cannot eaſily be reconciled with the laws of honourable war. The greateſt part of the Miſrepreſentations of Moſheim, which Mr. Davis has imputed to me *, are of ſuch a nature, that I muſt indeed be humble, if I could perſuade myſelf to beſtow a moment of ſerious attention on them. *Whether* Moſheim could prove that an abſolute community of goods was not eſtabliſhed among the firſt Chriſtians of Jeruſalem; *whether* he ſuſpected the purity of the Epiſtles of Ignatius; *whether* he cenſured Dr. Middleton with temper or indignation (in this cauſe I muſt challenge Mr. Davis as an incompetent judge); *whether* he corroborates the *whole* of my deſcription of the prophetic office; *whether* he ſpeaks with approbation of the humanity of Pliny; and *whether* he attributed the ſame ſenſe to the *malefica* of Suetonius, and the *exitiabilis* of Tacitus? Theſe queſtions, even as Mr. Davis has ſtated them, lie open to the judgment of every reader, and the ſuperfluous obſervations which I could make, would be an abuſe of their time and of my own. As little ſhall I think of conſuming their patience, by examining whether Le Clerc and Moſheim *labour* in the interpretation of ſome texts of the Fathers, and particularly of a paſſage of Irenæus, which ſeem to favour the pretenſions of the Roman Biſhop. The material part of the paſſage of Irenæus conſiſts of about *four lines*; and in order to ſhew that the interpretations of Le Clerc and Moſheim are not *laboured*, Mr. Davis abridges them as much as poſſible in the ſpace of *twelve pages*. I know not whether the peruſal of my Hiſtory will juſtify the ſuſpicion of Mr. Davis, that I am

MOSHEIM.

* Davis, p. 95—97. 104—107. 114—132.

ſecretly inclined to the intereſt of the Pope: but I cannot diſcover how the Proteſtant cauſe can be affected, if Irenæus in the ſecond, or Palavicini in the ſeventeenth century, were tempted, by any private views, to countenance in their writings the ſyſtem of eccleſiaſtical dominion, which has been purſued in every age by the aſpiring Biſhops of the Imperial city. Their conduct was adapted to the revolutions of the Chriſtian Republic, but the ſame ſpirit animated the haughty breaſts of Victor the Firſt, and of Paul the Fifth.

There ſtill remain one or two of theſe imputed Miſrepreſentations, which appear, and indeed only appear, to merit a little more attention. In ſtating the opinion of Moſheim with regard to the progreſs of the Goſpel, Mr. Davis boldly declares, "that I have *altered the truth* of Moſheim's hiſtory, "that I might have an opportunity of contradicting the belief and wiſhes "of the Fathers *." In other words, I have been guilty of uttering a malicious falſehood.

I had endeavoured to mitigate the ſanguine expreſſion of the Fathers of the ſecond century, who had too haſtily diffuſed the light of Chriſtianity over every part of the globe, by obſerving, as an undoubted fact, "that "the barbarians of Scythia and Germany, who ſubverted the Roman Mo-"narchy, were involved in the errors of Paganiſm; and that even the con-"queſt of Iberia, of Armenia, or of Æthiopia, was not attempted with "any degree of ſucceſs, till the ſceptre was in the hands of an orthodox "Emperor †." I had referred the curious reader to the fourth century of Moſheim's General Hiſtory of the Church: now Mr. Davis has diſcovered, and can prove, from that excellent work, "that Chriſtianity, not long after "its firſt riſe, had been introduced into the leſs as well as greater Arme-"nia; that part of the Goths, who inhabited Thracia, Mæſia, and Dacia, "had received the Chriſtian religion long before this century; and that "Theophilus, their Biſhop, was preſent at the Council of Nice ‡."

On this occaſion, the reference was made to a popular work of Moſheim, for the ſatisfaction of the reader, that he might obtain the general view of the progreſs of Chriſtianity in the fourth century, which I had gradually acquired by ſtudying with ſome care the Eccleſiaſtical Antiquities of the Nations beyond the limits of the Roman Empire. If I had reaſonably ſuppoſed that the reſult of our common inquiries muſt be the ſame, ſhould I have deſerved a very harſh cenſure for my unſuſpecting confidence? Or

* Davis, p. 127. † Gibbon, p. 611, 612. ‡ Davis, p. 126, 127.

if I had declined the invidious taſk of ſeparating a few immaterial errors, from a juſt and judicious repreſentation, might not my reſpect for the name and merit of Moſheim have claimed ſome indulgence? But I diſdain thoſe excuſes, which only a candid adverſary would allow. I can meet Mr. Davis on the hard ground of controverſy, and retort on his own head the charge of concealing a part of the truth. He himſelf has dared to ſuppreſs the words of my text, which immediately followed his quotation. "Before that time the various accidents of war and commerce might in- "deed diffuſe an imperfect knowledge of the Goſpel among the tribes of "Caledonia, and among the borderers of the Rhine, the Danube, and the "Euphrates;" and Mr. Davis has likewiſe ſuppreſſed one of the juſtificatory Notes on this paſſage, which expreſsly points out the time and circumſtances of the firſt Gothic converſions. Theſe exceptions, which I had cautiouſly inſerted, and Mr. Davis has cautiouſly concealed, are ſuperfluous for the provinces of Thrace, Mæſia, and the Leſſer Armenia, which were contained within the precincts of the Roman Empire. They allow an ample ſcope for the more early converſion of ſome independent diſtricts of Dacia and the Greater Armenia, which bordered on the Danube and Euphrates; and the entire ſenſe of this paſſage, which Mr. Davis firſt mutilates and then attacks, is perfectly conſiſtent with the original text of the learned Moſheim.

And yet I will fairly confeſs that, after a nicer inquiry into the epoch of the Armenian Church, I am not ſatisfied with the accuracy of my own expreſſion. The aſſurance that the firſt Chriſtian King, and the firſt Archbiſhop, Tiridates, and St. Gregory the Illuminator, were ſtill alive ſeveral years after the death of Conſtantine, inclined me to believe, that the converſion of Armenia was poſterior to the auſpicious Revolution, which had given the ſceptre of Rome to the hands of an orthodox Emperor. But I had not enough conſidered the two following circumſtances. 1. I might have recollected the dates aſſigned by Moſes of Chorene, who, on this occaſion, may be regarded as a competent witneſs. Tiridates aſcended the throne of Armenia in the third year of Diocletian (Hiſt. Armeniæ, L. ii. c. 79. p. 207.), and St. Gregory, who was inveſted with the Epiſcopal character in the ſeventeenth year of Tiridates, governed almoſt thirty years the Church of Armenia, and diſappeared from the world in the forty-ſixth year of the reign of the ſame Prince. (Hiſt. Armeniæ, L. ii. c. 88. p. 224, 225.) The conſecration of St. Gregory muſt therefore be placed A. D.

303, and the converſion of the King and kingdom was ſoon atchieved by that ſucceſsful miſſionary. 2. The unjuſt and inglorious war which Maximin undertook againſt the Armenians, the ancient faithful allies of the Republic, was evidently derived from a motive of ſuperſtitious zeal. The hiſtorian Euſebius (Hiſt. Eccleſ. L. ix. c. 8. p. 448. edit. Cantab.) conſiders the pious Armenians as a nation of Chriſtians, who bravely defended themſelves from the hoſtile oppreſſion of an idolatrous tyrant. Inſtead of maintaining "that the converſion of Armenia was not attempted with "any degree of ſucceſs till the ſceptre was in the hands of an orthodox "Emperor," I ought to have obſerved, that the ſeeds of the faith were deeply ſown during the ſeaſon of the laſt and greateſt perſecution, that many Roman exiles might aſſiſt the labours of Gregory, and that the renowned Tiridates, the hero of the Eaſt, may diſpute with Conſtantine the honour of being the firſt Sovereign who embraced the Chriſtian religion.

In a future edition, I ſhall rectify an expreſſion which, in ſtrictneſs, can only be applied to the kingdoms of Iberia and Æthiopia. Had the error been expoſed by Mr. Davis himſelf, I ſhould not have been aſhamed to correct it; but *I am* aſhamed at being reduced to contend with an adverſary who is unable to diſcover, or to improve, his own advantages.

But, inſtead of proſecuting any inquiry from whence the Public might have gained inſtruction, and himſelf credit, Mr. Davis chooſes to perplex his readers with ſome angry cavils about the progreſs of the Goſpel in the ſecond century. What does he mean to eſtabliſh or to refute? Have I denied, that before the end of that period Chriſtianity was very widely diffuſed both in the Eaſt and in the Weſt? Has not Juſtin Martyr affirmed, without exception or limitation, that it was already preached to *every* nation on the face of the earth? Is that propoſition true at preſent? Could it be true in the time of Juſtin? Does not Moſheim acknowledge the exaggeration? "Demus, nec enim quæ in oculos incurrunt infitiari audemus, eſſe in his "verbis exaggerationis nonnihil. Certum enim eſt diu poſt Juſtini ætatem, "multas orbis terrarum gentes cognitione Chriſti caruiſſe." (Moſheim de Rebus Chriſtianis, p. 203.) Does he not expoſe (p. 205.), with becoming ſcorn and indignation, the falſehood and vanity of the hyperboles of Tertullian? "bonum hominem æſtu imaginationis elatum non ſatis adtendiſſe "ad ea quæ litteris conſignabat."

The high eſteem which Mr. Davis expreſſes for the writings of Moſheim, would alone convince me how little he has read them, ſince he muſt have been

been perpetually offended and diſguſted by a train of thinking, the moſt repugnant to his own. His jealouſy, however, for the honour of Moſheim, provokes him to arraign the boldneſs of Mr. Gibbon who preſumes *falſely* to charge ſuch an eminent man with *unjuſtifiable aſſertions* *. I might obſerve, that my ſtyle, which on this occaſion was more modeſt and moderate, has acquired, perhaps undeſignedly, an illiberal caſt from the rough hand of Mr. Davis. But as my veracity is impeached, I may be leſs ſolicitous about my politeneſs; and though I have repeatedly declined the faireſt opportunities of correcting the errors of my predeceſſors, yet, as long as I have truth on my ſide, I am not eaſily daunted by the names of the moſt eminent men.

The aſſertion of Moſheim, which did not ſeem to be juſtified † by the authority of Lactantius, was, that the wife and daughter of Diocletian, Priſca and *Valeria*, had been privately *baptized*. Mr. Davis is ſure that the words of Moſheim, "Chriſtianis ſacris clam initiata," need not be confined to the rite of baptiſm; and he is equally ſure, that the reference to Moſheim does not lead us to diſcover even the name of Valeria. In both theſe aſſurances he is groſsly miſtaken; but it is the misfortune of controverſy, that an error may be committed in three or four words, which cannot be rectified in leſs than thirty or forty lines.

1. The true and the ſole meaning of the Chriſtian initiation, one of the familiar and favourite alluſions of the Fathers of the fourth century, is clearly explained by the exact and laborious Bingham. "The baptized were alſo "ſtyled οἱ μεμυημενοι, which the Latins call *initiati*, the initiated, that is, "admitted to the uſe of the *ſacred* offices, and knowledge of the *ſacred* "myſteries of the Chriſtian Religion. Hence came that form of ſpeaking "ſo frequently uſed by St. Chryſoſtom, and other ancient writers, when "they touched upon any doctrines or myſteries which the Catechumens "underſtood not, ισασιν οἱ μεμυημενοι, the initiated know what is ſpoken. "St. Ambroſe writes a book to theſe *initiati*; Iſidore of Peluſium and He"ſychius call them μυσται and μυσταγωγητοι. Whence the Catechumens "have the contrary names, Αμυστοι, Αμυητοι, Αμυσταγωγητοι, the uniniti"ated or unbaptized." (Antiquities of the Chriſtian Church, L. i. c. 4. No. 2. vol. i. p. 11. fol. edit.) Had I preſumed to ſuppoſe that Moſheim was capable of employing a technical expreſſion in a looſe and equivocal

* Davis, p. 131. † Gibbon, p. 676. N. 132.

ſenſe,

ſenſe, I ſhould indeed have violated the reſpect which I have always entertained for his learning and abilities.

2. But Mr. Davis cannot diſcover in the text of Moſheim the name of Valeria. In that caſe Moſheim would have ſuffered another ſlight inaccuracy to drop from his pen, as the paſſage of Lactantius, "ſacrificio pollui "coëgit," on which he founds his aſſertion, includes the names both of Priſca and Valeria. But I am not reduced to the neceſſity of accuſing another in my own defence. Moſheim has properly and expreſsly declared that Valeria imitated the pious example of her mother Priſca, "Gener Diocle- "tiani uxorem habebat *Valeriam* matris exemplum pietate erga Deum imi- "tantem et a cultu fictorum Numinum alienam." (Moſheim, p. 913.) Mr. Davis has a bad habit of greedily ſnapping at the firſt words of a reference, without giving himſelf the trouble of going to the end of the page or paragraph.

Theſe trifling and peeviſh cavils would, perhaps, have been confounded with ſome criticiſms of the ſame ſtamp, on which I had beſtowed a ſlight, though ſufficient notice, in the beginning of this article of Moſheim; had not my attention been awakened by a peroration worthy of Tertullian himſelf, if Tertullian had been devoid of eloquence as well as of moderation— "Much leſs does the Chriſtian Moſheim give our *infidel Hiſtorian* any pre- "text for inſerting that *illiberal malignant inſinuation*, "That Chriſtianity "has, in every age, acknowledged its important obligations to FEMALE de- "votion;" the remark is truly *contemptible* *."

It is not my deſign to fill whole pages with a tedious enumeration of the many illuſtrious examples of female Saints, who, in every age, and almoſt in every country, have promoted the intereſt of Chriſtianity. Such inſtances will readily offer themſelves to thoſe who have the ſlighteſt knowledge of Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory; nor is it neceſſary that I ſhould remind them how much the charms, the influence, the devotion of Clotilda, and of her great-granddaughter Bertha, contributed to the converſion of France and England. Religion may accept, without a bluſh, the ſervices of the pureſt and moſt gentle portion of the human ſpecies: but there are ſome advocates who would diſgrace Chriſtianity, if Chriſtianity could be diſgraced, by the manner in which they defend her cauſe.

* Davis, p. 132.

XV. As I could not readily procure the works of Gregory of Nyſſa, I borrowed * from the accurate and indefatigable Tillemont, a paſſage in the life of Gregory Thaumaturgus, or the Wonder-worker, which affirmed, that when the Saint took poſſeſſion of his epiſcopal ſee, he found only SEVENTEEN *Chriſtians* in the city of Neo-Cæſarea, and the adjacent country, "Les environs, la campagne, le pays d'alentour." (Mem. Eccleſ. tom. iv. p. 677. 691. Edit. Bruſſelles, 1706.) Theſe expreſſions of Tillemont, to whom I explicitly acknowledged my obligation, appeared ſynonymous to the word *dioceſe*, the whole territory entruſted to the paſtoral care of the Wonder-worker, and I added the epithet of *extenſive*; becauſe I was appriſed that Neo-Cæſarea was the capital of the Polemoniac Pontus, and that the whole kingdom of Pontus, which ſtretched above five hundred miles along the coaſt of the Euxine, was divided between ſixteen or ſeventeen biſhops. (See the Geographia Eccleſiaſtica of Charles de St. Paul, and Lucas Holſtenius, p. 249, 250, 251.) Thus far I may not be thought to have deſerved any cenſure; but the omiſſion of the ſubſequent part of the ſame paſſage, which imports, that at his death the Wonder-worker left no more than *ſeventeen Pagans*, may ſeem to wear a partial and ſuſpicious aſpect. TILLEMONT.

Let me therefore firſt obſerve, as ſome evidence of an impartial diſpoſition, that I *eaſily* admitted, as the cool obſervation of the philoſophic Lucian, the angry and intereſted complaint of the falſe prophet Alexander, that Pontus was filled with Chriſtians. This complaint was made under the reigns of Marcus or of Commodus, with whom the impoſtor ſo admirably expoſed by Lucian was contemporary: and I had contented myſelf with remarking, that the numbers of Chriſtians muſt have been very unequally diſtributed in the ſeveral parts of Pontus, ſince the dioceſe of Neo-Cæſarea contained, above ſixty years afterwards, only ſeventeen Chriſtians. Such was the inconſiderable flock which Gregory began to feed about the year two hundred and forty; and the real or fabulous converſions aſcribed to that Wonder-working Biſhop, during a reign of thirty years, are totally foreign to the ſtate of Chriſtianity in the preceding century. This obvious reflection may ſerve to anſwer the objection of Mr. Davis †, and of another adverſary ‡, who on this occaſion is more liberal than Mr. Davis of thoſe harſh epithets ſo familiar to the tribe of polemics.

* Gibbon, p. 605. N. 156. † Davis, p. 136, 137.

‡ Dr. Randolph, in Chelſum's Remarks, p. 159, 160.

XVI.

PAGI. XVI. " Mr. Gibbon ſays *, " Pliny was ſent into Bithynia (according to " Pagi) in the year 110."

" Now that accurate chronologer places it in the year 102. See the fact " *recorded* in his Critico-Hiſtorico Chronologica in Annales C. Baronii, " A. D. 102. p. 99. ſæc. 2. § 3."

" I appeal to my reader, whether this anachroniſm does not plainly prove " that our hiſtorian never looked into Pagi's Chronology, though he has not " heſitated to make a pompous reference to him in his note † ?"

I cannot help obſerving that either Mr. Davis's dictionary is extremely confined, or that in his philoſophy all ſins are of equal magnitude. Every error of fact or language, every inſtance where he does not know how to reconcile the original and the reference, he expreſſes by the gentle word of *miſrepreſentation*. An inaccurate appeal to the ſentiment of Pagi, on a ſubject where I muſt have been perfectly diſintereſted, might have been ſtyled a lapſe of memory, inſtead of being cenſured as the effect of vanity and ignorance. Pagi is neither a difficult nor an uncommon writer, nor could I hope to derive much additional fame from a *pompous* quotation of his writings, which I had never ſeen.

The words employed by Mr. Davis, of *fact*, of *record*, of *anachroniſm*, are unſkilfully choſen, and ſo unhappily applied, as to betray a very ſhameful ignorance, either of the Engliſh language, or of the nature of this chronological queſtion. The date of Pliny's government of Bithynia is not a fact recorded by any ancient writer, but an opinion which modern critics have variouſly formed, from the conſideration of preſumptive and collateral evidence. Cardinal Baronius placed the conſulſhip of Pliny one year too late; and, as he was perſuaded that the old practice of the republic ſtill ſubſiſted, he naturally ſuppoſed that Pliny obtained his province immediately after the expiration of his conſulſhip. He therefore ſends him into Bithynia in the year which, according to his erroneous computation, coincided with the year one hundred and four (Baron. Annal. Eccleſ. A. D. 103. No. 1. 104. No. 1.), or, according to the true chronology, with the year one hundred and two, of the Chriſtian æra. This miſtake of Baronius, Pagi, with the aſſiſtance of his friend Cardinal Noris, undertakes to correct. From an accurate parallel of the Annals of Trajan and the Epiſtles of Pliny, he deduces his proofs that Pliny remained at Rome ſeveral years after his conſulſhip, by

* Gibbon, p. 605. N. 157. † Davis, p. 140.

his own ingenious, though ſometimes fanciful theory, of the imperial Quinquennalia, &c. Pagi at laſt diſcovers that Pliny made his entrance into Bithynia in the year one hundred and ten. "Plinius igitur anno Chriſti CENTESIMO DECIMO Bithyniam intravit." Pagi, tom. i. p. 100.

I will be more indulgent to my adverſary than he has been to me: I will admit that he has *looked into Pagi*; but I muſt add, that he has only looked into that accurate chronologer. To rectify the errors, which, in the courſe of a laborious and original work, had eſcaped the diligence of the Cardinal, was the arduous taſk which Pagi propoſed to execute: and for the ſake of perſpicuity, he diſtributes his criticiſms according to the particular dates, whether juſt or faulty, of the Chronology of Baronius himſelf. Under the year 102, Mr. Davis confuſedly ſaw a long argument about Pliny and Bithynia, and without condeſcending to read the author whom he *pompouſly* quotes, this haſty critic imputes to him the opinion which he had ſo laboriouſly deſtroyed.

My readers, if any readers have accompanied me thus far, muſt be ſatisfied, and indeed ſatiated, with the repeated proofs which I have made of the weight and temper of my adverſary's weapons. They have, in every aſſault, fallen dead and lifeleſs to the ground: they have more than once recoiled, and dangerouſly wounded the unſkilful hand that had preſumed to uſe them. I have now examined all the *miſrepreſentations* and *inaccuracies*, which even for a moment could perplex the ignorant or deceive the credulous: the *few* imputations which I have neglected are ſtill more palpably falſe, or ſtill more evidently trifling, and even the friends of Mr. Davis will ſcarcely continue to aſcribe my contempt to my fear.

PLAGIARISMS.

The firſt part of his critical volume might admit, though it did not deſerve, a particular reply. But the eaſy, though tedious compilation, which fills the remainder *, and which Mr. Davis has produced as the evidence of my ſhameful *plagiariſms*, may be ſet in its true light by three or four ſhort and general reflections.

I. Mr. Davis has diſpoſed, in two columns, the paſſages which he thinks proper to ſelect from my two laſt chapters, and the correſponding paſſages from Middleton, Barbeyrac, Beauſobre, Dodwell, &c. to the moſt important of which he had been regularly guided by my own quotations. According to the opinion which he has conceived of literary property, to *agree* is to

* Davis, p. 168—274.

follow, and to *follow* is to *ſteal*. He celebrates his own ſagacity with loud and reiterated applauſe, and declares, with infinite facetiouſneſs, that if he reſtored to every author the paſſages which Mr. Gibbon has purloined, *he* would appear as naked as the proud and gaudy daw in the fable, when each bird had plucked away its own plumes. Inſtead of being angry with Mr. Davis for the parallel which he has extended to ſo great a length, I am under ſome obligation to his induſtry for the copious proofs which he has furniſhed the reader, that my repreſentation of ſome of the moſt important facts of eccleſiaſtical antiquity is ſupported by the authority or opinion of the moſt ingenious and learned of the modern writers. The public may not, perhaps, be very eager to aſſiſt Mr. Davis in his favourite amuſement of *depluming* me. They may think, that if the materials which compoſe my two laſt chapters are curious and valuable, it is of little moment to whom they properly belong. If my readers are ſatisfied with the form, the colours, the new arrangement which I have given to the labours of my predeceſſors, they may perhaps conſider me not as a contemptible thief, but as an honeſt and induſtrious manufacturer, who has fairly procured the raw materials, and worked them up with a laudable degree of ſkill and ſucceſs.

II. About two hundred years ago, the court of Rome diſcovered that the ſyſtem which had been erected by ignorance muſt be defended and countenanced by the aid, or at leaſt by the abuſe, of ſcience. The groſſer legends of the middle ages were abandoned to contempt, but the ſupremacy and infallibility of two hundred Popes, the virtues of many thouſand Saints, and the miracles which they either performed or related, have been laborioufly conſecrated in the Eccleſiaſtical Annals of Cardinal Baronius. A theological barometer might be formed, of which the Cardinal and our countryman Dr. Middleton ſhould conſtitute the oppoſite and remote extremities, as the former ſunk to the loweſt degree of credulity, which was compatible with learning, and the latter roſe to the higheſt pitch of ſcepticiſm, in anywiſe conſiſtent with religion. The intermediate gradations would be filled by a line of eccleſiaſtical critics, whoſe rank has been fixed by the circumſtances of their temper and ſtudies, as well as by the ſpirit of the church or ſociety to which they were attached. It would be amuſing enough to calculate the weight of prejudice in the air of Rome, of Oxford, of Paris, and of Holland; and ſometimes to obſerve the irregular tendency of papiſts towards freedom, ſometimes to remark the unnatural gravitation of proteſtants towards ſlavery. But it is uſeful to borrow the aſſiſtance of ſo many learned

and ingenious men, who have viewed the firſt ages of the church in every light, and from every ſituation. If we ſkilfully combine the paſſions and prejudices, the hoſtile motives and intentions, of the ſeveral theologians, we may frequently extract knowledge from credulity, moderation from zeal, and impartial truth from the moſt diſingenuous controverſy. It is the right, it is the duty of a critical hiſtorian to collect, to weigh, to ſelect the opinions of his predeceſſors; and the more diligence he has exerted in the ſearch, the more rationally he may hope to add ſome improvement to the ſtock of knowledge, the uſe of which has been common to all.

III. Beſides the ideas which may be ſuggeſted by the ſtudy of the moſt learned and ingenious of the moderns, the hiſtorian may be indebted to them for the occaſional communication of ſome paſſages of the ancients, which might otherwiſe have eſcaped his knowledge or his memory. In the conſideration of any extenſive ſubject, none will pretend to have read all that has been written, or to recollect all that they have read: nor is there any diſgrace in recurring to the writers who have profeſſedly treated any queſtions, which, in the courſe of a long narrative, we are called upon to mention in a ſlight and incidental manner. If I touch upon the obſcure and fanciful theology of the Gnoſtics, I can accept without a bluſh the aſſiſtance of the candid Beauſobre; and when, amidſt the fury of contending parties, I trace the progreſs of eccleſiaſtical dominion, I am not aſhamed to confeſs myſelf the grateful diſciple of the impartial Moſheim. In the next volume of my Hiſtory, the reader and the critic muſt prepare themſelves to ſee me make a ſtill more liberal uſe of the labours of thoſe indefatigable workmen who have dug deep into the mine of antiquity. The Fathers of the fourth and fifth centuries are far more voluminous than their predeceſſors; the writings of Jerom, of Auguſtin, of Chryſoſtom, *&c.* cover the walls of our libraries. The ſmalleſt part is of the hiſtorical kind: yet the treatiſes which ſeem the leaſt to invite the curioſity of the reader, frequently conceal very uſeful hints, or very valuable facts. The polemic, who involves himſelf and his antagoniſts in a cloud of argumentation, ſometimes relates the origin and progreſs of the hereſy which he confutes; and the preacher who declaims againſt the luxury, deſcribes the manners of the age; and ſeaſonably introduces the mention of ſome public calamity, that he may aſcribe it to the juſtice of offended Heaven. It would ſurely be unreaſonable to expect that the hiſtorian ſhould peruſe enormous volumes, with the uncertain hope of extracting a few intereſting lines, or that he ſhould ſacrifice whole days to the momentary amuſe-

ment of his reader. Fortunately for us both, the diligence of eccleſiaſtical critics has facilitated our inquiries: the compilations of Tillemont might alone be conſidered as an immenſe repertory of truth and fable, of almoſt all that the fathers have preſerved or invented, or believed; and if we equally avail ourſelves of the labours of contending ſectaries, we ſhall often diſcover, that the ſame paſſages which the prudence of one of the diſputants would have ſuppreſſed or diſguiſed, are placed in the moſt conſpicuous light by the active and intereſted zeal of his adverſary. On theſe occaſions, what is the duty of a faithful hiſtorian, who derives from ſome modern writer the knowledge of ſome ancient teſtimony, which he is deſirous of introducing into his own narrative? It is his duty, and it has been my invariable practice, to conſult the original; to ſtudy with attention the words, the deſign, the ſpirit, the context, the ſituation of the paſſage to which I had been referred; and before I appropriated it to my own uſe, to juſtify my own declaration, "that I "had carefully examined all the original materials that could illuſtrate the "ſubject which I had undertaken to treat." If this important obligation has ſometimes been imperfectly fulfilled, I have only omitted what it would have been impracticable for me to perform. The greateſt city in the world is ſtill deſtitute of that uſeful inſtitution, a public library; and the writer who has undertaken to treat any large hiſtorical ſubject, is reduced to the neceſſity of purchaſing, for his private uſe, a numerous and valuable collection of the books which muſt form the baſis of his work. The diligence of his booksellers will not always prove ſucceſsful; and the candour of his readers will not always expect, that, for the ſake of verifying an accidental quotation of ten lines, he ſhould load himſelf with an uſeleſs and expenſive ſeries of ten volumes. In a very few inſtances, where I had not the opportunity of conſulting the originals, I have adopted their teſtimony on the faith of modern guides, of whoſe fidelity I was ſatisfied; but on theſe occaſions *, inſtead of decking myſelf with the borrowed plumes of Tillemont or Lardner, I have been moſt ſcrupulouſly exact in marking the extent of my reading, and the ſource of my information. This diſtinction, which a ſenſe of truth and modeſty had engaged me to expreſs, is ungenerouſly abuſed by Mr. Davis, who ſeems happy to inform his readers, that "in ONE inſtance (Chap. xvi. 164. "or in the firſt edition, 163.) I have, by an unaccountable overſight, un-

* Gibbon, p. 605, N. 156; p. 606. N. 161; p. 690, N. 164; p. 699, N. 178.

"fortunately

" fortunately for myſelf, forgot to drop the modern, and that I modeſtly " diſclaim all knowledge of Athanaſius, but what I had picked up from Til- " lemont *." Without animadverting on the decency of theſe expreſſions, which are now grown familiar to me, I ſhall content myſelf with obſerving, that as I had frequently quoted Euſebius, or Cyprian, or Tertullian, *becauſe* I had read them; ſo, in this inſtance, I only made my reference to Tillemont, *becauſe* I had not read, and did not poſſeſs the works of Athanaſius. The progreſs of my undertaking has ſince directed me to peruſe the Hiſtorical Apologies of the Archbiſhop of Alexandria, whoſe life is a very intereſting part of the age in which he lived; and if Mr. Davis ſhould have the curioſity to look into my Second Volume, he will find that I make a free and frequent appeal to the writings of Athanaſius. Whatever may be the opinion or practice of my adverſary, this I apprehend to be the dealing of a fair and honourable man.

IV. The hiſtorical monuments of the three firſt centuries of eccleſiaſtical antiquity are neither very numerous nor very prolix. From the end of the Acts of the Apoſtles, to the time when the firſt Apology of Juſtin Martyr was preſented, there intervened a dark and doubtful period of fourſcore years; and, even if the Epiſtles of Ignatius ſhould be approved by the critic, they could not be very ſerviceable to the hiſtorian. From the middle of the ſecond, to the beginning of the fourth century, we gain our knowledge of the ſtate and progreſs of Chriſtianity, from the ſucceſſive Apologies which were occaſionally compoſed by Juſtin, Athenagoras, Tertullian, Origen, *&c.*; from the Epiſtles of Cyprian; from a few *ſincere* acts of the Martyrs; from ſome moral or controverſial tracts, which indirectly explain the events and manners of the times; from the rare and accidental notice which profane writers have taken of the Chriſtian ſect; from the declamatory narrative which celebrates the deaths of the perſecutors; and from the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of Euſebius, who has preſerved ſome valuable fragments of more early writers. Since the revival of letters, theſe original materials have been the common fund of critics and hiſtorians: nor has it ever been imagined, that the abſolute and excluſive property of a paſſage in Euſebius or Tertullian was acquired by the firſt who had an opportunity of quoting it. The learned work of Moſheim, *de Rebus Chriſtianis ante Conſtantinum*, was printed in the year 1753; and if I were poſſeſſed of the patience and diſingenuity of Mr. Davis, I would engage to

* Davis, p. 273.

find

find all the ancient teſtimonies that he has alleged, in the writings of Dodwell or Tillemont, which were publiſhed before the end of the laſt century. But if I were animated by any malevolent intentions againſt Dodwell or Tillemont, I could as eaſily, and as unfairly, fix on *them* the guilt of plagiariſm, by producing the ſame paſſages tranſcribed or tranſlated at full length in the Annals of Cardinal Baronius. Let not criticiſm be any longer diſgraced by the practice of ſuch unworthy arts. Inſtead of admitting ſuſpicions as falſe as they are ungenerous, candour will acknowledge, that Moſheim or Dodwell, Tillemont or Baronius, enjoyed the ſame right, and often were under the ſame obligation, of quoting the paſſages which they had read, and which were indiſpenſably requiſite to confirm the truth and ſubſtance of their ſimilar narratives. Mr. Davis is ſo far from allowing me the benefit of this common indulgence, or rather of this common right, that he ſtigmatiſes with the name of *plagiariſm* a cloſe and literal agreement with Dodwell in the account of ſome parts of the perſecution of Diocletian, where a few chapters of Euſebius and Lactantius, perhaps of Lactantius alone, are the ſole materials from whence our knowledge could be derived, and where, if I had not tranſcribed, I muſt have invented. He is even bold enough (*bold* is not the *proper* word) to conceive ſome hopes of perſuading his readers, that an hiſtorian who has employed ſeveral years of his life, and ſeveral hundred pages, on the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, had never read Oroſius, or the Auguſtin Hiſtory; and that he was forced to borrow, at ſecond-hand, his quotations from the Theodoſian code. I cannot profeſs myſelf very deſirous of Mr. Davis's acquaintance; but if he will take the trouble of calling at my houſe any afternoon when I am *not* at home, my ſervant ſhall ſhew him my library, which he will find tolerably well furniſhed with the uſeful authors, ancient as well as modern, eccleſiaſtical as well as profane, who have *directly* ſupplied me with the materials of my Hiſtory.

The peculiar reaſons, and they are not of the moſt flattering kind, which urged me to repel the furious and feeble attack of Mr. Davis, have been already mentioned. But ſince I am drawn thus reluctantly into the liſts of controverſy, I ſhall not retire till I have ſaluted, either with ſtern defiance or gentle courteſy, the theological champions who have ſignalized their ardour to break a lance againſt the ſhield of a *Pagan* adverſary. The Fifteenth and Sixteenth Chapters have been honoured with the notice of ſeveral writers, whoſe names and characters ſeemed to promiſe more maturity of judgment and learning than could reaſonably be expected from the unfiniſhed ſtudies of a Ba-

a Bachelor of Arts. The Reverend Mr. Apthorpe, Dr. Watſon, the Regius Profeſſor of Divinity in the Univerſity of Cambridge, Dr. Chelſum of Chriſt Church, and his aſſociate Dr. Randolph, Preſident of Corpus Chriſti College, and the Lady Margaret's Profeſſor of Divinity in the Univerſity of Oxford, have given me a fair right, which, however, I ſhall not abuſe, of freely declaring my opinion on the ſubject of their reſpective criticiſms.

MR. APTHORPE.

If I am not miſtaken, Mr. Apthorpe was the firſt who announced to the Public his intention of examining the intereſting ſubject which I had treated in the Two laſt Chapters of my Hiſtory. The multitude of collateral and acceſſary ideas which preſented themſelves to the Author, inſenſibly ſwelled the bulk of his papers to the ſize of a large volume in octavo; the publication was delayed many months beyond the time of the firſt advertiſement; and when Mr. Apthorpe's Letters appeared, I was ſurpriſed to find, that I had *ſcarcely* any intereſt or concern in their contents. They are filled with general obſervations on the Study of Hiſtory, with a large and uſeful catalogue of Hiſtorians, and with a variety of reflexions, moral and religious, all preparatory to the direct and formal conſideration of my Two laſt Chapters, which Mr. Apthorpe ſeems to reſerve for the ſubject of a Second Volume. I ſincerely reſpect the learning, the piety, and the candour of this Gentleman, and muſt conſider it as a mark of his eſteem, that he has thought proper to begin his approaches at ſo great a diſtance from the fortifications which he deſigned to attack.

DR. WATSON.

When Dr. Watſon gave to the Public his Apology for Chriſtianity, in a Series of Letters, he addreſſed them to the Author of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, with a juſt confidence that he had conſidered this important object in a manner not unworthy of his antagoniſt or of himſelf. Dr. Watſon's mode of thinking bears a liberal and a philoſophic caſt; his thoughts are expreſſed with ſpirit, and that ſpirit is always tempered by politeneſs and moderation. Such is the man whom I ſhould be happy to call my friend, and whom I ſhould not bluſh to call my antagoniſt. But the ſame motives which might tempt me to accept, or even to ſolicit, a private and amicable conference, diſſuaded me from entering into a public controverſy with a Writer of ſo reſpectable a character; and I embraced the earlieſt opportunity of expreſſing to Dr. Watſon himſelf, how ſincerely I agreed with him in thinking, "That as the world is now poſſeſſed of the "opinion of us both upon the ſubject in queſtion, it may be perhaps as

"proper

" proper for us both to leave it in this ſtate *." The nature of the ingenious Profeſſor's Apology contributed to ſtrengthen the inſuperable reluctance to engage in hoſtile altercation which was common to us both, by convincing me, that ſuch an altercation was unneceſſary as well as unpleaſant. He very juſtly and politely declares, that a conſiderable part, near ſeventy pages, of his ſmall volume are not directed to me †, but to a ſet of men whom he places in an odious and contemptible light. He leaves to other hands the defence of the leading Eccleſiaſtics, even of the primitive church; and without being *very* anxious, either to ſoften their vices and indiſcretion, or to aggravate the cruelty of the Heathen Perſecutors, he paſſes over in ſilence the greateſt part of my Sixteenth Chapter. It is not ſo much the purpoſe of the Apologiſt to examine the facts which have been advanced by the Hiſtorian, as to remove the impreſſions which may have been formed by many of his Readers; and the Remarks of Dr. Watſon conſiſt more properly of general argumentation than of particular criticiſm. He fairly owns, that I have expreſsly allowed the full and irreſiſtible weight of the *firſt* great cauſe of the ſucceſs of Chriſtianity ‡; and he is too candid to deny that the five *ſecondary* cauſes, which I had attempted to explain, operated with *ſome* degree of active energy towards the accompliſhment of that great event. The only queſtion which remains between us, relates to the *degree* of the weight and effect of thoſe ſecondary cauſes; and as I am perſuaded that our philoſophy is not of the dogmatic kind, we ſhould ſoon acknowledge that this preciſe degree cannot be aſcertained by reaſoning, nor perhaps be expreſſed by words. In the courſe of this inquiry, ſome incidental difficulties have ariſen, which I had ſtated with impartiality, and which Dr. Watſon reſolves with ingenuity and temper. If in ſome inſtances he ſeems to have miſapprehended my ſentiments, I may heſitate whether I ſhould impute the fault to my own want of clearneſs or to his want of attention, but I can never entertain a ſuſpicion that Dr. Watſon would deſcend to employ the diſingenuous arts of vulgar controverſy.

There is, however, one paſſage, and one paſſage only, which muſt not paſs without ſome explanation; and I ſhall the more eagerly embrace this occaſion to illuſtrate what I had ſaid, as the miſconſtruction of my true meaning ſeems to have made an involuntary, but unfavourable impreſſion

* Watſon's Apology for Chriſtianity, p. 200. † Id. p. 202—268. ‡ Id. p. 5.

on the liberal mind of Dr. Watſon. As I endeavour *not* to palliate the ſeverity, but to diſcover the motives, of the Roman Magiſtrates, I had remarked, "it was in vain that the oppreſſed Believer aſſerted the unalien-" able rights of conſcience and private judgment. Though his ſituation " might excite the pity, his arguments could never reach the underſtanding, " either of the philoſophic or of the believing part of the Pagan world *." The humanity of Dr. Watſon takes fire on the ſuppoſed provocation, and he aſks me with unuſual quickneſs, "How, Sir, are the arguments for " liberty of conſcience ſo exceedingly inconcluſive, that you think them in-" capable of reaching the underſtanding even of philoſophers †?" He continues to obſerve, that a captious adverſary would embrace with avidity the opportunity this paſſage *affords*, of blotting my character with the odious ſtain of being a Perſecutor; a ſtain which no learning can wipe out, which no genius or ability can render amiable; and though he himſelf does not entertain ſuch an opinion of my principles, his ingenuity tries in vain to provide me with the means of eſcape.

I muſt lament that I have not been ſucceſsful in the explanation of a very ſimple notion of the ſpirit both of Philoſophy and of Polytheiſm, which I have repeatedly inculcated. The arguments which aſſert the rights of conſcience are not inconcluſive in themſelves, but the underſtanding of the Greeks and Romans was fortified againſt their evidence by an invincible prejudice. When we liſten to the voice of Bayle, of Locke, and of genuine reaſon, in favour of religious toleration, we ſhall eaſily perceive that our moſt forcible appeal is made to our mutual feelings. If the Jew were allowed to argue with the Inquiſitor, he would requeſt that for a moment they might exchange their different ſituations, and might ſafely aſk his Catholic Tyrant, whether the fear of death would compel *him* to enter the ſynagogue, to receive the mark of circumciſion, and to partake of the paſchal lamb. As ſoon as the caſe of perſecution was brought home to the breaſt of the Inquiſitor, he muſt have found ſome difficulty in ſuppreſſing the dictates of natural equity, which would inſinuate to his conſcience, that he could have no right to inflict thoſe puniſhments which, under ſimilar circumſtances, he would eſteem it as his duty to encounter. But this argument could not reach the underſtanding of a Polytheiſt, or of an ancient Philoſopher. The former was ready, whenever he was ſummoned, or indeed without being ſummoned,

* Gibbon, p. 625. † Watſon, p. 185.

to fall proſtrate before the altars of any Gods who were adored in any part of the world, and to admit a vague perſuaſion of the *truth* and divinity of the moſt different modes of religion. The Philoſopher, who conſidered them, at leaſt in their literal ſenſe, as equally *falſe* and abſurd, was not aſhamed to diſguiſe his ſentiments, and to frame his actions according to the laws of his country, which impoſed the ſame obligation on the Philoſophers and the people. When Pliny declared, that whatever was the opinion of the Chriſtians, their obſtinacy deſerved puniſhment, the abſurd cruelty of Pliny was excuſed in his own eye, by the conſciouſneſs that, in the ſituation of the Chriſtians, he would not have refuſed the religious compliance which he exacted. I ſhall not repeat, that the Pagan worſhip was a matter, not of *opinion*, but of *cuſtom*; that the toleration of the Romans was confined to nations or families who followed the practice of their anceſtors; and that in the firſt ages of Chriſtianity their perſecution of the individuals who departed from the eſtabliſhed religion was neither moderated by pure reaſon, nor inflamed by excluſive zeal. But I only deſire to appeal, from the haſty apprehenſion, to the more deliberate judgment, of Dr. Watſon himſelf. Should there ſtill remain any difference of opinion between us, I ſhall be ſatisfied, if he will conſider me as a ſincere though perhaps unſucceſsful lover of truth, and as a firm friend to civil and eccleſiaſtical freedom.

DR. CHELSUM and DR. RANDOLPH.

Far be it from me, or from any faithful Hiſtorian, to impute to reſpectable ſocieties the faults of ſome individual members. Our two Univerſities moſt undoubtedly contain the ſame mixture, and moſt probably the ſame proportions, of zeal and moderation, of reaſon and ſuperſtition. Yet there is much leſs difference between the ſmoothneſs of the Ionic, and the roughneſs of the Doric dialect, than may be found between the poliſhed ſtyle of Dr. Watſon, and the coarſe language of Mr. Davis, Dr. Chelſum, or Dr. Randolph. The ſecond of theſe Critics, Dr. Chelſum of Chriſt Church, is unwilling that the world ſhould forget that *he* was the firſt who founded to arms, that *he* was the firſt who furniſhed the antidote to the poiſon, and who, as early as the month of October of the year 1776, publiſhed his *Strictures* on the Two laſt Chapters of Mr. Gibbon's Hiſtory. The ſucceſs of a pamphlet, which he modeſtly ſtyles imperfect and ill-digeſted, encouraged him to reſume the controverſy. In the beginning of the preſent year, his Remarks made their ſecond appearance, with ſome alteration of form, and a large increaſe of bulk; and the author who ſeems to fight under the pro-

tection of two epiſcopal banners, has prefixed, in the front of his volume, his name and titles, which in the former edition he had leſs honourably ſuppreſſed. His confidence is fortified by the alliance and communications of a *diſtinguiſhed* Writer, Dr. Randolph, *&c.* who, on a proper occaſion, would, no doubt, be ready to bear as honourable teſtimony to the merit and reputation of Dr. Chelſum. The two friends are indeed ſo happily united by art and nature, that if the author of the Remarks had not pointed out the valuable communications of the Margaret Profeſſor, it would have been impoſſible to ſeparate their reſpective property. Writers who poſſeſs any freedom of mind, may be known from each other by the peculiar character of their ſtyle and ſentiments; but the champions who are inliſted in the ſervice of Authority, commonly wear the uniform of the regiment. Oppreſſed with the ſame yoke, covered with the ſame trappings, they heavily move along, perhaps not with an equal pace, in the ſame beaten track of prejudice and preferment. Yet I ſhould expoſe my own injuſtice, were I abſolutely to confound with Mr. Davis the two Doctors in Divinity, who are joined in one volume. The three Critics appear to be animated by the ſame implacable reſentiment againſt the Hiſtorian of the Roman Empire; they are alike diſpoſed to ſupport the ſame opinions by the ſame arts; and if in the language of the two latter, the diſregard of politeneſs is ſomewhat leſs groſs and indecent, the difference is not of ſuch a magnitude as to excite in my breaſt any lively ſenſations of gratitude. It was the misfortune of Mr. Davis that he undertook to *write* before he had *read*. He ſet out with the ſtock of authorities which he found in my quotations, and boldly ventured to play his reputation againſt mine. Perhaps he may now repent of a loſs which is not eaſily recovered; but if I had not ſurmounted my almoſt inſuperable reluctance to a public diſpute, many a reader might ſtill be dazzled by the vehemence of his aſſertions, and might ſtill believe that Mr. Davis had detected ſeveral wilful and important miſrepreſentations in my Two laſt Chapters. But the confederate Doctors appear to be ſcholars of a higher form and longer experience; they enjoy a certain rank in their academical world; and as their zeal is enlightened by ſome rays of knowledge, ſo their deſire to ruin the credit of their adverſary is occaſionally checked by the apprehenſion of injuring their own. Theſe reſtraints, to which Mr. Davis was a ſtranger, have confined them to a very narrow and humble path of hiſtorical criticiſm; and if I were to correct, according to their wiſhes,

all the particular facts againſt which they have advanced any objections, theſe corrections, admitted in their fulleſt extent, would hardly furniſh materials for a decent liſt of *errata*.

The *dogmatical* part of their work, which in every ſenſe of the word deſerves that appellation, is ill adapted to engage my attention. I had declined the conſideration of theological arguments, when they were managed by a candid and liberal adverſary; and it would be inconſiſtent enough, if I ſhould have refuſed to draw my ſword in honourable combat againſt the keen and well-tempered weapon of Dr. Watſon, for the ſole purpoſe of encountering the ruſtic cudgel of two ſtaunch and ſturdy Polemics.

I ſhall not enter any farther into the character and conduct of Cyprian, as I am ſenſible that, if the opinion of Le Clerc, Moſheim, and myſelf, is reprobated by Dr. Chelſum and his ally, the difference muſt ſubſiſt, till we ſhall entertain the ſame notions of moral virtue and eccleſiaſtical power *. If Dr. Randolph will allow that the primitive Clergy received, managed, and diſtributed the tithes, and other charitable donations of the faithful, the diſpute between *us* will be a diſpute of words †. I ſhall not amuſe myſelf with proving that the learned Origen muſt have derived from the *inſpired* authority of the Church his knowledge, not indeed of the *authenticity*, but of the *inſpiration* of the *four* Evangeliſts, *two* of whom are not in the rank of the Apoſtles ‡. I ſhall ſubmit to the judgment of the Public, whether the Athanaſian Creed is not read and received in the Church of England, and whether the wiſeſt and moſt virtuous of the Pagans § believed the Catholic faith, which is declared in the Athanaſian Creed to be abſolutely neceſſary for ſalvation. As little ſhall I think myſelf intereſted in the elaborate diſquiſitions with which the Author of the Remarks has filled a great number of pages, concerning the famous teſtimony of Joſephus, the paſſages of Irenæus and Theophilus, which relate to the gift of miracles, and the origin of circumciſion in Paleſtine or in Egypt ‖. If I have rejected, and rejected with ſome contempt, the *interpolation* which pious fraud has very aukwardly inſerted in the text of Joſephus, I may deem myſelf ſecure behind the ſhield of learned and pious critics (ſee in particular Le Clerc, in his Ars Critica,

* Gibbon, p. 558, 559. Chelſum, p. 132—139.
† Gibbon, p. 592. Randolph in Chelſum, p. 122.
‡ Gibbon, p. 551, N. 33. Chelſum, p. 39.
§ Gibbon, p. 565, N. 70. Chelſum, p. 66.
‖ Chelſum's Remarks, p. 13—19. 67—91. 180—185.

part

part iii. ſect. i. c. 15. and Lardner's Teſtimonies, Vol. i. p. 150, &c.), who have condemned this paſſage: and I think it very natural that Dr. Chelſum ſhould embrace the contrary opinion, which is not deſtitute of able advocates. The paſſages of Irenæus and Theophilus were thoroughly ſifted in the controverſy about the duration of Miracles; and as the works of Dr. Middleton may be found in every library, ſo it is not impoſſible that a diligent ſearch may ſtill diſcover ſome remains of the writings of his adverſaries. In mentioning the confeſſion of the Syrians of Paleſtine, that they had received from Egypt the rite of circumciſion, I had ſimply alledged the teſtimony of Herodotus, without expreſsly adopting the ſentiment of Marſham. But I had always imagined, that in theſe doubtful and indifferent queſtions, which have been ſolemnly argued before the tribunal of the Public, every ſcholar was at liberty to chuſe his ſide, without aſſigning his reaſons; nor can I yet perſuade myſelf, that either Dr. Chelſum, or myſelf, are likely to enforce, by any new arguments, the opinions which we have reſpectively followed. The only novelty for which I can perceive myſelf indebted to Dr. Chelſum, is the very extraordinary Scepticiſm which he inſinuates concerning the time of Herodotus, who, according to the chronology of ſome, flouriſhed during the time of the Jewiſh captivity *. Can it be neceſſary to inform a Divine, that the captivity which laſted ſeventy years, according to the prophecy of Jeremiah, was terminated in the year 536 before Chriſt, by the edict which Cyrus publiſhed in the firſt year of his reign? (Jeremiah, xxv. 11, 12. xxix. 10. Ezra, i. 1. &c. Uſher and Prideaux, under the years 606 and 536.) Can it be neceſſary to inform a man of letters, that Herodotus was fifty-three years old at the commencement of the Peloponneſian war (Aulus Gellius, Noct. Attic. xv. 23. from the commentaries of Pamphila), and conſequently that he was born in the year before Chriſt 484, fifty-two years after the end of the Jewiſh captivity? As this well atteſted fact is not expoſed to the ſlighteſt doubt or difficulty, I am ſomewhat curious to learn the names of thoſe unknown authors, whoſe chronology Dr. Chelſum has allowed as the ſpecious foundation of a probable hypotheſis. The Author of the Remarks does not ſeem indeed to have cultivated, with much care or ſucceſs, the province of literary hiſtory; as a very moderate acquaintance with that uſeful branch of knowledge would have ſaved him from a poſitive miſtake, much leſs excuſable than the doubt

* Chelſum, p. 15.

which

which he entertains about the time of Herodotus. He ſtyles Suidas "a "*Heathen* writer, who lived about the end of the *tenth* century *." I admit the period which he aſſigns to Suidas; and which is well aſcertained by Dr. Bentley. (See his Reply to Boyle, p. 22, 23.) We are led to fix this epoch, by the chronology which this *Heathen* writer has deduced from Adam, to the death of the emperor John Zimiſces, A. D. 975: and a crowd of paſſages might be produced, as the unanſwerable evidence of his Chriſtianity. But the moſt unanſwerable of all is the very date, which is not diſputed between us. The philoſophers who flouriſhed under Juſtinian (ſee Agathias, L. ii. p. 65, 66.) appear to have been the laſt of the Heathen writers: and the ancient religion of the Greeks was annihilated almoſt four hundred years before the birth of Suidas.

After this animadverſion, which is not intended either to inſult the failings of my Adverſary, or to provide a convenient excuſe for my own errors, I ſhall proceed to ſelect *two* important parts of Dr. Chelſum's Remarks, from which the candid reader may form ſome opinion of the whole. They relate to the military ſervice of the firſt Chriſtians, and to the hiſtorical character of Euſebius; and I ſhall review them with the leſs reluctance, as it may not be impoſſible to pick up ſomething curious and uſeful even in the barren waſte of controverſy.

MILITARY SERVICE OF THE FIRST CHRISTIANS.

I. In repreſenting the errors of the primitive Chriſtians, which flowed from an exceſs of virtue, I had obſerved, *that* they expoſed themſelves to the reproaches of the Pagans, by their obſtinate refuſal to take an active part in the civil adminiſtration, or military defence of the empire; *that* the objections of Celſus appear to have been mutilated by his adverſary Origen; and *that* the Apologiſts, to whom the public dangers were urged, returned obſcure and ambiguous anſwers, as they were unwilling to diſcloſe the true ground of their ſecurity, their opinion of the approaching end of the world †. In another place I had related, from the Acts of Ruinart, the action and puniſhment of the Centurion Marcellus, who was put to death for renouncing the ſervice in a public and ſeditious manner ‡.

On this occaſion Dr. Chelſum is extremely alert. He denies my facts, controverts my opinions, and, with a politeneſs worthy of Mr. Davis himſelf, inſinuates that I borrowed the ſtory of Marcellus, not from Ruinart, but from Voltaire. My learned adverſary thinks it highly improbable that

* Chelſum, p. 73. † Gibbon, p. 580, 581. ‡ Id. p. 680.

Origen

Origen ſhould dare to *mutilate* the objections of Celſus, "whoſe work was, "in all probability, extant at the time he made this reply. In ſuch caſe, "had he even been inclined to treat his adverſary unfairly, he muſt yet ſurely "have been with-held from the attempt, through the fear of detection *." The experience both of ancient and modern controverſy has indeed convinced me that this reaſoning, juſt and natural as it may ſeem, is totally inconcluſive, and that the generality of diſputants, eſpecially in religious conteſts, are of a much more daring and intrepid ſpirit. For the truth of this remark, I ſhall content myſelf with producing a recent and very ſingular example, in which Dr. Chelſum himſelf is perſonally intereſted. He charges † me with paſſing over in "ſilence the important and unſuſpected "teſtimony of a Heathen hiſtorian (Dion Caſſius) to the perſecution of Do-"mitian; and he affirms, that I have produced that teſtimony ſo far only "as it relates to Clemens and Domitilla; yet in the very ſame paſſage "follows immediately, that on a like accuſation MANY OTHERS were alſo "condemned. Some of them were put to death, others ſuffered the con-"fiſcation of their goods ‡." Although I ſhould not be aſhamed to undertake the apology of Nero or Domitian, if I thought them innocent of any particular crime with which zeal or malice had unjuſtly branded their memory; yet I ſhould indeed bluſh, if, in favour of tyranny, or even in favour of virtue, I had ſuppreſſed the truth and evidence of hiſtorical facts. But the Reader will feel ſome ſurpriſe, when he has convinced himſelf that, in the three editions of my Firſt Volume, after relating the death of Clemens, and the exile of Domitilla, I continue to allege the ENTIRE TESTIMONY of Dion, in the following words: "and ſentences either of death, "or of confiſcation, were pronounced againſt a GREAT NUMBER OF PER-"SONS who were involved in the ſame accuſation. The guilt imputed to "their charge, was that of Atheiſm and Jewiſh manners; a ſingular aſſo-"ciation of ideas which cannot with any propriety be applied except to the "Chriſtians, as they were obſcurely and imperfectly viewed by the magiſ-"trates and writers of that period." Dr. Chelſum has not been deterred by the fear of detection, from this ſcandalous mutilation of the popular work of a living adverſary. But Celſus had been dead above fifty years before Origen publiſhed his Apology; and the copies of an ancient work, inſtead of being inſtantaneouſly multiplied by the operation of the preſs, were ſeparately and ſlowly tranſcribed by the labour of the hand.

* Chelſum, p. 118, 119. † Id. p. 132. ‡ Gibbon, p. 645.

If

If any modern divine ſhould ſtill maintain that the fidelity of Origen was ſecured by motives more honourable than the fear of detection, he may learn from Jerom the difference of the *gymnaſtic* and *dogmatic* ſtyles. Truth is the object of the one, victory of the other; and the ſame arts which would diſgrace the ſincerity of the teacher, ſerve only to diſplay the ſkill of the diſputant. After juſtifying his own practice by that of the orators and philoſophers, Jerom defends himſelf by the more reſpectable authority of Chriſtian apologiſts. "How many thouſand lines, ſays he, have been compoſed "againſt *Celſus* and Porphyry, by *Origen*, Methodius, Euſebius, Apollinaris? Conſider with what arguments, with what ſlippery problems, they "elude the inventions of the Devil; and how, in their controverſy with the "Gentiles, they are ſometimes obliged to ſpeak, not what they really think, "but what is moſt advantageous for the cauſe they defend." "Origenes, "&c. multis verſuum millibus ſcribunt adverſus Celſum et Porphyrium. "Conſiderate quibus argumentis et quam lubricis problematibus diaboli ſpi-"ritu contexta ſubvertunt: et quia interdum coguntur loqui, non quod ſen-"tiunt, ſed quod neceſſe eſt dicunt adverſus ea quæ dicunt Gentiles." (Pro Libris adverſ. Jovinian. Apolog. tom. ii. p. 135.)

Yet Dr. Chelſum may ſtill aſk, and he has a right to aſk, why in this particular inſtance I ſuſpect the pious Origen of mutilating the objections of his adverſary. From a very obvious, and, in my opinion, a very deciſive circumſtance. Celſus was a Greek philoſopher, the friend of Lucian; and I thought that, although he might ſupport error by ſophiſtry, he would not write nonſenſe in his own language. I renounce my ſuſpicion, if the moſt attentive reader is able to underſtand the deſign and purport of a paſſage which is given as a formal quotation from Celſus, and which begins with the following words: Ου μην ϖδε εκειvο ουκτον σϖ λεγοντος, ως, &c. (Origen contr. Celſum, L. viii. p. 425. edit. Spencer, Cantab. 1677.) I have carefully inſpected the original, I have availed myſelf of the learning of Spencer, and even Bouhereau, (for I ſhall always diſclaim the abſurd and affected pedantry of uſing without ſcruple a Latin verſion, but of deſpiſing the aid of a French tranſlation,) and the ill ſucceſs of my efforts has countenanced the ſuſpicion to which I ſtill adhere, with a juſt mixture of doubt and heſitation. Origen very boldly denies, that any of the Chriſtians have affirmed what is imputed to them by Celſus, in this unintelligible quotation; and it may eaſily be credited, that none had maintained what none can comprehend. Dr. Chelſum has produced the words of Origen; but on this occaſion there is a ſtrange

ambiguity in the language of the modern divine *, as if he wiſhed to inſinuate what he dared not affirm; and every reader muſt conclude, from his ſtate of the queſtion, that Origen expreſsly denied the truth of the *accuſation* of Celſus, who had *accuſed* the Chriſtians of declining to aſſiſt their fellow-ſubjects in the military defence of the empire, aſſailed on every ſide by the arms of the Barbarians.

Will Dr. Chelſum juſtify to the world, can he juſtify to his own feelings, the abuſe which he has made even of the privileges of the Gymnaſtic ſtyle? Careleſs and haſty indeed muſt have been his peruſal of Origen, if he did not perceive that the ancient apologiſt, who makes a ſtand on ſome incidental queſtion, admits the accuſation of his adverſary, that the Chriſtians *refuſed* to bear arms even at the command of their ſovereign. "Και ε συστρατευομεθα μην αυτῳ, καν επειγη." (Origen, L. viii. p. 427.) He endeavours to palliate this undutiful refuſal, by repreſenting that the Chriſtians had their peculiar camps, in which they inceſſantly combated for the ſafety of the emperor and the empire, by liſting up their right hands—in prayer. The apologiſt ſeems to hope that his country will be ſatisfied with this ſpiritual aid, and dexterouſly confounding the colleges of Roman prieſts with the multitudes which ſwelled the Catholic church, he claims for his brethren, in all the provinces, the exemption from military ſervice, which was enjoyed by the ſacerdotal order. But as this excuſe might not readily be allowed, Origen looks forwards with a lively faith to that auſpicious revolution, which Celſus had rejected as impoſſible, when all the nations of the habitable earth, renouncing their paſſions and their arms, ſhould embrace the pure doctrines of the Goſpel, and lead a life of peace and innocence under the immediate protection of Heaven. The faith of Origen ſeems to be principally founded on the predictions of the Prophet Zephaniah (See iii. 9, 10.); and he prudently obſerves, that the prophets often ſpeak ſecret things (εν αποῤῥητω λεγεσι, p. 426.), which may be underſtood by thoſe who can underſtand them; and that if this ſtupendous change cannot be effected while we retain our bodies, it may be accompliſhed as ſoon as we ſhall be releaſed from them. Such is the reaſoning of Origen: though I have not followed the order, I have faithfully preſerved the ſubſtance of it; which fully juſtifies the truth and propriety of my obſervations.

* Chelſum, p. 118.

The execution of Marcellus, the Centurion, is naturally connected with the Apology of Origen, as the former declared by his actions, what the latter had affirmed in his writings, that the conſcience of a devout Chriſtian would not allow him to bear arms, even at the command of his ſovereign. I had repreſented this religious ſcruple as *one* of the motives which provoked Marcellus, on the day of a public feſtival, to throw away the enſigns of his office; and I preſumed to obſerve, that ſuch an act of deſertion would have been puniſhed in any government according to martial or even civil law. Dr. Chelſum * very *bluntly* accuſes me of miſrepreſenting the ſtory, and of ſuppreſſing thoſe circumſtances which would have defended the Centurion from the unjuſt imputation thrown by me upon his conduct. The diſpute between the advocate for Marcellus and myſelf lies in a very narrow compaſs; as the whole evidence is compriſed in a ſhort, ſimple, and, I believe, authentic narrative.

1. In another place I obſerved, and even preſſed the obſervation, "that "the innumerable deities and rites of Polytheiſm were cloſely interwoven "with every circumſtance of buſineſs or pleaſure, of public or of private "life;" and I had particularly ſpecified how much the Roman diſcipline was connected with the national ſuperſtition. A ſolemn oath of fidelity was repeated every year in the name of the gods and of the genius of the Emperor, public and daily ſacrifices were performed at the head of the camp, the legionary was continually tempted, or rather compelled, to join in the idolatrous worſhip of his fellow-ſoldiers; and had not any ſcruples been entertained of the lawfulneſs of war, it is not eaſy to underſtand how any ſerious Chriſtian could inliſt under a banner which has been juſtly termed the *rival of the Croſs*. "Vexilla æmula Chriſti." (Tertullian de Corona Militis, c. xi.) With regard to the ſoldiers, who before their converſion were already engaged in the military life, fear, habit, ignorance, neceſſity, might bend them to ſome acts of occaſional conformity; and as long as they abſtained from abſolute and intentional idolatry, their behaviour was excuſed by the indulgent, and cenſured by the more rigid caſuiſts. (See the whole Treatiſe *de Corona Militis*.) We are ignorant of the adventures and character of the Centurion Marcellus, how long he had conciliated the profeſſion of arms and of the Goſpel, whether he was only a Catechumen, or whether he was ini-

* Chelſum, p. 114—117.

tiated by the ſacrament of baptiſm. We are likewiſe at a loſs to aſcertain the particular act of idolatry which ſo ſuddenly and ſo forcibly provoked his pious indignation. As he declared his faith in the midſt of a public entertainment given on the birth-day of Galerius, he muſt have been ſtartled by ſome of the ſacred and convivial rites (Convivia iſta profana reputans) of prayers, or vows, or libations, or, perhaps, by the offenſive circumſtance of eating the meats which had been offered to the idols. But the ſcruples of Marcellus were not confined to theſe accidental impurities; they evidently reached the eſſential duties of his profeſſion; and when, before the tribunal of the magiſtrates, he avowed his faith at the hazard of his life, the Centurion declared, as his cool and determined perſuaſion, that it does not become a Chriſtian man, who is the ſoldier of the Lord Chriſt, to bear arms for any object of earthly concern. "Non enim decebat Chriſtianum hominem mo-"leſtiis ſecularibus militare, qui Chriſto Domino militat." A formal declaration, which clearly diſengages from each other the different queſtions of war and idolatry. With regard to both theſe queſtions, as they were underſtood by the primitive Chriſtians, I wiſh to refer the reader to the ſentiments and authorities of Mr. Moyle, a bold and ingenious critic, who read the Fathers as their judge, and not as their ſlave, and who has refuted, with the moſt patient candour, all that learned prejudice could ſuggeſt in favour of the ſilly ſtory of the Thundering Legion. (See Moyle's Works, Vol. ii. p. 84—88. 111—116. 163—212. 298—302. 327—341.) And here let me add, that the paſſage of Origen, who in the name of his brethren diſclaims the duty of military ſervice, is underſtood by Mr. Moyle in its true and obvious ſignification.

2. I know not where Dr. Chelſum has imbibed the principles of logic or morality which teach him to approve the conduct of Marcellus, who threw down his rod, his belt, and his arms, at the head of the legion, and publicly renounced the military ſervice, *at the very time* when he found himſelf obliged to offer ſacrifice. Yet ſurely this is a very falſe notion of the condition and duties of a Roman Centurion. Marcellus was bound, by a ſolemn oath, to ſerve with fidelity till he ſhould be regularly diſcharged; and according to the ſentiments which Dr. Chelſum aſcribes to him, he was not releaſed from his oath by any miſtaken opinion of the unlawfulneſs of war. I would propoſe it as a caſe of conſcience to any philoſopher, or even to any caſuiſt in Europe, Whether a particular order, which cannot be reconciled with virtue or piety, diſſolves the ties of a general and lawful obligation?

And whether, if they had been conſulted by the Chriſtian Centurion, they would not have directed him to increaſe his diligence in the execution of his military functions, to refuſe to yield to any act of idolatry, and patiently to expect the conſequences of ſuch a refuſal? But, inſtead of obeying the mild and moderate dictates of religion, inſtead of diſtinguiſhing between the duties of the ſoldier and of the Chriſtian, Marcellus, with imprudent zeal, ruſhed forwards to ſeize the crown of martyrdom. He might have privately confeſſed himſelf guilty to the tribune or præfect under whom he ſerved: he choſe on the day of a public feſtival to diſturb the order of the camp. He inſulted, without neceſſity, the religion of his ſovereign and of his country, by the epithets of contempt which he beſtowed on the Roman gods. "Deos "veſtros ligneos et lapideos adorare contemno, quæ ſunt idola ſurda et "muta." Nay more; at the head of the legion, and in the face of the ſtandards, the Centurion Marcellus openly renounced his allegiance to the Emperors. "Ex hoc militare IMPERATORIBUS VESTRIS deſiſto." From this moment I no longer ſerve YOUR EMPERORS, are the important words of Marcellus, which his advocate has not thought proper to tranſlate. I again make my appeal to any lawyer, to any military man, Whether, under ſuch circumſtances, the pronoun *your* has not a ſeditious, and even treaſonable import? And whether the officer who ſhould make this declaration, and at the ſame time throw away his ſword at the head of the regiment, would not be condemned for mutiny and deſertion by any court-martial in Europe? I am the rather diſpoſed to judge favourably of the conduct of the Roman government, as I cannot diſcover any deſire to take advantage of the indiſcretion of Marcellus. The commander of the legion ſeemed to lament that it was not in his power to diſſemble this raſh action. After a delay of more than three months, the Centurion was examined before the Vice-præfect, his ſuperior judge, who offered him the faireſt opportunities of explaining or qualifying his ſeditious expreſſions, and at laſt condemned him to loſe his head; not ſimply becauſe he was a Chriſtian, but becauſe he had violated his military oath, thrown away his belt, and publicly blaſphemed the Gods and the Emperors. Perhaps the impartial reader will confirm the ſentence of the Vice-præfect Agricolanus, "Ita ſe habent facta Marcelli, ut hæc *diſciplinâ* "debeant vindicari."

Notwithſtanding the plaineſt evidence, Dr. Chelſum will not believe that either Origen in theory, or Marcellus in practice, could ſeriouſly object to the uſe of arms; "becauſe it is well known, that, far from declining the "buſineſs

" buſineſs of war altogether, whole legions of Chriſtians ſerved in the Im-
" perial armies *." I have not yet diſcovered, in the author or authors of the Remarks, many traces of a clear and enlightened underſtanding, yet I cannot ſuppoſe them ſo deſtitute of every reaſoning principle, as to imagine that they here allude to the conduct of the Chriſtians who embraced the profeſſion of arms after their religion had obtained a public eſtabliſhment. Whole legions of Chriſtians ſerved under the banners of Conſtantine and Juſtinian, as whole regiments of Chriſtians are now enliſted in the ſervice of France or England. The repreſentation which I had given, was confined to the principles and practice of the church of which Origen and Marcellus were members, before the ſenſe of public and private intereſt had reduced the lofty ſtandard of evangelical perfection to the ordinary level of human nature. In thoſe primitive times, where are the Chriſtian legions that ſerved in the Imperial armies? Our eccleſiaſtical Pompeys may ſtamp with their foot, but no armed men will ariſe out of the earth, except the ghoſts of the Thundering and the Thebæan legions; the former renowned for a miracle, and the latter for a martyrdom. Either the two Proteſtant Doctors muſt acquieſce under ſome imputations which are better underſtood than expreſſed, or they muſt prepare, in the full light and freedom of the eighteenth century, to undertake the defence of two obſolete legions, the leaſt abſurd of which ſtaggered the well-diſciplined credulity of a Franciſcan Friar. (See Pagi Critic. ad Annal. Baronii, A. D. 174. tom. i. p. 168.) Very different was the ſpirit and taſte of the learned and ingenuous Dr. Jortin, who, after treating the ſilly ſtory of the Thundering Legion with the contempt it deſerved, continues in the following words: " Moyle wiſhes no greater penance to the
" believers of the Thundering Legion, than that they may alſo believe the
" Martyrdom of the Thebæan Legion (Moyle's Works, vol. ii. p. 103.);
" to which good wiſh, I ſay with Le Clerc (Bibliotheque A. et M. tom.
" xxvii. p. 193.) AMEN.

" *Qui Bavium non odit, amet tua carmina, Mævi.*"

(Jortin's Remarks on Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, vol. i. p. 367. 2d Edition, London, 1767.)

Yet I ſhall not attempt to conceal a formidable army of Chriſtians and even of Martyrs, which is ready to inliſt under the banners of the confederate

* Chelſum, p. 113.

Doctors,

Doctors, if they will accept their ſervice. As a ſpecimen of the extravagant legends of the middle age, I had produced the inſtance of ten thouſand Chriſtian ſoldiers ſuppoſed to have been crucified on Mount Ararat, by the order either of Trajan or Hadrian *. For the mention and for the confutation of this ſtory, I had appealed to a papiſt and a proteſtant, to the learned Tillemont (Mem. Eccleſiaſt. tom. ii. part ii. p. 438.), and to the diligent Geddes (Miſcellanies, vol. ii. p. 203.), and when Tillemont was not afraid to ſay that there are few hiſtories which appear more fabulous, I was not aſhamed of diſmiſſing the *fable* with ſilent contempt. We may trace the degrees of fiction as well as thoſe of credibility, and the impartial critic will not place on the ſame level the baptiſm of Philip and the donation of Conſtantine. But in conſidering the crucifixion of the ten thouſand Chriſtian ſoldiers, we are not reduced to the neceſſity of weighing any internal probabilities, or of diſproving any external teſtimonies. This legend, the abſurdity of which muſt ſtrike every *rational* mind, ſtands naked and unſupported by the anthority of any writer who lived within a thouſand years of the age of Trajan, and has not been able to obtain the poor ſanction of the uncorrupted martyrologies which were framed in the moſt credulous period of eccleſiaſtical hiſtory. The two Proteſtant Doctors will probably reject the unſubſtantial preſent which has been offered them; yet there is one of my adverſaries, the *anonymous Gentleman*, who boldly declares himſelf the votary of the ten thouſand martyrs, and challenges me "to diſcredit a FACT "which hitherto by many has been looked upon as well eſtabliſhed †." It is pity that a prudent confeſſor did not whiſper in his ear, that, although the martyrdom of theſe military Saints, like that of the eleven thouſand virgins, may contribute to the edification of the faithful, theſe wonderful tales ſhould not be raſhly expoſed to the jealous and inquiſitive eye of thoſe profane critics, whoſe examination always precedes, and ſometimes checks, their religious aſſent.

CHARACTER AND CREDIT OF EUSEBIUS.

II. A grave and pathetic complaint is introduced by Dr. Chelſum, into his preface ‡, that Mr. Gibbon, who has often referred to the Fathers of the church, ſeems to have entertained a general diſtruſt of thoſe reſpectable witneſſes. The critic is ſcandalized at the epithets of ſcanty and *ſuſpicious*, which are applied to the materials of eccleſiaſtical hiſtory; and if he cannot impeach the truth of the former, he cenſures in the moſt angry terms the in-

* Gibbon, p. 654. N. 74. † Remarks, p. 65, 66, 67. ‡ P. ii, iii.

juſtice

juſtice of the latter. He aſſumes, with peculiar zeal, the defence of Euſebius, the venerable parent of Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, and labours to reſcue his character from the *groſs miſrepreſentation* on which Mr. Gibbon has openly inſiſted *. He obſerves, as if he ſagaciouſly foreſaw the objection, "That it will not be ſufficient here to allege a few inſtances of apparent "credulity in ſome of the Fathers, in order to fix a general charge of "*ſuſpicion* on all." But it *may* be ſufficient to allege a clear and fundamental principle of hiſtorical as well as legal Criticiſm, that whenever we are deſtitute of the means of comparing the teſtimonies of the oppoſite parties, the evidence of *any* witneſs, however illuſtrious by his rank and titles, is juſtly to be *ſuſpected* in his own cauſe. It is unfortunate enough, that I ſhould be engaged with adverſaries, whom their habits of ſtudy and converſation appear to have left in total ignorance of the principles which univerſally regulate the opinions and practice of mankind.

As the ancient world was not diſtracted by the fierce conflicts of hoſtile ſects, the free and eloquent writers of Greece and Rome had few opportunities of indulging their paſſions, or of exerciſing their impartiality in the relation of religious events. Since the origin of Theological Factions, ſome Hiſtorians, Ammianus Marcellinus, Fra-Paolo, Thuanus, Hume, and perhaps a few others, have deſerved the ſingular praiſe of holding the balance with a ſteady and equal hand. Independent and unconnected, they contemplated with the ſame indifference, the opinions and intereſts of the contending parties; or, if they were ſeriouſly attached to a particular ſyſtem, they were armed with a firm and moderate temper, which enabled them to ſuppreſs their affections, and to ſacrifice their reſentments. In this ſmall, but *venerable* Synod of Hiſtorians, Euſebius cannot claim a ſeat. I had acknowledged, and I ſtill think, that his character was leſs tinctured with credulity than that of moſt of his contemporaries; but as his enemies muſt admit, that he was ſincere and earneſt in the profeſſion of Chriſtianity, ſo the warmeſt of his admirers, or at leaſt of his readers, muſt diſcern, and will probably applaud, the religious zeal which diſgraces or adorns every page of his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory. This laborious and uſeful work was publiſhed at a time, between the defeat of Licinius and the Council of Nice, when the reſentment of the Chriſtians was ſtill warm, and when the Pagans were aſtoniſhed and diſmayed by the recent victory and converſion of the great Conſtantine. The materials, I ſhall dare to repeat the invi-

* Chelſum and Randolph, p. 220—238.

dious

dious epithets of ſcanty and ſuſpicious, were extracted from the accounts which the Chriſtians themſelves had given of their *own* ſufferings, and of the cruelty of their enemies. The Pagans had ſo long and ſo contemptuouſly neglected the riſing greatneſs of the Church, that the Biſhop of Cæſarea had little either to hope or to fear from the writers of the oppoſite party; almoſt all of that *little* which did exiſt, has been accidentally loſt, or purpoſely deſtroyed; and the candid enquirer may vainly wiſh to compare with the Hiſtory of Euſebius, ſome Heathen narrative of the perſecutions of Decius and Diocletian. Under theſe circumſtances, it is the duty of an impartial judge to be counſel for the priſoner, who is incapable of making any defence for himſelf; and it is the firſt office of a counſel to examine with diſtruſt and *ſuſpicion* the intereſted evidence of the accuſer. Reaſon juſtifies the ſuſpicion, and it is confirmed by the conſtant experience of modern Hiſtory, in almoſt every inſtance where we have an opportunity of comparing the mutual complaints and apologies of the religious factions, who have diſturbed each other's happineſs in this world, for the ſake of ſecuring it in the next.

As we are deprived of the means of contraſting the adverſe relations of the Chriſtians and Pagans; it is the more incumbent on us to improve the opportunities of trying the narratives of Euſebius, by the original, and ſometimes occaſional, teſtimonies of the more ancient writers of his own party. Dr. Chelſum * has obſerved, that the celebrated paſſage of Origen, which has ſo much thinned the ranks of the army of Martyrs, muſt be confined to the perſecutions that had already happened. I cannot diſpute this ſagacious remark, but I ſhall venture to add, that this paſſage more immediately relates to the religious tempeſts which had been excited in the time and country of Origen; and ſtill more particularly to the city of Alexandria, and to the perſecution of Severus, in which young Origen ſucceſsfully exhorted his father, to ſacrifice his life and fortune for the cauſe of Chriſt. From ſuch unqueſtionable evidence, I am authorized to conclude, that the number of holy victims who ſealed their faith with their blood, was not, on this occaſion, very conſiderable: but I cannot reconcile this fair concluſion with the poſitive declaration of Euſebius (L. vi. c. 2. p. 258.), that at Alexandria, in the perſecution of Severus, an innumerable, at leaſt an indefinite multitude (μυριοι) of Chriſtians were honoured with the crown of

* Gibbon, p. 653. Chelſum, p. 204—207.

Martyrdom. The advocates for Euſebius may exert their critical ſkill in proving that μυριοι and ολιγοι *many* and *few*, are ſynonymous and convertible terms, but they will hardly ſucceed in diminiſhing ſo palpable a contradiction, or in removing the ſuſpicion which deeply fixes itſelf on the hiſtorical character of the Biſhop of Cæſarea. This unfortunate experiment taught me to read, with becoming caution, the looſe and declamatory ſtyle which *ſeems* to magnify the multitude of Martyrs and Confeſſors, and to aggravate the nature of their ſufferings. From the ſame motives I ſelected, with careful obſervation, the more certain account of the number of perſons who actually ſuffered death in the province of Paleſtine, during the whole eight years of the laſt and moſt rigorous perſecution.

Beſides the reaſonable grounds of ſuſpicion, which ſuggeſt themſelves to every liberal mind, againſt the credibility of the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorians, and of Euſebius, their venerable leader, I had taken notice of two very remarkable paſſages of the Biſhop of Cæſarea. He frankly, or at leaſt indirectly, declares, that in treating of the laſt perſecution, "he has related "whatever might redound to the glory, and ſuppreſſed all that could tend "to the diſgrace, of Religion *." Dr. Chelſum, who, on this occaſion, moſt lamentably exclaims that we ſhould hear Euſebius, before we utterly condemn him, has provided, with the aſſiſtance of his worthy colleague, an elaborate defence for their common patron; and as if he were ſecretly conſcious of the weakneſs of the cauſe, he has contrived the reſource of intrenching himſelf in a very muddy ſoil, behind three ſeveral fortifications, which do not exactly ſupport each other. The advocate for the ſincerity of Euſebius maintains: 1ſt, That he never made ſuch a declaration: 2dly, That he had a right to make it: and, 3dly, That he did not obſerve it. Theſe ſeparate and almoſt inconſiſtent apologies, I ſhall ſeparately conſider.

1. Dr. Chelſum is at a loſs how to reconcile,——I beg pardon for weakening the force of his dogmatic ſtyle; he declares, that "It is plainly im-"poſſible to reconcile the expreſs words of the charge exhibited, with any "part of either of the paſſages appealed to in ſupport of it †." If he means, as I think he muſt, that the *expreſs words* of my text cannot be found in that of Euſebius, I congratulate the importance of the diſcovery. But was it poſſible? Could it be my deſign to quote the words of Euſebius, when I reduced into one ſentence the ſpirit and ſubſtance of two diffuſe and

* Gibbon, p. 699. † Chelſum, p. 232.

distinct passages? If I have given the true sense and meaning of the Ecclesiastical Historian, I have discharged the duties of a fair Interpreter; nor shall I refuse to rest the proof of my fidelity on the translation of those two passages of Eusebius, which Dr. Chelsum produces in his favour *." "But "it is not our part to describe the sad calamities which at last befel them "(the *Christians*), since it does not agree with our plan to relate their dis- "sentions and wickedness before the persecution; on which account we "have determined to relate nothing more concerning them than may serve "to justify the Divine Judgment. We therefore have not been induced to "make mention either of those who were tempted in the persecution, or of "those who made utter shipwreck of their salvation, and who were sunk of "their own accord in the depths of the storm; but shall only add those "things to our General History, which may in the first place be profitable "to ourselves, and afterwards to posterity." In the other passage, Eusebius, after mentioning the dissentions of the Confessors among themselves, again declares that it is his intention to pass over all these things. "Whatsoever "things, (continues the Historian, in the words of the Apostle, who was "recommending the practice of virtue,) whatsoever things are honest, "whatsoever things are of good report, if there be any virtue, and if there "be any praise; these things Eusebius thinks most suitable to a History of "Martyrs;" of *wonderful* Martyrs, is the splendid epithet which Dr. Chelsum had not thought proper to translate. I should betray a very mean opinion of the judgment and candour of my readers, if I added a single reflection on the clear and obvious tendency of the two passages of the Ecclesiastical Historian. I shall only observe, that the Bishop of Cæsarea seems to have claimed a privilege of a still more dangerous and extensive nature. In one of the most learned and elaborate works that antiquity has left us, the Thirty-second Chapter of the Twelfth Book of his Evangelical Preparation bears for its title this scandalous Proposition, "How it may be lawful and "fitting to use falsehood as a medicine, and for the benefit of those who "want to be deceived." Οτι δεησει ποτε τῳ ψευδει αντι φαρμακα χρησθαι επι ωφελεια των δεομενων τα τοιαυτα τροπα. (P. 356, Edit. Græc. Rob. Stephani, Paris 1544.) In this chapter he alleges a passage of Plato, which approves the occasional practice of pious and salutary frauds; nor is Eusebius ashamed

* Chelsum, p. 228. 231.

to

to juſtify the ſentiments of the Athenian philoſopher by the example of the ſacred writers of the Old Teſtament.

2. I had contented myſelf with obſerving, that Euſebius had violated one of the fundamental laws of hiſtory, *Ne quid veri dicere non audeat*; nor could I imagine, if the *fact* was allowed, that any queſtion could poſſibly ariſe upon the matter of *right*. I was indeed miſtaken; and I now begin to underſtand why I have given ſo little ſatisfaction to Dr. Chelſum, and to other critics of the ſame complexion, as our ideas of the duties and the privileges of an hiſtorian appear to be ſo widely different. It is alleged, that "every writer has a right to chuſe his ſubject, for the particular benefit "of his reader; that he has explained his own plan conſiſtently; that he "conſiders himſelf, according to it, not as a complete hiſtorian of the times, "but rather as a *didactic* writer, whoſe main object is to make his work, "like the Scriptures themſelves, PROFITABLE FOR DOCTRINE; that, as he "treats only of the affairs of the Church, the plan is at leaſt excuſable, "perhaps peculiarly proper; and that he has conformed himſelf to the "principal duty of an hiſtorian, while, according to his immediate deſign, "he has not particularly related any of the tranſactions which could tend to "the diſgrace of religion *." The hiſtorian muſt indeed be generous, who will conceal, by his own diſgrace, that of his country, or of his religion. Whatever ſubject he has choſen, whatever perſons he introduces, he owes to himſelf, to the preſent age, and to poſterity, a juſt and perfect delineation of all that may be praiſed, of all that may be excuſed, and of all that muſt be cenſured. If he fails in the diſcharge of his important office, he partially violates the ſacred obligations of truth, and diſappoints his readers of the inſtruction which they might have derived from a fair parallel of the vices and virtues of the moſt illuſtrious characters. Herodotus might range without controul in the ſpacious walks of the Greek and Barbaric domain, and Thucydides might confine his ſteps to the narrow path of the Peloponneſian war; but thoſe hiſtorians would never have deſerved the eſteem of poſterity, if they had deſignedly ſuppreſſed or tranſiently mentioned thoſe facts which could tend to the diſgrace of Greece or of Athens. Theſe unalterable dictates of conſcience and reaſon have been *ſeldom* queſtioned, though they have been ſeldom obſerved; and we muſt ſincerely join in the honeſt complaint of Melchior Canus, "that the lives of the philoſophers have been

* Chelſum, p. 229, 230, 231.

" compoſed by Laertius, and thoſe of the Cæſars by Suetonius, with a " much ſtricter and more ſevere regard for hiſtoric truth, than can be found " in the lives of ſaints and martyrs, as they are deſcribed by Catholic writ- " ers." (See Loci Communes, L. xi. p. 650, apud Clericum, Epiſtol. Critic. v. p. 136.) And yet the partial repreſentation of truth is of far more pernicious conſequence in eccleſiaſtical, than in civil hiſtory. If Laertius had concealed the defects of Plato, or if Suetonius had diſguiſed the vices of Auguſtus, we ſhould have been deprived of the knowledge of ſome curious, and perhaps inſtructive, facts, and our idea of thoſe celebrated men might have been more favourable than they deſerved; but I cannot diſcover any practical inconveniences which could have been the reſult of our ignorance. But if Euſebius had fairly and circumſtantially related the ſcandalous diſſenſions of the Confeſſors; if he had ſhewn that their virtues were tinctured with pride and obſtinacy, and that their lively faith was not exempt from ſome mixture of enthuſiaſm; he would have armed his readers againſt the exceſſive veneration for thoſe holy men, which imperceptibly degenerated into religious worſhip. The ſucceſs of theſe *didactic* hiſtories, by concealing or palliating every circumſtance of human infirmity, was one of the moſt efficacious means of conſecrating the memory, the bones, and the writings of the ſaints of the prevailing party; and a great part of the errors and corruptions of the Church of Rome may fairly be aſcribed to this criminal diſſimulation of the eccleſiaſtical hiſtorians. As a Proteſtant Divine, Dr. Chelſum muſt abhor theſe corruptions; but as a Chriſtian, he ſhould be careful leſt his apology for the prudent choice of Euſebius ſhould fix an indirect cenſure on the unreſerved ſincerity of the four Evangeliſts. Inſtead of confining their narrative to thoſe things which are virtuous and of good report, inſtead of following the plan which is here recommended as *peculiarly proper* for the affairs of the Church, the inſpired writers have thought it their duty to relate the moſt minute circumſtances of the fall of St. Peter, without conſidering whether the behaviour of an Apoſtle, who thrice denied his Divine Maſter, might redound to the honour, or to the diſgrace of Chriſtianity. If Dr. Chelſum ſhould be frightened by this unexpected conſequence, if he ſhould be deſirous of ſaving his faith from *utter ſhipwreck*, by throwing overboard the uſeleſs lumber of memory and reflection, I am not enough his enemy to impede the ſucceſs of his honeſt endeavours.

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The didactic method of writing history was still more profitably exercised by Eusebius in another work, which he has intitled, The Life of Constantine, his gracious patron and benefactor. Priests and poets have enjoyed in every age a privilege of flattery; but if the actions of Constantine are compared with the perfect idea of a royal saint, which, under his name, has been delineated by the zeal and gratitude of Eusebius, the most indulgent reader will confess, that when I styled him a *courtly Bishop* *, I could only be restrained by my respect for the episcopal character from the use of a much harsher epithet. The other appellation of a *passionate declaimer*, which seems to have sounded still more offensive in the tender ears of Dr. Chelsum †, was not applied by me to Eusebius, but to Lactantius, or rather to the author of the historical declamation, *De mortibus persecutorum*; and indeed it is much more properly adapted to the Rhetorician, than to the Bishop. Each of those authors was alike studious of the glory of Constantine; but each of them directed the torrent of his invectives against the tyrant, whether Maxentius or Licinus, whose recent defeat was the actual theme of popular and Christian applause. This simple observation may serve to extinguish a very trifling objection of my critic, That Eusebius has not represented the tyrant Maxentius under the character of a Persecutor.

Without scrutinizing the considerations of interest which might support the integrity of Baronius and Tillemont, I may fairly observe, that both those learned Catholics have acknowledged and condemned the dissimulation of Eusebius, which is partly denied, and partly justified, by my adversary. The honourable reflection of Baronius well deserves to be transcribed. "Hæc (the passages already quoted) de suo in conscribendâ persecutionis "historia Eusebius; parum explens numeros sui muneris; dum perinde ac "si panegyrim scriberet non historiam, triumphos dumtaxat martyrum atque "victorias, non autem lapsus jacturamque fidelium posteris scripturæ mo- "numentis curaret." (Baron. Annal. Ecclesiast. A. D. 302, No. 11. See likewise Tillemont, Mem. Eccles. tom. v. p. 62. 156; tom. vii. p. 130.) In a former instance, Dr. Chelsum appeared to be more credulous than a Monk: on the present occasion, he has shewn himself less sincere than a Cardinal, and more obstinate than a Jansenist.

3. Yet the advocate for Eusebius has still another expedient in reserve. Perhaps he made the unfortunate declaration of his partial design, perhaps

* Gibbon, p. 704. † Chelsum, p. 234.

he

he had a right to make it; but at leaſt his accuſer muſt admit, that he has ſaved his honour by not keeping his word; ſince I myſelf have taken notice of THE CORRUPTION OF MANNERS AND PRINCIPLES among the Chriſtians ſo FORCIBLY LAMENTED by Euſebius *. He has indeed indulged himſelf in a ſtrain of *looſe* and *indefinite* cenſure, which may generally be juſt, and which cannot be perſonally offenſive, which is alike incapable of wounding or of correcting, as it ſeems to have no fixed object or certain aim. Juvenal might have read his ſatire againſt women in a circle of Roman ladies, and each of them might have liſtened with pleaſure to the amuſing deſcription of the various vices and follies, from which ſhe herſelf was ſo perfectly free. The moraliſt, the preacher, the eccleſiaſtical hiſtorian, enjoy a ſtill more ample latitude of invective; and as long as they abſtain from any particular cenſure, they may ſecurely expoſe, and even exaggerate, the ſins of the multitude. The precepts of Chriſtianity ſeem to inculcate a ſtyle of mortification, of abaſement, of ſelf-contempt; and the hypocrite who aſpires to the reputation of a ſaint, often finds it convenient to affect the language of a penitent. I ſhould doubt whether Dr. Chelſum is much acquainted with the comedies of Moliere. If he has ever read that inimitable maſter of human life, he may recollect whether Tartuffe was very much inclined to confeſs his real guilt, when he exclaimed,

Oui, mon frere, je ſuis un mechant, un coupable;
Un malheureux pécheur, tout plein d'iniquité;
Le plus grand ſcélérat qui ait jamais été.
Chaque inſtant de ma vie eſt chargé de ſouillures,
Elle n'eſt qu'un amas de crimes et d'ordures.

. . . . . .

Oui, mon cher fils, parlez, traitez moi de perfide,
D'infame, de perdu, de voleur, d'homicide;
Accablez moi de noms encore plus déteſtés:
Je n'y contredis point, je les ai mérités,
Et j'en veux à genoux ſouffrir l'ignominie,
Comme une honte due aux crimes de ma vie.

It is not my intention to compare the character of Tartuffe with that of Euſebius; the former pointed his invectives againſt himſelf, the latter di-

* Chelſum, p. 226, 227.

rected

rected them againſt the times in which he had lived: but as the prudent Biſhop of Cæſarea did not ſpecify any place or perſon for the object of his cenſure, he cannot juſtly be accuſed, even by his friends, of violating the *profitable* plan of his *didactic* hiſtory.

The extreme caution of Euſebius, who declines any mention of thoſe who were tempted and who fell during the perſecution, has countenanced a ſuſpicion that he himſelf was one of thoſe unhappy victims, and that his tenderneſs for the wounded fame of his brethren aroſe from a juſt apprehenſion of his own diſgrace. In one of my notes *, I had obſerved, that he was charged with the guilt of ſome criminal compliances, in his own preſence, and in the Council of Tyre. I am therefore accountable for the reality only, and not for the truth of the accuſation: but as the two Doctors, who on this occaſion unite their forces, are angry and clamorous in aſſerting the innocence of the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorian †, I ſhall advance one ſtep farther, and ſhall maintain, that the charge againſt Euſebius, though not legally proved, is ſupported by a reaſonable ſhare of preſumptive evidence.

I have often wondered why our orthodox Divines ſhould be ſo earneſt and zealous in the defence of Euſebius; whoſe moral character cannot be preſerved, unleſs by the ſacrifice of a more illuſtrious, and, as I really believe, of a more innocent victim. Either the Biſhop of Cæſarea, on a very important occaſion, violated the laws of Chriſtian charity and civil juſtice, or we muſt fix a charge of calumny, almoſt of forgery, on the head of the great Athanaſius, the ſtandard-bearer of the Homoouſian cauſe, and the firmeſt pillar of the Catholic faith. In the Council of Tyre, he was accuſed of murdering, or at leaſt of mutilating a Biſhop, whom he produced at Tyre alive and unhurt (Athanaſ. tom. i. p. 783. 786.); and of ſacrilegiouſly breaking a conſecrated chalice, in a village where neither church, nor altar, nor chalice, could poſſibly have exiſted. (Athanaſ. tom. i. p. 731, 732. 802.) Notwithſtanding the cleareſt proofs of his innocence, Athanaſius was oppreſſed by the Arian faction; and Euſebius of Cæſarea, the venerable father of Eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, conducted this iniquitous proſecution from a motive of perſonal enmity. (Athanaſ. tom. i. p. 728. 795. 797.) Four years afterwards, a national council of the Biſhops of Egypt, forty-nine of whom had been preſent at the Synod of Tyre, addreſſed an epiſtle or manifeſto in favour of Athanaſius to all the

* Gibbon, p. 699; N. 178. † Chelſum and Randolph, p. 236, 237, 238.

Biſhops of the Chriſtian world. In this epiſtle they aſſert, that ſome of the Confeſſors, who accompanied them to Tyre, had accuſed Euſebius of Cæſarea of an act relative to idolatrous ſacrifice. ΟΤΙ ΕΥΣΕΒΙΟΣ Ο ΕΝ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΕΙΑ ΤΗΣ ΠΑΛΑΙΣΤΙΝΗΣ ΕΠΙ ΘΥΣΙΑ ΚΑΤΗΓΟΡΕΙΤΟ ΥΠΟ ΤΩΝ ΣΥΝ ΗΜΙΝ ΟΜΟΛΟΓΗΤΩΝ. (Athanaſ. tom. i. p. 728.) Beſides this ſhort and authentic memorial, which eſcaped the knowledge or the candour of our confederate Doctors, a conſonant but more circumſtantial narrative of the accuſation of Euſebius may be found in the writings of Epiphanius (Hæreſ. lxviii. p. 723, 724.), the learned Biſhop of Salamis, who was born about the time of the Synod of Tyre. He relates, that, in one of the ſeſſions of the Council, Potamon, Biſhop of Heraclea in Egypt, addreſſed Euſebius in the following words: "How now, Euſebius, "can this be borne, that you ſhould be ſeated as a judge, while the innocent "Athanaſius is left ſtanding as a criminal? Tell me, continued Potamon, "were we not in priſon together during the perſecution? For my own part, I "loſt an eye for the ſake of the truth; but I cannot diſcern that *you* have loſt "any one of your members. You bear not any marks of your ſufferings for "Jeſus Chriſt; but here you are, full of life, and with all the parts of your "body ſound and entire. How could you contrive to eſcape from priſon, "unleſs you ſtained your conſcience, either by actual guilt or by a criminal "promiſe to our perſecutors?" Euſebius immediately broke up the meeting, and diſcovered, by his anger, that he was confounded or provoked by the reproaches of the Confeſſor Potamon.

I ſhould deſpiſe myſelf, if I were capable of magnifying, for a preſent occaſion, the authority of the witneſs whom I have produced. Potamon was moſt aſſuredly actuated by a ſtrong prejudice againſt the perſonal enemy of his Primate; and if the tranſaction to which he alluded had been of a private and doubtful kind, I would not take any ungenerous advantage of the reſpect which my reverend adverſaries muſt entertain for the character of a Confeſſor. But I cannot diſtruſt the veracity of Potamon, when he confined himſelf to the aſſertion of a fact, which lay within the compaſs of his perſonal knowledge: and collateral teſtimony (ſee Photius, p. 296, 297.) atteſts, that Euſebius was long enough in priſon to aſſiſt his friend, the Martyr Pamphilus, in compoſing the firſt five books of his Apology for Origen. If we admit that Euſebius was impriſoned, he muſt have been diſcharged, and his diſcharge muſt have been either honourable, or criminal, or innocent. If his patience vanquiſhed the cruelty of the Tyrant's miniſters, a ſhort relation of his own confeſſion and ſufferings would have formed an uſeful and edifying

chapter in his Didactic History of the perſecution of Paleſtine; and the reader would have been ſatisfied of the veracity of an hiſtorian who valued truth above his life. If it had been in his power to juſtify, or even to excuſe, the manner of his diſcharge from priſon, it was his intereſt, it was his duty, to prevent the doubts and ſuſpicions which muſt ariſe from his ſilence under theſe delicate circumſtances. Notwithſtanding theſe urgent reaſons, Euſebius has obſerved a profound, and perhaps a prudent ſilence: though he frequently celebrates the merit and martyrdom of his friend Pamphilus (p. 371. 394. 419. 427. Edit. Cantab.), he never inſinuates that he was his companion in priſon; and while he copiouſly deſcribes the eight years perſecution in Paleſtine, he never repreſents himſelf in any other light than that of a ſpectator. Such a conduct in a writer, who relates with a viſible ſatisfaction the honourable events of his own life, if it be not abſolutely conſidered as an evidence of conſcious guilt, muſt excite, and may juſtify, the ſuſpicions of the moſt candid critic.

Yet the firmneſs of Dr. Randolph is not ſhaken by theſe rational ſuſpicions; and he condeſcends, in a magiſterial tone, to inform me, "That it is highly "improbable, from the general well-known deciſion of the Church in ſuch "caſes, that had his apoſtacy been known, he would have riſen to thoſe "high honours which he attained, or been admitted at all indeed to any "other than lay-communion." This weighty objection did not ſurpriſe me, as I had already ſeen the ſubſtance of it in the Prolegomena of Valeſius; but I ſafely diſregarded a difficulty which had not appeared of any moment to the national council of Egypt; and I ſtill think that an hundred Biſhops, with Athanaſius at their head, were as competent judges of the diſcipline of the fourth century, as even the Lady Margaret's Profeſſor of Divinity in the Univerſity of Oxford. As a work of ſupererogation, I have conſulted, however, the Antiquities of Bingham (See L. iv. c. iii. ſ. 6, 7. vol. i. p. 144, &c. fol. edit.), and found, as I expected, that much real learning had made him cautious and modeſt. After a careful examination of the facts and authorities already known to me, and of thoſe with which I was ſupplied by the diligent antiquarian, I am perſuaded that the theory and the practice of diſcipline were not invariably the ſame, that particular examples cannot always be reconciled with general rules, and that the ſtern laws of juſtice often yielded to motives of policy and convenience. The temper of Jerom towards thoſe whom he conſidered as heretics, was fierce and unforgiving; yet the Dialogue of Jerom againſt the Luciferians, which I have read with in-

finite pleaſure (tom. ii. p. 135—147. Edit. Baſil. 1536.), is the ſeaſonable and dextrous performance of a ſtateſman, who felt the expediency of ſoothing and reconciling a numerous party of offenders. The moſt rigid diſcipline, with regard to the eccleſiaſtics who had fallen in time of perſecution, is expreſſed in the 10th Canon of the Council of Nice; the moſt remarkable indulgence was ſhewn by the Fathers of the ſame Council to the *lapſed*, the degraded, the ſchiſmatic Biſhop of Lycopolis. Of the penitent ſinners, ſome might eſcape the ſhame of a public conviction or confeſſion, and others might be exempted from the rigour of clerical puniſhment. If Euſebius incurred the guilt of a ſacrilegious promiſe, (for we are free to accept the milder alternative of Potamon,) the proofs of this criminal tranſaction might be ſuppreſſed by the influence of money or favour; a ſeaſonable journey into Egypt might allow time for the popular rumours to ſubſide. The crime of Euſebius might be protected by the impunity of many Epiſcopal Apoſtates (See Philoſtorg. L. ii. c. 15. p. 21. Edit. Gothofred.); and the governors of the church very reaſonably deſired to retain in their ſervice the moſt learned Chriſtian of the age.

Before I return theſe ſheets to the preſs, I muſt not forget an anonymous pamphlet, which, under the title of *A Few Remarks*, &c. was publiſhed againſt my Hiſtory in the courſe of the laſt ſummer. The unknown writer has thought proper to diſtinguiſh himſelf by the emphatic, yet vague, appellation of A GENTLEMAN: but I muſt lament that he has not conſidered, with becoming attention, the duties of that reſpectable character. I am ignorant of the motives which can urge a man of a liberal mind, and liberal manners, to attack without provocation, and without tenderneſs, any work which may have contributed to the information, or even to the amuſement, of the Public. But I am well convinced that the author of ſuch a work, who boldly gives his name and his labours to the world, impoſes on his adverſaries the fair and honourable obligation of encountering him in open daylight, and of ſupporting the weight of their aſſertions by the credit of their names. The effuſions of wit, or the productions of reaſon, may be accepted from a ſecret and unknown hand. The critic who attempts to injure the reputation of another, by ſtrong imputations which may poſſibly be falſe, ſhould renounce the ungenerous hope of concealing behind a maſk the vexation of diſappointment, and the guilty bluſh of detection.

After this remark, which I cannot make without ſome degree of concern, I ſhall frankly declare, that it is not my wiſh or my intention to proſecute

with this *Gentleman* a literary altercation. There lies between us a broad and unfathomable gulph; and the heavy miſt of prejudice and ſuperſtition, which has in a great meaſure been diſpelled by the free inquiries of the preſent age, ſtill continues to involve the mind of my adverſary. He fondly embraces thoſe phantoms (for inſtance, an imaginary Pilate *,) which can ſcarcely find a ſhelter in the gloom of an Italian convent; and the reſentment which he points againſt me, might frequently be extended to the moſt enlightened of the PROTESTANT, or, in his opinion, of the HERETICAL critics. His obſervations are divided into a number of unconnected paragraphs, each of which contains ſome quotation from my Hiſtory, and the angry, yet commonly trifling, expreſſion of his diſapprobation and diſpleaſure. Thoſe ſentiments I cannot hope to remove; and as the religious opinions of this *Gentleman* are principally founded on the infallibility of the Church †, they are not calculated to make a very deep impreſſion on the mind of an Engliſh reader. The view of *facts* will be materially affected by the contagious influence of *doctrines*. The man who refuſes to judge of the conduct of Lewis XIV. and Charles V. towards their Proteſtant ſubjects ‡, declares himſelf incapable of diſtinguiſhing the limits of perſecution and toleration. The devout Papiſt, who has implored on his knees the interceſſion of St. Cyprian, will ſeldom preſume to examine the actions of the Saint by the rules of hiſtorical evidence and of moral propriety. Inſtead of the homely likeneſs which I had exhibited of the Biſhop of Carthage, my adverſary has ſubſtituted a life of Cyprian ‖, full of what the French call *onction*, and the Engliſh, *canting* (See Jortin's Remarks, Vol. ii. p. 239.): to which I can only reply, that thoſe who are diſſatisfied with the principles of Moſheim and Le Clerc, *muſt* view with eyes very different from mine, the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of the third century.

It would be an *endleſs* diſcuſſion (*endleſs* in every ſenſe of the word) were I to examine the cavils which ſtart up and expire in every page of this criticiſm, on the inexhauſtible topic of opinions, characters, and intentions. Moſt of the inſtances which are here produced are of ſo brittle a ſubſtance, that they fall in pieces as ſoon as they are touched: and I ſearched for ſome time before I was able to diſcover an example of ſome moment where the *Gentleman* had fairly ſtaked his veracity againſt ſome poſitive fact aſſerted in the Two laſt Chapters of my Hiſtory. At laſt I perceived that he has abſo-

* Remarks, p. 100. † Id. p. 15. ‡ Id. p. 111. ‖ Id. p. 72—88.

lutely denied * that any thing can be gathered from the Epiſtles of St. Cyprian, or from his treatiſe *De Unitate Eccleſiæ*, to which I had referred, to juſtify my account of the ſpiritual pride and licentious manners of ſome of the confeſſors †. As the *numbers* of the Epiſtles are not the ſame in the edition of Pamelius and in that of Fell, the critic may be excuſed for miſtaking my quotations, if he will acknowledge that he was ignorant of eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, and that he never heard of the troubles excited by the ſpiritual pride of the Confeſſors, who uſurped the privilege of giving letters of communion to penitent ſinners. But my reference to the treatiſe *De Unitate Eccleſiæ* was clear and direct; the treatiſe itſelf contains only ten pages, and the following words might be diſtinctly read by any perſon who underſtood the Latin language. "Nec quiſquam miretur, dilectiſſimi fratres, etiam de confeſſoribus "quoſdam ad iſta procedere, inde quoque aliquos tam nefanda tam gravia pec-"care. Neque enim confeſſio immunem facit ab inſidiis diaboli; aut con-"tra tentationes, et pericula, et incurſus atque impetus ſeculares adhuc in "ſeculo poſitum perpetuâ ſecuritate defendit: ceterum nunquam in confeſ-"ſoribus, *fraudes*, et *ſtupra*, et *adulteria* poſtmodum videremus, quæ nunc "in quibuſdam videntes ingemiſcimus et dolemus." This formal declaration of Cyprian, which is followed by ſeveral long periods of admonition and cenſure, is alone ſufficient to expoſe the ſcandalous vices of ſome of the Confeſſors, and the diſingenuous behaviour of my concealed adverſary.

After this example, which I have fairly choſen as one of the moſt ſpecious and important of his objections, the candid Reader would excuſe me, if from this moment I declined *the Gentleman*'s acquaintance. But as two topics have occurred, which are intimately connected with the ſubject of the preceding ſheets, I have inſerted each of them in its proper place, as the concluſion of the fourth article of my anſwers to Mr. Davis, and of the firſt article of my reply to the confederate Doctors, Chelſum and Randolph.

It is not without ſome mixture of mortification and regret, that I now look back on the number of hours which I have conſumed, and the number of pages which I have filled, in vindicating my literary and moral character from the charge of wilful *miſrepreſentations*, groſs *errors*, and ſervile *plagiariſms*. I cannot derive any triumph or conſolation from the occaſional advantages which I may have gained over three adverſaries, whom it is impoſſible for me to conſider as objects either of terror or of eſteem. The ſpirit of reſentment, and every other lively ſenſation, have long ſince been extinguiſhed;

* Remarks, p. 90, 91. † Gibbon, p. 661. Note 91.

and the pen would long ſince have dropped from my weary hand, had I not been ſupported in the execution of this ungrateful taſk, by the conſciouſneſs, or at leaſt by the opinion, that I was diſcharging a debt of honour to the Public and to myſelf. I am impatient to diſmiſs, and to diſmiſs FOR EVER, this odious controverſy, with the ſucceſs of which I cannot ſurely be elated; and I have only to requeſt, that, as ſoon as my readers are convinced of my innocence, they would forget my Vindication.

BENTINCK-STREET,
February 3, 1779.

ANTIQUITIES

OF THE

HOUSE OF BRUNSWICK.

☞ *The following Letter, without any Addreſs to it, was found with the Manuſcript of the* Memoirs of the Houſe of Brunſwick: *there can be little doubt of its being the Copy of a Letter to M.* Langer, *Librarian to the Ducal Library of* Wolfenbuttel; *and it is here inſerted as relating to theſe Memoirs.*

A Rolle, ce 12 Octobre 1790.

Je vous aurois plutôt remercié, Monſieur, des ſoins obligeans que vous avez bien voulu vous donner pour me procurer les *Origines Guelficæ*, ſi d'un côté notre honnête libraire M. Pott ne m'avoit pas appris que vous étiez en voyage, ſi de l'autre je n'avois pas été moi-même en proye à l'accès de goutte le plus rigoureux, et le plus long que j'aye encore éprouvé. Nous revoici à preſent dans notre état ordinaire; je marche, et vous ne courrez plus. Je vous ſuppoſe bien établi, bien enfoncé dans votre immenſe bibliotheque. Votre curioſité, peut-être votre amitié, deſirera de connoître mes amuſemens, mes travaux, mes projets pendant les deux ans qui ſe ſont écoulés depuis la dernière publication de mon grand ouvrage. Aux queſtions indiſcretes qu'on ſe permet trop ſouvent vis-à-vis de moi, je réponds avec une mine renfrognée et une manière vague; mais je ne veux rien avoir de caché pour vous, et pour imiter la franchiſe que vous aimez, je vous avouerai naturellement que ma confidence eſt fondée en partie ſur le beſoin que j'aurai de votre ſecours. Après mon retour d'Angleterre, les premiers mois ont été conſacrés à la jouiſſance de ma liberté et de ma bibliotheque, et vous

Mr. Gibbon *to Mr.* Langer.

SIR, Rolle, 12th October 1790.

I should have acknowledged ſooner your kindneſs in procuring for me the *Origines Guelficæ*, if I had not been told by our obliging bookſeller, Mr. Pott, that you were on a journey, while I myſelf was confined with the longeſt and moſt ſevere fit of the gout that I ever experienced. But we are now, both of us, reſtored to our ordinary ſtate; I can walk, and you no longer travel poſt. I ſuppoſe by this time you are thoroughly eſtabliſhed, and deeply immured in your immenſe library. Your curioſity, perhaps your friendſhip, will deſire to know what have been my amuſements, labours, and projects, during the two years that have elapſed ſince the laſt publication of my great work. To indiſcreet queſtions on this ſubject, with which I am often teaſed, I anſwer vaguely or peeviſhly; but from you I would keep nothing concealed; and to imitate the frankneſs in which you ſo much delight, will freely confeſs, that I more readily truſt you with my ſecret, becauſe I greatly need your aſſiſtance. After returning from England, the firſt months were ſpent in the enjoyment of my liberty and my

vous ne ſerez pas étonné ſi j'ai renouvellé une connoiſſance familière avec nos auteurs Grecs, ſi j'ai fait vœu de leur réſerver tous les jours une portion de mon loiſir. Je paſſe ſous ſilence ces triſtes momens dans leſquels je n'ai été occupé qu'à ſoigner et pleurer mon ami ; mais dèſque j'ai commencé à me retrouver un eſprit moins agité, j'ai cherché à me donner quelque diſtraction plus forte et plus intéreſſante que la ſimple lecture. Le ſouvenir de ma ſervitude de vingt ans m'a cependant effrayé, et je me ſuis bien promis de ne plus m'embarquer dans une entrepriſe de longue haleine que je n'acheverois vraiſemblablement jamais. Il vaut bien mieux, me ſuis je dit, choiſir dans tous les pays et dans tous les ſiecles, des morceaux hiſtoriques que je traiterai ſéparemment ſuivant leur nature et ſelon mon goût. Lorſque ces opuſcules (je pourrai les nommer en Anglois *Hiſtorical Excurſions*) me fourniront un volume, je les donnerai au Public : ce don pourroit être renouvellé juſqu'à ce que nous ſoyons fatigués, ou ce Public ou moi même : mais chaque volume, complet par lui même, n'exigera point de ſuite, et au lieu d'être borné comme la diligence au grand chemin, je me promenerai librement dans le champ de l'hiſtoire, en m'arretant partout où je trouverai des points de vue agréables. Dans ce projet je ne vois qu'un inconvenient, un objet intéreſſant s'étend et s'agrandit ſous le travail : je pourrois être entrainé au dela de mes bornes, mais je ſerai doucement entrainé ſans prévoyance et ſans contrainte.

Mes

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my library ; and you will not be ſurpriſed that I ſhould have renewed my familiar acquaintance with the Greek authors, and vowed to conſecrate to them daily a portion of my leiſure. I paſs over in ſilence the ſad hours employed in the care of my friend, and in lamentation for his loſs. When the agitation of my mind abated, I endeavoured to find out for myſelf ſome occupation more intereſting and more invigorating than mere reading can afford. But the remembrance of a ſervitude of twenty years frightened me from again engaging in a long undertaking, which I might probably never finiſh. It would be better, I thought, to ſelect from the hiſtorical monuments of all ages, and all nations, ſuch ſubjects as might be treated ſeparately, both agreeably to their own nature, as well as to my taſte. When theſe little works, which might be entitled Hiſtorical Excurſions, amounted to a volume, I would offer it to the Public ; and the preſent might be repeated, until either the Public or myſelf were tired ; for as each volume would be complete in itſelf, no continuation would be requiſite ; and inſtead of being obliged to follow, like the ſtage coach, the high road, I would expatiate at large in the field of hiſtory, ſtopping to admire every beautiful proſpect that opened to my view. One inconvenience, indeed, attends this deſign. An important ſubject grows and expands with the labour beſtowed on it. I might thus be carried beyond my preſcribed bounds ; but I ſhould be carried gently, without foreſight and without conſtraint.

Mes ſoupçons ont été vérifiés dans le choix de ma première *excurſion*, et ce choix vous expliquera pourquoi j'ai demandé avec tant d'empreſſement les *Origines Guelficæ*. Dans mon Hiſtoire j'avois rendu compte de deux alliances illuſtres, d'un fils du Marquis Azo d'Eſte avec une fille de Robert Guiſcard, d'une princeſſe de Brunſwick avec l'empereur Grec. Un premier apperçu de l'antiquité et de la grandeur de la maiſon de Brunſwick, a excité ma curioſité, et j'ai cru pouvoir intéreſſer les deux nations que j'eſtime le plus par les mémoires d'une famille qui eſt ſortie de l'un pour regner ſur l'autre. Mes recherches, en me dévoilant la beauté de ce ſujet, m'en ont fait voir l'étendue et la difficulté. L'origine des Marquis de Ligurie, et peut être de Toſcane, a été ſuffiſamment éclaircie par Muratori et Leibnitz; l'Italie du moyen age, ſon hiſtoire et ſes monumens, me ſont très connus, et je ne ſuis pas mécontent de ce que j'ai déjà écrit ſur la branche cadette d'Eſte, qui eſt demurée fidelle à garder ſes cendres caſanières. Les anciens Guelfs ne me ſont point étrangers, et je me crois en état de rendre compte de la puiſſance et de la chute de leurs héritiers, les Ducs de Bavieres et de Saxe. La ſucceſſion de la Maiſon de Brunſwick au trône de la Grande Bretagne ſera très aſſurement la partie la plus intéreſſante de mon travail; mais tous les matériaux ſe trouvent dans ma langue, et un Anglois devroit rougir s'il n'avoit pas approfondi l'hiſtoire moderne et la conſtitution actuelle de ſon pays.

This ſuſpicion was juſtified in my firſt excurſion, the ſubject of which will explain the reaſon why I was ſo earneſt to procure the *Origines Guelficæ*. In my Hiſtory, I had given an account of two illuſtrious marriages; the firſt, of the ſon of Azo, Marquis of Eſte, with the daughter of Robert Guiſcard; and the ſecond, of a Princeſs of Brunſwick with the Greek Emperor. The firſt view of the antiquity and grandeur of the Houſe of Brunſwick excited my curioſity, and made me think that the two nations, whom I eſteem the moſt, might be entertained by the hiſtory of a family, which ſprung from the one, and reigns over the other. But my reſearches ſhowed me not only the beauty, but the extent and difficulty of my ſubject. Muratori and Leibnitz have ſufficiently explained the origin of the Marquiſſes of Liguria, and perhaps of Tuſcany: I am well acquainted with the hiſtory and monuments of Italy, during the middle ages; and I am not diſſatisfied with what I have already written concerning that branch of the family of Eſte, which continued to reſide in its hereditary poſſeſſions. I am not unacquainted with the ancient Guelphs, nor incapable of giving an account of the power and downfall of their heirs, the Dukes of Bavaria and Saxony. The ſucceſſion of the Houſe of Brunſwick to the Crown of Great Britain will doubtleſs form the moſt intereſting part of my narrative; but the authors on this ſubject are in Engliſh; and it would be unpardonable in a Briton not to have ſtudied the modern hiſtory and preſent conſtitution of his country. But there is an

pays. Mais entre le premier Duc et le premier Electeur de Brunſwick, il ſe trouve un intervalle de quatre cent cinquante ans. Je ſuis condamné à ſuivre dans les ténebres un ſentier étroit et raboteux, et les diviſions, les ſous-diviſions de tant de branches et de territoires, répandent ſur ce ſentier la confuſion d'un labyrinthe génealogique. Les évènemens ſans éclat et ſans liaiſon, ſont bornés à un province d'Allemagne, et ce n'eſt que vers la fin de ce période que je ſerois un peu ranimé par la réformation, la guerre de trente ans, et la nouvelle puiſſance de l'Electorat. Comme je me propoſe de crayonner des mémoires, et non pas de compoſer une hiſtoire, je marcherois ſans doute d'un pas rapide, je préſenterois des reſultats plutôt que des faits, des obſervations plutôt que des recits : mais vous ſentez combien un tableau général exige de connoiſſances particulières, combien l'auteur doit être plus ſavant que ſon livre. Or cet auteur il eſt à deux cent lieues de la Saxe, il ignore la langue, et il ne s'eſt jamais appliqué à l'hiſtoire de l'Allemagne. Eloigne des ſources, il ne lui reſte qu'un ſeul moyen pour les faire couler dans ſa bibliotheque. C'eſt de ſe ménager ſur les lieux mêmes un correſpondant exact, un guide éclairé, un oracle enfin qu'il puiſſe conſulter dans tous ſes beſoins. Par votre caractère, votre eſprit, vos lumières, votre poſition, vous êtes cet homme précieux et unique, que je cherche ; et quand vous m'indiqueriez un *ſuppléant* auſſi capable que vous même, je ne m'adreſſerois

interval of four hundred and fifty years between the firſt Duke of Brunſwick and the firſt Elector of that family; and the deſign of my work compels me to follow in obſcurity a rough and narrow path ; where, by the diviſion and ſubdiviſion of ſo many branches and ſo many territories, I ſhall be involved in the mazes of a genealogical labyrinth. The events, which are deſtitute of connection as well as of ſplendour, are confined to a ſingle province of Germany; and I muſt have reached near the end of the period, before my ſubject will be enlivened by the reformation of religion, the war of thirty years, and the new power acquired by the Electorate. As it is my purpoſe, rather to ſketch memoirs than to write hiſtory, my narrative muſt proceed with rapidity ; and contain rather reſults than facts—rather reflexions than details ; but you are aware how much particular knowledge is requiſite for this general deſcription, the author of which ought to be far more learned than his work. Unfortunately, this author reſides at the diſtance of two hundred leagues from Saxony ; he knows not the language, and has never made the hiſtory, of Germany his particular ſtudy. Thus remote from the ſources of information, he can think of only one channel by which they may be made to flow into his library ; which is, by finding in the country itſelf an accurate correſpondent, an enlightened guide, in one word, an oracle, whom he may conſult in every difficulty. Your learning and character, as well as your abilities and ſituation, ſingularly qualify you for gratifying my wiſhes ; and ſhould you point out to me a ſubſtitute equally well qualified with yourſelf, yet I could not have equal con-

dreſſerois pas avec la même confiance à un étranger. Je vous accablerois librement de queſtions, et de nouvelles queſtions naitront ſouvent de vos reponſes; je vous prierois de fouiller dans votre vaſte dépôt; je vous demanderois des livres, des extraits, des traductions, des renſeignemens ſur tous les objets qui peuvent intéreſſer mon travail. Mais j'ignore ſi vous êtes diſpoſé à ſacrifier votre loiſir, vos études cheries, à un correſpondance pénible, ſans agremens et ſans gloire. Je me flatte que vous feriez quelque choſe pour moi, vous feriez davantage pour l'honneur de la Maiſon à laquelle vous êtes attaché; mais ſuis-je en droit de ſuppoſer que mes écrits puiſſent contribuer à ſon honneur?—J'attends, Monſieur, votre réponſe; qu'elle ſoit prompte et franche; ſi vous daignez vous aſſocier à mon entrepriſe, je vous envoyerai ſur le champ mon premier interrogatoire; votre refus me décideroit à renoncer à mon deſſein, ou du moins à lui donner une nouvelle forme. J'ôſe en même tems vous demander un profond ſecret: un mot indiſcret ſeroit répété par cent bouches, et j'aurois le deſagrément de voir dans les journaux, et bientôt dans les papiers Anglois, une annonce, peut être défigurée, de mes projets littéraires qui ne ſont confié qu'à vous ſeul.

J'ai l'honneur d'être, &c.

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fidence in the aſſiſtance of a perſon unknown to me. I would teaze you with queſtions, and new queſtions would often be ſuggeſted by your anſwers; I would requeſt you to ranſack your vaſt library, and to ſupply me with books, extracts, tranſlations, and information of every kind, conducive to my undertaking. But I know not how far you are inclined to ſacrifice your leiſure and your favourite ſtudies to a laborious correſpondence, which promiſes neither fame nor pleaſure. I flatter myſelf, you would do ſomething to oblige me; you would do more for the honour of the Family with which you are connected by your employment. But what title have I to ſuppoſe that any work of mine can contribute to its honour? I expect, Sir, your anſwer; and requeſt that it may be ſpeedy and frank. Should you condeſcend to aſſiſt my labours, I will immediately ſend you ſome interrogatories. Your refuſal, on the other hand, will make me lay aſide the deſign, or at leaſt oblige me to give it a new form. I venture, at the ſame time, to entreat that the ſubject of this letter may remain a profound ſecret. An indiſcreet word would be repeated by an hundred mouths; and I ſhould have the uneaſineſs of ſeeing in the foreign journals, and ſoon afterwards in the Engliſh newſpapers, an account, and that, perhaps, an unfaithful one, of my literary projects, the ſecret of which I entruſt to you alone.

ANTIQUITIES

OF THE

HOUSE OF BRUNSWICK.

CHAP. I. SECT. I.

An Engliſh ſubject may be prompted, by a juſt and liberal curioſity, to inveſtigate the origin and ſtory of the Houſe of Brunſwick, which, after an alliance with the daughters of our kings, has been called by the voice of a free people to the legal inheritance of the Crown. From George the Firſt and his father, the firſt Elector of Hanover, we aſcend, in a clear and regular ſeries, to the firſt Duke of Brunſwick and Lunenburgh, who received his inveſtiture from Frederick the Second, about the middle of the thirteenth century. If theſe ample poſſeſſions had been the gift of the Emperor to ſome adventurous ſoldier, to ſome faithful client, we might be content with the antiquity and luſtre of a noble race, which had been enrolled nearly ſix hundred years among the Princes of Germany. But our ideas are raiſed, and our proſpect is opened, by the diſcovery, that the firſt Duke of Brunſwick was rather degraded than adorned by his new title, ſince it impoſed the duties of feudal ſervice on the free and patrimonial eſtate, which alone had been ſaved in the ſhipwreck of the more ſplendid fortunes of his Houſe. His anceſtors had been inveſted with the powerful Duchies of Bavaria and Saxony, which extended far beyond their limits in modern geography: from the Baltic Sea to the confines of Rome they were obeyed, or reſpected, or feared; and in the quarrel of the Guelphs and Ghibellines, the former appellation was derived from the name of their progenitors in the female line. But the genuine maſculine deſcent of the Princes of Brunſwick muſt be explored beyond the Alps: the venerable tree, which has ſince overſhadowed Germany and Britain, was planted in the Italian ſoil. As far as our ſight can reach, we diſcern the firſt founders of the race in the Marquiſſes of Eſte, of Liguria, and perhaps of Tuſcany. In the eleventh century, the primitive ſtem was divided into two branches; the elder migrated

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to the banks of the Danube and the Elbe; the younger more humbly adhered to the neighbourhood of the Adriatic: the Dukes of Brunſwick and the Kings of Great Britain are the deſcendants of the firſt; the Dukes of Ferrara and Modena were the offspring of the ſecond.

This ſhort review may explain and juſtify the threefold diviſion of theſe Memoirs, which appropriates a ſeparate book to—I. THE ITALIAN DESCENT; II. THE GERMAN REIGN; and III. THE BRITISH SUCCESSION of the Houſe of Brunſwick. The obſcure interval, from the firſt Duke to the firſt Elector, will be connected on either ſide with the more ſplendid ſcenes of their ancient and modern hiſtory. The comparative date and dignity of their pedigree will be fixed by a fair parallel with the moſt illuſtrious families of Europe. Even the flowers of fiction, ſo profuſely ſcattered over the cradle of the Princes of Eſte, diſcloſe a remote and decreaſing light, which is finally loſt in the darkneſs of the fabulous age. But it will be prudent, before we liſten to the rude or refined tales of invention, to erect a ſtrong and ſubſtantial edifice of truth on the learned labours of Leibnitz and Muratori.

The genius and ſtudies of Leibnitz have ranked his name with the firſt philoſophic names of his age and country; but his reputation, perhaps, would be more pure and permanent, if he had not ambitiouſly graſped the whole circle of human ſcience. As a theologian, he ſucceſſively contended with the ſceptics, who believe too little, and with the papiſts, who believe too much, and with the heretics, who believe otherwiſe than is inculcated by the Lutherian confeſſion of Augſburgh. Yet the Philoſopher betrayed his love of union and toleration: his faith in Revelation was accuſed, while he proved the Trinity by the principles of logic; and in the defence of the attributes and providence of the Deity, he was ſuſpected of a ſecret correſpondence with his adverſary Bayle. The metaphyſician expatiated in the fields of air: his pre-eſtabliſhed harmony of the ſoul and body might have provoked the jealouſy of Plato; and his optimiſm, the beſt of all poſſible worlds, ſeems an idea too vaſt for a mortal mind. He was a *Phyſician*, in the large and genuine ſenſe of the word: like his brethren, he amuſed himſelf with creating a globe; and his *Protogæa*, or Primitive Earth, has not been uſeleſs to the laſt hypotheſis of Buffon, which prefers the agency of fire to that of water. I am not worthy to praiſe the *Mathematician:* but his name is mingled in all the problems and diſcoveries of the times; the maſters of the art were his rivals or diſciples; and if he borrowed from Sir Iſaac Newton the ſublime method of fluxions, Leibnitz was at leaſt the Prometheus

theus who imparted to mankind the ſacred fire which he had ſtolen from the gods. His curioſity extended to every branch of chemiſtry, mechanics, and the arts; and the thirſt of knowledge was always accompanied with the ſpirit of improvement. The vigour of his youth had been exerciſed in the ſchools of *juriſprudence*; and while he taught, he aſpired to reform, the laws of nature and nations, of Rome and Germany. The annals of Brunſwick, of the empire, of the ancient and modern world, were preſent to the mind of the *Hiſtorian*; and he could turn from the ſolution of a problem, to the duſty parchments and barbarous ſtyle of the records of the middle age. His genius was more nobly directed to inveſtigate the origin of languages and nations; nor could he aſſume the character of a *Grammarian*, without forming the project of an univerſal idiom and alphabet. Theſe various ſtudies were often interrupted by the occaſional *politics* of the times; and his pen was always ready in the cauſe of the Princes and patrons to whoſe ſervice he was attached: many hours were conſumed in a learned correſpondence with all Europe: and the Philoſopher amuſed his leiſure in the compoſition of French and Latin *poetry*. Such an example may diſplay the extent and powers of the human underſtanding, but even *his* powers were diſſipated by the multiplicity of his purſuits. He attempted more than he could finiſh; he deſigned more than he could execute: his imagination was too eaſily ſatisfied with a bold and rapid glance on the ſubject which he was impatient to leave; and Leibnitz may be compared to thoſe heroes, whoſe empire has been loſt in the ambition of univerſal conqueſt.

When he was about thirty years of age, (1676,) the merit of Leibnitz was diſcovered and adopted by the Dukes of Hanover, at whoſe court he ſpent the laſt forty years of his life, in free and honourable ſervice. In this ſtation he ſoon became the author, or at leaſt the architect of a monument, which they were ambitious of raiſing to the glory of their name. With the view of preparing the moſt authentic documents for the Hiſtory of the Houſe of Brunſwick, he travelled over the provinces of Germany and Italy, their ancient ſeats. In this learned pilgrimage, he conſulted the living and the dead, explored the libraries, the archives, the monaſteries, and even the tombs, and diligently collected or copied the books, the manuſcripts, and the charters of every age. As the curioſity of the Hiſtorian had not been limited to the proper bounds of his ſubject, the various treaſures which he had imported were publiſhed in ſeveral volumes, with as much ſpeed and care as the multitude of his avocations would allow; and it may be deemed either a

praiſe

praiſe or a reproach, that the raw materials are often leſs valuable than the obſervations and prefaces of the editor himſelf. In the year 1695, the nuptials of the Prince of Modena with a Princeſs of Hanover engaged him to diſpell the errors and fables of preceding genealogiſts, and to reſtore the true connection of the kindred branches, which were thus united, after a ſeparation of more than ſix hundred years. This occaſional pamphlet was deſigned as the prelude of the great Latin work which he meditated on the Brunſwick Antiquities. With a genius accuſtomed to draw lines of communication between the moſt diſtant ſciences, he traced, in his Introduction, the revolutions of the country and its inhabitants; of the country, from the natural remains of foſſils and petrefactions; of the inhabitants, from the national veſtiges of language and manners. The ſtory of a province and of a family ſwelled, in his capacious mind, into the annals of the weſtern empire: the origins of the Guelphs, of Bavaria, and the Marquiſſes of Eſte, would have been interwoven in their proper place; and the narrative would have been deduced from the reign of Charlemagne (A. D. 769.), to the laſt Emperor of the Saxon line (1025). But the term of an antediluvian life would have been ſcarcely adequate to the labours and projects of Leibnitz: the imperfect manuſcript of his Annals was buried in the Library of Hanover; and the impreſſion, though long ſince promiſed, is ſtill refuſed to the curioſity of the Public. But the ideas and papers of that great man were freely communicated to his diſciple and ſucceſſor Eccard, and the reſearches more particularly belonging to the Houſe of Brunſwick have formed the baſis of the *Origines Guelficæ*, which were compiled by the induſtrious hiſtoriographer. The raſhneſs of Eccard, who changed his ſervice and religion, condemned his work, till envy and malevolence had ſubſided, to a long oblivion; nor was it till many years after his deceaſe that the *Origines Guelficæ* were printed in five volumes in folio, by the care of the Electoral Librarians. The hands of the ſeveral workmen are apparent; the bold and original ſpirit of Leibnitz, the crude erudition and haſty conjectures of Eccard, the uſeful annotations of Gruber, and the critical diſquiſitions of Scheid, the principal editor of this genealogical Hiſtory.

In the conſtruction of this domeſtic monument, the Elector of Hanover, ten years after the return of Leibnitz, had diſpatched a ſecond miſſionary (1700) to ſearch the archives of his Italian kinſmen. Their archives were in the moſt deplorable ſtate: but the Princes of Eſte were awakened by ſhame and vanity, and their ſubject Muratori was recalled from Milan, to re-

form and govern the ducal Library of Modena. The name of Muratori will be for ever connected with the literature of his country: above ſixty years of his peaceful life were conſumed in the exerciſes of ſtudy and devotion; his numerous writings on the ſubjects of hiſtory, antiquities, religion, morals, and criticiſms, are impreſſed with ſenſe and knowledge, with moderation and candour: he moved in the narrow circle of an Italian prieſt; but a deſire of freedom, a ray of philoſophic light ſometimes breaks through his own prejudices and thoſe of his readers. In the cauſe of his Prince, he was permitted, and even encouraged, to explore the foundations, and to circumſcribe the limits, of the temporal power of the Biſhops of Rome: and his victorious arguments in the diſpute for Commachio accuſtomed the ſlave to an erect poſture and a bolder ſtep. One of his antagoniſts, the learned Fontanini, had been provoked, in the heat of controverſy, to caſt ſome reflexions on the family of Eſte, as if they had been no more than ſimple citizens of Padua, who, in the thirteenth century, were inveſted by the Popes with the title and office of Marquis of Anconia. Truth and honour required an anſwer to this invidious charge; and the firmeſt anſwer was a ſimple and genuine expoſition of facts. The courts of Brunſwick and Modena were joined in the ſame family intereſt; and their truſty Librarians, Leibnitz and Muratori, correſponded with the confidence of allies and the emulation of rivals. But the ſpeed of the German was outſtripped in the race by the perſeverance of the Italian: if the conjectures of Muratori were leſs ſplendid, his diſcoveries were more ſure; and he could examine, with the leiſure of a native, the monuments and records which his aſſociate had formerly viewed with the haſte of a traveller. After a diligent enquiry of three years, both at home and abroad, he gave to the world the firſt volume of the *Antichità Eſtenſe*, a model of genealogical criticiſm; and in the ſecond volume, which was delayed above twenty years, he continues the deſcent and ſeries to his own times. The more ſtrenuous labours of his life were devoted to the general and particular hiſtory of Italy. His Antiquities, both in the vulgar and the Latin tongue, exhibit a curious picture of the laws and manners of the middle age; and a correct text is juſtified by a copious Appendix of authentic documents. His Annals are a faithful abſtract of the twenty-eight folio volumes of original hiſtorians; and whatſoever faults may be noticed in this great collection, our cenſure is diſarmed by the remark, that it was undertaken and finiſhed by a ſingle man. Muratori will not aſpire to the fame of

hiſtorical genius: his modeſty may be content with the ſolid, though humble praiſe of an impartial critic and indefatigable compiler.

With ſuch guides, with the materials which they have provided, and with ſome experience of the way, I ſhall boldly deſcend into the darkneſs of the middle age; and while I aſſume the liberty of judgment, I ſhall not be unmindful of the duties of gratitude.

An old charter of the reign of Charlemagne and the beginning of the ninth century, has caſually preſerved the memory of BONIFACE the Bavarian; the count or governor of Lucca, the father of the marquiſſes of Tuſcany, and the firſt probable anceſtor of the houſe of Eſte and Brunſwick. His name and country, his title and province, I ſhall ſeparately conſider: and theſe conſiderations will explain the ſtate of Italy in his time, and that of his immediate deſcendants.

1. In the origin of human ſpeech, a method muſt have been wanted, and ſought, and found, of diſcriminating the ſeveral individuals of the ſame tribe, who were mingled in the daily offices, even of ſavage life. In every language the invention of proper and perſonal names muſt be at leaſt as ancient as the uſe of appellative words. The truth of this remark is atteſted by the ancient continent from India to Spain, from the lakes of Canada to the hills of Chili, the ſame diſtinctions were familiar to the inhabitants of the New World; and our navigators who have recently explored the iſlands of the South Sea, add their teſtimony to the general practice of mankind. As ſoon as a new-born infant has enjoyed ſome days, and begins to promiſe ſome years of life, he is diſtinguiſhed as a ſocial being from his preſent and future companions: the friends of the family are convened to congratulate the parents and to welcome the ſtranger; and the feſtival has been uſually connected with ſome religious ceremony; the ſacrifices of the Greeks, Romans, and barbarians; the circumciſion of the Jews, and the baptiſm of the Chriſtians. The primitive choice of every word muſt have had a cauſe and a meaning: each name was derived from ſome accident or alluſion, or quality of the mind or body; and the titles of the ſavage chiefs announced their wiſdom in council, or their valour in the field. Such in the book of nature and antiquity are the heroes of Homer; and the happy flexibility of the Greek tongue can expreſs in harmonious ſounds all poſſible combinations of ideas and ſentiments. But in the lapſe of ages and idioms, the true

ſignification was loſt or miſapplied: the qualities of a man were blindly transferred to a child, and chance or cuſtom were the only motives that could direct this arbitrary impoſition. The Chriſtians of the Roman empire were a mixture of Jews, of Greeks, and of Latin provincials: their profane names were ſanctified by baptiſm; thoſe of the Bible were reſpectable and familiar; and the caſual affinity with an apoſtle or martyr might encourage the pious youth to imitate his virtues. But in the three centuries which preceded the reign of Charlemagne, the weſtern world was overwhelmed by a deluge of German conquerors. After their converſion to Chriſtianity, they long adhered, from pride or habit, to the idiom of their fathers; and their Teutonic appellations, with a ſofter accent and a Latin termination, were almoſt excluſively uſed in the baptiſm of princes and nobles. Till the tenth or twelfth century, the Old was abandoned to the Jews, and the New Teſtament to the people and clergy. Adam and David, Peter and Paul, John and James, George and Francis, were neglected as unknown, or deſpiſed as plebeian; and Boniface is the only name of eccleſiaſtical origin which the chiefs of barbaric race condeſcended to aſſume. This honourable exception may be juſtly aſcribed to the fame and merit of St. Boniface the Firſt, archbiſhop of Mentz or Mayence, the miſſionary of Rome, the reformer of France, and the apoſtle of Germany, who loſt his life in preaching the Goſpel to the Friſians. He was born in England, and in his own baptiſm he had been ſtiled Winfrid: but with the epiſcopal character the Saxon received the more Chriſtian appellation of Boniface, which had been illuſtrated by a martyr and a pope. Of the Heſſians, Thuringians, and Bavarians, whom he reclaimed from idolatry, many were ambitious even of a nominal conformity with their patron: and from his age and country, the count of Lucca might be one of the fortunate infants who were baptized by the apoſtle of Bavaria.

2. The Chriſtian prieſts who ſubdued the conquerors of the Weſt, had inculcated the duty of damning their idolatrous anceſtors, and perſecuting their diſſenting ſubjects. But the toleration which they denied to religious prejudice, was freely extended to the inſtitutions of civil or barbaric life. The Romans of Italy, the great body of the clergy and people, were ſtill directed by the codes of Theodoſius and Juſtinian. The laws of the Lombards were promulgated for their own uſe; after the fall of their kingdom, they ſtill preſerved their national juriſprudence; and the victorious Franks enjoyed the benefit without impoſing the obligation of the Salic and Ripuarian codes. The three great nations who ſucceſſively reigned in Italy, were

every where mingled, and every where ſeparate. A ſimilar indulgence was granted to the ſmaller colonies of Goths, Alemanni, or *Bavarians*; and ſo perfect was the practice of civil toleration, that every freeman, according to his birth or choice, might embrace the law by which he himſelf and his family would be tried. In the acts which have eſcaped to our times, count Boniface and his deſcendants profeſs to live according to the nation and law of the Bavarians: but this profeſſion rather defines the origin of his blood, than the place of his nativity; and it is poſſible that ſome generations of his anceſtors might have already felt the milder influence of climate and religion. The name of the Bavarians firſt riſes into notice amidſt the dying agonies of the Weſtern Empire: but the tribe or troop of adventurers which aſſumed that name, ſoon ſwelled to a powerful kingdom, and covered the province of Noricum from the Danube to the Alps. The vicinity of Italy provoked their deſires; the alliance of the Lombards encouraged their hopes: they joined the ſtandard of the invader; and on the confines of Modena and Tuſcany the memory of their ancient ſettlement is not totally extinct. If we compare, however, the ſmallneſs of the colony with the numbers of the nation, it may ſeem more probable that Count Boniface was born in Bavaria, perhaps of noble and idolatrous parents; and that his ſervices were rewarded by Charlemagne with the government of an Italian province. The eye of the vigilant and ſagacious emperor pervaded the vaſt extent of his dominions; and the merit of every ſubject, in whatſoever country or condition he had been caſt, was aſſigned to the ſtation moſt beneficial for himſelf and the State. While the kingdoms of the Weſt obeyed the ſame ſceptre, a native Frank might command on the banks of the Tyber; the frontiers of Brittany were guarded by a loyal Lombard, and the Saxon proſelyte would ſignalize his new zeal for Chriſtianity againſt the Saracens of Spain. Charlemagne affected to conſider all his ſubjects with the impartial love of a father: but he was not unwilling to tranſplant a powerful chief into a foreign ſoil, and he cheriſhed a ſecret preference of the men and the nations whoſe ſole dependence was on the royal favour. The Franks were jealous of the elevation of an equal; the Lombards might not eaſily forgive the triumph of a conqueror; but the Alemanni and Bavarians, who had been long oppreſſed, were devoted, by loyalty and gratitude, to the ſervice of their benefactor.

3. I am ignorant of the parents of Boniface the Bavarian; of his character and actions I am likewiſe ignorant. But his official title deſcribes him

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as one of the principal miniſters and nobles of the kingdom of Italy. The Latin appellations of dukes and counts were transferred with the latitude of foreign words to the judges and leaders of the Barbarians: theſe different titles were applied to the ſame perſon or ſtation: they varied according to the faſhion of the age and country; and it was not till after the ninth century that the dukes, aſſuming a clear pre-eminence of dignity and power, ſtood foremoſt on the ſteps of the throne. In the vulgar and legal idiom, the temporal peers (I anticipate the expreſſion of more recent times) were ſtiled princes, and in their families the kings and emperors of the Weſt might ſolicit a wife, or beſtow a daughter, without degrading the majeſty of their rank. It was at once their privilege and their duty to attend the national council; nor could any law acquire validity or effect without the conſent and authority of theſe powerful nobles. In their reſpective diſtricts of ample or narrow limits, each duke or count was inveſted with the plenitude of civil and military power, and this union of characters muſt be aſcribed rather to the imperfection of the arts than to the talents of the men. They preſided in open courts of juſtice, and determined all criminal and civil cauſes, with the advice of their plebeian aſſeſſors, their *ſcabini*, who were ſomewhat leſs illiterate than the judge himſelf. At the royal ſummons they reared their ſtandard, aſſembled their freemen and vaſſals, and marched at their head on every occaſion of danger and honour. Such taxes as could be levied on a rude and independent people were ſhared between the ſupreme and ſubordinate chief, and there exiſts an agreement by which a Lombard duke was permitted to reſerve a moiety of the revenue for his public and private uſe. The prerogative of appointing and recalling theſe provincial magiſtrates was eſteemed a ſufficient pledge of their obedience; and the ſervants of Charlemagne might obey without reluctance the firſt of mankind. But the memory of a favour was loſt in the grant of an office; and the grant of an office was inſenſibly conſolidated into the right of a freehold poſſeſſion. The counts and dukes were amenable to the circuits of the *miſſi*, or royal inquiſitors: but they were more able to maintain, than willing to ſuffer, an act of injuſtice; and it was gradually admitted as a conſtitutional maxim, that they could not be deprived of their dignity without a charge, a trial, and a conviction of felony. The founder of the Weſtern Empire might ſometimes reward the ſon by the gift or the reverſion of his father's province; a dangerous reward, which was often extorted from the fears, rather than from the bounty of ſucceeding princes. They could not deſpoil the legitimate heir

heir of his lands, his followers, and his popular name, and it was deemed more prudent to ſecure the public peace by the indulgence of his private ambition.

4. The province entruſted to the vigilance of Count Boniface is one of the moſt fertile and fortunate ſpots of Italy. It is bounded by the rivers Magra and Arno, by the ſea and the Appenine; and in the old days of independence, this tract of country had been the debateable land between the Ligurians and Etruſcans, till it was finally annexed by Auguſtus to the region of Etruria. The harbour of Luni is capable of ſheltering the navies of Europe; the circumjacent hills of Carara have ſupplied an inexhauſtible ſtore of white marble for the nobleſt works of ſculpture and architecture, and Lucca itſelf is ſituate almoſt on the banks of the Auſar or Serchio, a river which, flowing ten miles farther to the ſouth, is finally loſt under the walls of Piſa, in the waters of the Arno. In the beſt age of the commonwealth, the ſixth century of Rome, an allotment of ſixty thouſand acres was divided among two thouſand citizens, who were ſoon aſſociated with the ancient natives: but the colony of Lucca finally preferred the title and privileges of a municipal town. After ſuffering ſome injury from the barbaric ſtorm, Lucca appears to revive and flouriſh under the Lombards, as the ſeat of a royal mint, and the metropolis of the whole province of Tuſcany. The republic, leſs extenſive, as it ſhould ſeem, than the command of Boniface, now contains one hundred and twenty thouſand inhabitants, who are enriched by the exportation of oil and ſilk. But their riches are the fruits of induſtry, and their induſtry is guarded by liberty and peace. I am inclined to believe, that this ſmall and happy community is more wealthy and populous than was formerly the Tuſcany of Charlemagne; and even in its decay the ſtate of Tuſcany ſtill poſſeſſes more inhabitants and more treaſure, than could have been found in the diſorderly and deſolate kingdom of the Lombards.

From the interpoſition of Ildenrand, count of Lucca, it may be ſuſpected that at the time of his father's deceaſe Boniface the Second had not acquired ſufficient ſtrength and maturity for the vacant office: but theſe friends, or rivals, who had exerciſed the government of Lucca, were ſoon ſuperſeded by the eſtabliſhment of the lawful heir; and the youth approved himſelf worthy of his name and honours. The example and impunity of treaſon could never tempt his loyalty; and while the empire of Lewis the Pious was relaxed by weakneſs or agitated by diſcord, Boniface aſſerted the glory of the

the French and the Chriſtian arms. He had been entruſted with the defence of the maritime coaſt and the iſle of Corſica againſt the Mahometans of Africa, and his right to command the ſervice of the neighbouring counts may entitle him to the appellation of Duke or Marquis of Tuſcany, which was aſſumed by his deſcendants. With a ſmall fleet he ſailed from Piſa, in ſearch of the robbers of the ſea; they had vaniſhed on his approach: he caſt anchor on the friendly ſhores of Corſica, and after providing himſelf with expert pilots, he ſteered his intrepid courſe for Africa, and boldly landed on the coaſt between Carthage and Utica. The Aglabites, who reigned in Africa as the nominal vicegerents of the caliphs, were aſtoniſhed and provoked by the inſolence of the Chriſtians, whoſe valour had been hitherto confined to a defenſive war. Their camp was immediately ſurrounded by a formidable hoſt of Arabs and Moors: five times did they mount to the aſſault: they were repulſed five times with ſlaughter and ſhame. The field was covered with the bodies of their ſlain; in the hot purſuit ſome adventurous Franks became the victims of their own raſhneſs; but the more prudent chief was ſatisfied with victory; he embarked the troops, the captives, and the ſpoil, and returning in triumph to the port of Luni, or the mouth of the Arno, left an example of ſucceſsful enterprize which was long remembered by the Moſlems of Afric, and ſeldom imitated by the Chriſtians of Italy. The birth, character, and adventures of the empreſs Judith, will be introduced with more propriety in the ſtory of the Guelphs, and I ſhall only obſerve, that after his abject fall and fortunate reſtoration, Lewis the Pious might ſtill tremble for the ſafety of a beloved wife. She was confined in a monaſtery of Tortona, in the power of a rebellious ſon; and if the ambition of Lothaire was diſappointed, the blood of a ſtep-mother might be a grateful offering to his revenge. Boniface, with ſome loyal ſubjects, perceived her danger, and flew to her relief. By their celerity and courage Judith was reſcued from priſon, and they guarded her paſſage over the Alps till ſhe met the embraces of an impatient huſband. This gallant act, which deſerved the gratitude of the emperor, expoſed the Count of Lucca to the diſpleaſure of Lothaire, who was ſtill maſter of the kingdom of Italy, and who denied the inveſtiture of their fiefs to all the accomplices of the eſcape of Judith. Boniface retired to France, where his exile was alleviated by the moſt honourable employments. In the civil wars, after the death of Lewis, he might ſecure his pardon without forfeiting his allegiance; and there is reaſon to believe, that he ended his days in the government of Tuſcany.

The

The ſword of chivalry was conſecrated to the ſervice of religion and the fair; and the African victor, the deliverer of the empreſs, had fulfilled the duties of a perfect knight.

His ſon and ſucceſſor, Adalbert the Firſt, has a more unqueſtionable right to the appellation of Duke and Marquis of Tuſcany. The title of Marquis, or rather Margrave, was introduced into Italy by the French emperors; the Teutonic etymology of the word implies the count or governor of a *march* of a frontier province: his ſtation gave him at leaſt a military command over ſeveral of his equals; and in the diviſion of the monarchy the number and importance of theſe hoſtile limits was continually multiplied. Yet the life of Adalbert is much leſs pure and illuſtrious than that of his father: either an hiſtorian was wanted to his actions, or his actions afforded no materials for hiſtory; and it is only by the glimmering of old charters, that, during thirty years, his exiſtence is viſible. The decay of genius and power in each imperial generation, had confirmed the independence of the hereditary governors; till the failure of the eldeſt branch, in the perſon of Lewis the Second, concluded a century of domeſtic peace, and opened an endleſs ſeries of revolutions. The election of the kings of Italy was decided by the voices and by the ſwords of the factious nobles: they choſe the object, the meaſure, and the term of allegiance; and the name of the candidate whom they ſupported, was a ſufficient apology for every act of violence and rapine. A pope of an active and ambitious ſpirit, John VIII., moſt bitterly complains of the two marquiſſes, or tyrants, of Lambert of Spoleto, and of Adalbert of Tuſcany, who were brothers in alliance, in arms, and in ſacrilege. They ſolicited the aid of the miſcreant Saracens, invaded the eccleſiaſtical State, entered the city, profaned the churches, extorted an oath of fidelity from the Romans, and dared to impriſon the ſucceſſor of St. Peter. After the departure of theſe public robbers, as they are ſtiled, without much injuſtice, by the pontiff, he affected to diſplay their guilt and his own danger: the ſacred relicks were tranſported from the Vatican to the Lateran palace: the altar was clothed in ſackcloth, and the doors of the temple were inhoſpitably ſhut againſt the devotion of the pilgrims. By the apprehenſion of a ſecond inſult John VIII. was driven from the apoſtolical ſeat; he fled by ſea to the uſual aſylum of France, offered the two worlds to whoſoever would avenge his quarrel, and in the Synod of Troyes proclaimed the vices and pronounced the excommunication of the two marquiſſes of Spoleto and Tuſcany, the enemies of God and Man. Some

political events gave a new turn to his intereſt and language; *the moſt glorious* Adalbert and his wife (ſo lately a robber and an adultereſs) are recommended in his epiſtles to the love and protection of the friends of the church. From ſuch invective and ſuch praiſe it might be inferred that calumny is a venial ſin, or that every ſin is obliterated by a reconciliation with the Pope. A caſuiſt leſs indulgent, I ſhall not ſo eaſily abſolve the ſacrilegious Marquis of Tuſcany: he lived in an age of the darkeſt ſuperſtition, and his aſſault on the Vatican is truly criminal, ſince it was condemned by the prejudices of his own conſcience.

In the dignity of Duke and Marquis of Tuſcany he was ſucceeded by his ſon, the ſecond Adalbert, who has been only diſtinguiſhed from the firſt by the nice microſcope of chronological criticiſm. Such and ſo great was the pre-eminence of his wealth and power, that he alone among the princes of Italy was diſtinguiſhed by the epithet of the *rich*; an epithet of ambiguous praiſe, ſince it expreſſes the liberality of fortune rather than of nature. He married Berta, the daughter of Lothaire king of Auſtraſia or Lorraine, who was the great grandſon of Charlemagne: a diſtinction rather honourable than ſingular; ſince many of the princes of the age were deſcended by the females from the Imperial ſtem. His independence was built on the ruins of the empire of Charlemagne: the failure of lawful heirs enlarged the ſcene of contention: the ſceptre was alternately won and loſt in a field of battle, and the Italians, from a maxim of policy, entertained the competition of two kings. The dukes of Friuli and Spoleto long diſputed the crown; and while Berengarius reigned at Verona, his rivals Guido and Lambert were ſeated on the throne of Pavia. Theſe princes, the father and ſon, were the uncle and couſin of Adalbert; but he ſupported or deſerted their ſtandard with licentious perfidy, and one of his attempts did not much redound to the honour or advantage of the Marquis of Tuſcany. He marched to ſurprize Lambert, who hunted without ſuſpicion in a foreſt near Placentia: but he forgot that diſcipline and ſobriety are moſt eſſential to ſecret enterprize. The tents of the Tuſcans, who deemed themſelves ſecure of their royal game, reſounded with drunken and laſcivious ſongs; their intemperance ſubſided in ſleep; and at the dead of night they were ſurprized by the vigilant Lambert, at the head of no more than one hundred horſe. The Marquis, who could neither fight nor fly, was dragged from his ſhelter among the mules and aſſes of the baggage, and his ſhame was embittered by the rude pleaſantry of the conqueror. "Thy wife Berta," ſaid he, "had promiſed that thou ſhouldeſt

" be either a king or an aſs. A king thou art not, but thy ſecond title I " ſhall not diſpute; and wiſely haſt thou choſen a place of refuge among " the animals of a ſimilar ſpecies." The death of Lambert reſtored the captive to liberty and dominion: but the character of Adalbert was ſtill the ſame, and the ſtate of Italy long fluctuated with the viciſſitudes of his intereſt or paſſions. Berengarius, who was oppreſſed by his ſervice, ſometimes accuſed and ſometimes imitated the example of his ingratitude. A new pretender, Lewis king of Arles, was defeated and diſmiſſed and recalled, and again eſtabliſhed and again dethroned as he was the friend or enemy of the Marquis of Tuſcany. In a moment of ſeeming concord, the new ſovereign viſited Lucca, where he was entertained with the oſtentation of expence which vanity will often extort from avarice and hatred. As Lewis admired the numerous and well-dreſſed ranks of the Tuſcan ſoldiers, the attendance of the palace, and the luxury of the banquet, he ſoftly whiſpered, " This " Marquis is indeed a king, and it is only in a vain title that I am ſuperior to " my vaſſal." By the diligence of flattery or malice this whiſper was reechoed: the pride of Berta was offended, her fears were alarmed; ſhe alienated her huſband's mind; he conſpired with the diſaffected nobles; and a haſty, perhaps a harmleſs ſaying deprived the unfortunate king of Arles of the crown of Italy and his eyes. Adalbert the Second died at Lucca, in a mature age, and his real or imaginary virtues are inſcribed on his tomb. We are ſolicited to believe, that he was formidable to his enemies, liberal to his ſoldiers, juſt to his ſubjects, and charitable to the poor; that his memory was embalmed in the tears of a grateful people; and that the public happineſs was buried in his grave. An epitaph is a feeble evidence of merit; yet an epitaph on the dead may prove ſomewhat more than a panegyric on the living.

Adalbert the Second left behind him three children, two ſons, Guido and Lambert, the eldeſt of whom was acknowledged as Duke and Marquis of Tuſcany, and one daughter, Hermenegarda, who married and ſurvived a prince of equal rank on the confines of Piedmont. The pride and power of Berta were not impaired by her huſband's death; and to her paſſions I ſhould impute an unequal conteſt with the emperor and king of Italy, who by fraud or force impriſoned the mother and her ſon in the fortreſs of Mantua. But her faithful clients refuſed to ſurrender the cities and caſtles committed to their truſt: a treaty was negociated; the captives were releaſed; their poſſeſſions were reſtored; and I muſt applaud the moderation,

perhaps

perhaps the courage, of Guido, who ſincerely ſubmitted to forgive and to be forgiven. Of the death of the emperor Berengarius, who was ſtabbed in his palace by a private villain, Guido was neither the author nor accomplice: but in the ſubſequent election his voice had a free and deciſive weight; and the laudable motives of filial or fraternal tenderneſs might prompt him to gratify his mother, by ſupporting the claim of Hugh, or Hugo, count of Provence, her ſon by a former huſband. The Marquis commanded the ſea-ports of Tuſcany; his ſiſter, an active and popular widow, could ſhut or open the paſſes of the Alps. A royal pretender, Rodulph of Burgundy, was chaſed beyond the mountains: by the unanimous choice of the nobles, Hugh was invited and proclaimed: he landed at Piſa; and the ſons of Adalbert were proud to ſalute their brother as king of Italy. But this event, which ſeemed to conſolidate the fortunes, was the immediate cauſe of the downfall of their houſe. The new monarch inſenſibly betrayed a faithleſs and ungrateful character: his vices were ſcandalous, his talents mean; and if his ambition was ſometimes checked by fear, it was never reſtrained by humanity or juſtice. The death of Berta diſſolved the union between the children of her firſt and her ſecond nuptials. The mild and moderate Guido expired in the prime of life. The Dutchy of Tuſcany was occupied by Lambert: but in a haſty and indecent marriage with Marozia, his brother's widow, the king of Italy trampled on the prejudices of mankind. Hugh was already conſcious of the public hatred and contempt: he might juſtly dread the courage, the ambition, the popularity of the Marquis; and his avarice was ſtimulated by the hopes of a rich forfeiture. Regardleſs of a mother's fame, he invented, or encouraged the report, that the obſtinate barrenneſs of the wife of Adalbert had tempted that impious woman to procure and ſubſtitute two male infants, whom ſhe educated as her own: and the arbitrary ſentence of the king, who diſclaimed Lambert as a brother, muſt have denied his right to the ſucceſſion of Tuſcany. Had this cauſe been argued before a tribunal of law and reaſon, the advocate for the Marquis would have pleaded the long and tranquil poſſeſſion of his name and ſtate, and have deprecated the injuſtice of a charge, which was not advanced till after the deceaſe of both his parents. The orator would have painted in the moſt lively colours, the abſurdity of the ſuppoſition, the difficulty of faſcinating the eyes and ſilencing the tongues of a jealous court, and the ſtrong improbability that the Dutcheſs of Tuſcany ſhould have *twice* riſqued the danger and ſhame of a diſcovery. He would have authenticated the

circumſtances of her pregnancy and delivery; and after eſtabliſhing his defence on argument and fact, he might have tried to awaken the tender and indignant feelings of the audience. Inſtead of ſuch a tedious proceſs, the intrepid Lambert caſt down his gauntlet, and challenged to ſingle combat the falſe accuſer of his own and his mother's fame. The challenge was accepted; a champion aroſe; the liſts were opened; and ſuch was the goodneſs of his cauſe, or the vigour of his arm, that the Marquis obtained an eaſy victory in the judgment of God. Even this judgment was not reſpected by the tyrant. Inſtead of embracing his genuine brother, he loaded the conqueror with irons, confiſcated his dominions, and deprived him of his eyes; while the nobles of Italy, who ſo often reſiſted the execution of the laws, moſt baſely acquieſced in this act of cruelty and injuſtice. The unhappy prince ſurvived his misfortune many years, but he was already dead to his enemies and the world. In a civilized ſociety, the mind is more powerful than the body; and the influence of ſtrength or dexterity is far leſs extenſive than that of eloquence and wiſdom. But among a people of barbarians, the blind warrior, who is no longer capable of managing a horſe, or of wielding a lance, muſt be excluded from all the honours and offices of public life.

Such were the five deſcents in the Bavarian line of the Counts of Lucca and Marquiſſes or Dukes of Tuſcany. The fourth generation of the poſterity of Boniface coincides with the age of the Marquis Adalbert, who may be ſtyled the third of that name, if we can ſafely rivet this intermediate link of the genealogical chain. After a long heſitation and various trials, the active curioſity of Leibnitz ſubſided, in the opinion that Adalbert the Third, the unqueſtionable father of the Houſe of Eſte and Brunſwick, was the ſon of the Marquis Guido, and the grandſon of Adalbert the Second: and that his right of ſucceſſion to the Duchy of Tuſcany, which had been ſuperſeded by his tender years, was finally loſt in the calamity of his uncle. In a mind conſcious of its powers, and indulgent to its productions, this idea ſtruck a deep and permanent root. As an hiſtorian, Leibnitz was acquainted with the ſtubborn character of facts: as a critic, he was accuſtomed to balance the weight of teſtimony: as a mathematician, he would not proſtitute the name of demonſtration: but he affirmed that his opinion was *probable* in the higheſt ſenſe; and the philoſopher could not patiently tolerate a ſceptic. Theſe hiſtorical enquiries he compared to the labour of an aſtronomer, who frames an hypotheſis, ſuch as can explain all the known phænomena of the heavens, and then exalts his hypotheſis into truth, by expoſing the errors of every

every other poſſible ſuppoſition. From the Library of Hanover, the diſcovery was tranſmitted to that of Modena, with an earneſt deſire of literary, or at leaſt of political union; and the pedigree of Adalbert the Third was ratified by the conſent of Leibnitz and Muratori. Yet in this dark and doubtful ſtep of genealogy, impartial criticiſm may be allowed to pauſe, and even the ſilence of a contemporary writer may incline the ſcale againſt many looſe and floating atoms of modern conjecture. The firſt fifty years of the tenth century are illuſtrated by the labour and eloquence of Liutprand, biſhop of Cremona, who expoſes, with a free and often ſatirical pen, the characters and vices of the times. He relates the death of Guido, and the ſucceſſion of Lambert, without inſinuating that the former left any children, or that the latter was appointed guardian of their minority. He deplores the fate of Lambert, without informing the reader of the eſcape of his nephew; by what reſources of flight or defence, of prayer or negociation, he eſcaped the cruelty of the tyrant, and lived to propagate the glories of his race. The Marquis Otbert, the undoubted ſon of Adalbert the Third, is honourably mentioned; and it might be reaſonably expected, that ſome hint ſhould have been given of his lineal deſcent from the Tuſcan princes, whoſe names and actions had been already celebrated in the hiſtory of Liutprand. Nor can the order of time, that infallible touchſtone of truth, be eaſily reconciled with the hypotheſis of Leibnitz. Guido, Marquis of Tuſcany, was the third huſband of the inſatiate Marozia: her ſecond was killed in the year nine hundred and twenty-five; and ten or twelve months muſt be granted for the ſhorteſt widowhood, the term of pregnancy, and the birth of her ſon Adalbert. No more than thirty-ſix years after his birth, *his* ſon, the Marquis Otbert, appears in the world as a ſtateſman and a patriot. Such a precipitate ſucceſſion, which crowds two generations into one, is repugnant to the whole experience of ages: a fact ſo ſtrange and improbable could only be forced on our belief by the abſolute power of poſitive and authentic evidence.

In this enquiry, I ſhould diſdain to be influenced by any partial regard for the intereſt or honour of the Houſe of Brunſwick: but I can reſign, without a ſigh, the hypotheſis of Leibnitz, which might ſeem to exhibit the *nominal* rather than the *natural* anceſtors of the ſon of Guido. This doubtful expreſſion is not founded on the abſurd and malicious fable, that the two laſt Marquiſſes of Tuſcany were ſtolen, in their infancy, from an obſcure, and perhaps a plebeian origin: Berta was their genuine mother; and their pedigree would not be tainted

tainted with ſuſpicion, if the right of the father could be aſcertained with the ſame clearneſs and certainty. But in theſe barbarous times, the valour of the men appears to have been maintained with more high and jealous care than the chaſtity of the women; and ſuch was the peculiar infelicity of the Marquis Guido, that his wife, his mother, and his two grandmothers, are all accuſed, in their reſpective generations, of a ſlight, or ſcandalous deviation from the line of virtue. In the Pontifical Epiſtles, the wife of Adalbert I. is branded with the opprobrious name of Adultereſs; and without inſiſting on the Pope's infallibility, it may be fairly urged, that as the character of a public robber was applied to the ſacrilegious enemy of Rome, the vices of Rotilda muſt have afforded ſome ground, or colour for private reproach. The mother of Berta, the famous Valdrada, long fluctuated between the ſtate of a wife and the ſhame of a concubine. She might be innocent in the judgment of conſcience and reaſon; but her pretended marriage with Lothair, king of Lorraine, was repeatedly annulled by the ſentence of the Roman Pontiff. By an obſtinate reſiſtance, her fame might have been preſerved: a falſe and fruitleſs penitence could only aggravate her ſin; and ſhe became alike guilty in the eyes of the Church and of the Public, when ſhe continued to dwell in the embraces of her lover, after a lawful Queen had been reſtored to the honours of his throne and bed. The pleaſures of Berta were ſubſervient to her ambition; and Adalbert the Second appears to have been endowed with the patient virtues of a huſband. By the liberal freedom with which ſhe imparted to the nobles of Tuſcany every gift in her power to beſtow, the Dutcheſs ſecured their grateful attachment in the hour of danger; and at the age of threeſcore, ſhe might be juſtly vain that her favours were precious, her lovers fond, her friends and clients ſtill mindful of their paſt obligations. As the infidelity of Hermenegarda could ſully only the blood of another family, it is almoſt needleſs to mention that the daughter of Berta moſt faithfully copied the example of her mother. But the ſatirical eloquence of Liutprand is unable to paint the vices of Marozia, wife of the Marquis Guido: "From her early youth," (exclaims the Biſhop,) "ſhe had been inflamed by all the fires of Venus; and again and "again did ſhe exact from her lovers the payment of their debts." Her family was powerful at Rome: by the corruption of Marozia, of her mother, and of her ſiſter, the Church and State were polluted and oppreſſed: their favourites, and their children, were ſucceſſively promoted to the throne of St. Peter; and in the ſpiritual Babylon, the city of the Seven Hills, a more inquiſitive age would have detected the ſcarlet whore of the

Revelations. The ſon of Marozia, the grandſon of Berta, and the great-grandſon of Rotilda, might be perplexed in the diſcovery or the choice of his true progenitors.

The hypotheſis, that Adalbert III. was the ſon of the Marquis Guido, will not endure the teſt of a critical enquiry: but I am diſpoſed to embrace the general opinion of Leibnitz and Muratori, and to believe with them, that the families of Eſte and Brunſwick are deſcended from a younger branch of the Houſe of Tuſcany. A charter commemorates the name of Boniface, ſon of Adalbert I., and brother of Adalbert II.: his exiſtence is certain; his marriage probable; and, according to the cuſtom of nations, the reſpectable name of a grandfather and uncle would be naturally repeated in the perſon of his ſon. In the laſt years of the ninth century, we may fix the birth of Adalbert III. who will ſtand, in the correſponding degree, as the firſt couſin to the Marquis Guido: the order of nature will be reſtored, and in the ſucceeding generation a ſufficient ſpace will be left for the growth and maturity of Otbert I. By this early ſeparation from the original ſtem, we avoid the more ſcandalous vices of Berta and Marozia. The ſilence of Liutprand will no longer ſurprize or embarraſs the critic: Boniface and his ſon Adalbert the Third were neither the ſovereigns nor the heirs of Tuſcany: their private fortunes were leſs ſplendid, and more ſecure, than thoſe of the Marquiſſes, their elder kinſmen; and their names, not conſpicuous, perhaps, by crimes or virtues, might eſcape the memory or the pen of the general hiſtorian. As the objections diminiſh, the preſumptive proofs of a connection between the Houſes of Tuſcany and Eſte leave a deeper impreſſion on the mind. The repetition of the name of Adalbert has already been noticed as a family feature. In the kingdom, the name of Adalbert was leſs rare, however, than the title of Marquis, of ſuch recent uſe and ſuch local application, but which was uniformly uſed, from the tenth to the fifteenth century, as their hereditary and proper ſtyle, by the Princes of Eſte. The military governors, who commanded on the Alpine or Greek limits, do not ſuggeſt any traces of conformity; and our ignorance of the province which was ruled by Adalbert III., and his immediate deſcendants, will be tempted to believe, that the vague appellation of Marquis, which was common to all, might be cheriſhed by their vanity, as a perpetual attribute and memorial of the long-loſt dominion of Tuſcany. But the circumſtance of the cleareſt and moſt ſubſtantial preſumption ariſes from the rent-roll of their ancient eſtates, which were ſpread over the heart of Tuſcany, the counties

of

of Lucca and Luna, and even the Iſle of Corſica, a remote dependance of the government of Boniface II. Tradition has preſerved the name and limits of the *Terra Obertenga*, ſo often cited in old charters as the lands of the Marquis Otbert I.; and if he received them from his father, it will not be difficult to ſuppoſe that they were originally granted to Boniface III., as the portion or patrimony of a younger brother. The perfect and eaſy coalition of the Marquiſſes of Tuſcany and Eſte is reſiſted only by a ſingle obſtacle; and the reſiſtance is leſs inſuperable than it may appear at the firſt glance: the former adhered to the law and nation of the Bavarians, whilſt the nation and law of the Lombards was profeſſed by the latter. But we muſt not forget, that in the barbaric juriſprudence of Europe, a national character might be either conveyed by deſcent, or adopted by choice; and that each family, each individual, might ſelect and renounce the name and inſtitutions of theſe political ſects. The Bavarians, a minute colony, were almoſt inviſible in the mighty kingdom of the Lombards: their decreaſing numbers could not ſecure a regular ſupply of judges and witneſſes: an Italian prince would be deſirous of obliterating the remembrance of his foreign origin, and the ſmaller rivulets were gradually loſt in the maſter-ſtream. Such a change of law and nation is agreeable to reaſon and practice; but in this particular inſtance, it may not be preſumed, it cannot be proved; and the objection muſt be allowed to counterbalance ſome grains of probability in the oppoſite ſcale.

SECTION II.

A JUDICIOUS critic may approve the Tuſcan deſcent of the families of Eſte and Brunſwick; but a ſincere hiſtorian will pronounce, that the Marquis Adalbert is their firſt unqueſtionable anceſtor; that he flouriſhed in Lombardy or Tuſcany in the beginning of the tenth century; that his character and actions are buried in oblivion; and that his name and title alone can be placed at the head of an illuſtrious pedigree.

This pedigree is animated by his ſon the Marquis Otbert I., and his life is connected with the revolutions of Italy. If the records of the times were more numerous, they might confirm the probability of his deſcent from the Marquiſſes of Tuſcany, ſince the earlieſt date of his name and honours coincides with the fall of their oppreſſors, and the firſt year, or even month of

a new reign. The tyrant Hugh had fled beyond the Alps, loaded with the curſes and treaſures of the Italians: his ſon Lothair, a feeble youth, had paſſed away like a ſhadow, and after a vacancy of twenty-four days, the Marquis Berengarius, grandſon to the Emperor of the ſame name, was exalted to the throne. A grant of four caſtles was made to the Biſhop of Modena; and in the original deed of gift the new monarch is pleaſed to declare, that the advice and requeſt of his truſty and well-beloved the Marquis Otbert had moved him to this act of liberality or devotion. His power at court may be aſcribed to the recent merits of the election; and the advocate on the behalf of others would not be mute or unſucceſsful in his own cauſe. Of the favours which he received, or of the ſervices which he performed, I am alike ignorant: but at the end of nine years, the counſellor and favourite of Berengarius was transformed into a fugitive and a rebel, who eſcaped to the Saxon court, inflamed the ambition of Otho, and ſoon returned with an army of Germans, to dethrone a ſovereign, perhaps a benefactor, of his own choice. His conduct appears, at the firſt glance, to be tainted with ingratitude and treaſon; and his guilt may be aggravated by the reflexion, that he impoſed a foreign yoke on his country, and prepared the long calamities of tyranny and faction. At the diſtance of eight centuries, I ſhall not vindicate the pure and rigid patriotiſm of the father of the Houſe of Brunſwick. According to the experience of human nature, we may calculate a hundred, nay a thouſand chances, againſt the public virtues of a ſtateſman: the Marquis viewed the King of Italy, firſt as an equal, and afterwards as an enemy; and in the looſe governments of the feudal ſyſtem, the duties of allegiance were proudly violated by the members of an armed and lawleſs ariſtocracy.

Yet our imperfect view of the hiſtory of the times will afford ſome apology, and may allow ſome praiſe for the flight and rebellion of Marquis Otbert. 1. The patriot who, in the cauſe of political freedom, is falſe to gratitude and honour, offends againſt the natural feelings of mankind; but if thoſe feelings are violated by a tyrant, they applaud the ſword of the rebel, or even the dagger of the conſpirator. Berengarius was a bad ſubject, and a worſe prince: and the moſt oppoſite vices were reconciled in the diſſolute and flagitious character of his wife Villa. From the revenge or juſtice of his predeceſſor, he had been ſaved by the blind humanity of Lothair the ſon of Hugh, who cheriſhed the faithleſs enemy of his crown and life. His ſuſpicious death was followed by the perſecution

ſecution of his widow Adelais, the ſiſter of the King of Burgundy. At the age of eighteen a beautiful and innocent Princeſs was ſtripped of her land, her jewels, and her apparel, expoſed to the brutal repetition of blows and inſults, and caſt into a ſubterraneous dungeon, where ſhe endured, above four months, the laſt extremities of diſtreſs and hunger. A pleaſing and pathetic tale might be formed of her miraculous eſcape with a damſel and a prieſt; of their concealment among the ruſhes of the Lake Benacus, where they were ſupported many days by the charity of a fiſherman; and of her reſcue by a generous knight, who conducted the Princeſs to his impregnable fortreſs of Canoſſa, and defied the vengeance of the King of Italy. The romance would conclude with the arrival of a victorious lover, a royal deliverer: the nuptials of Otho and Adelais were celebrated at Pavia, and her ſingular adventures were a prelude to the future glories of the Empreſs and the Saint. The arms of Otho had been ſeconded by the revolt of the Italians; but in this revolt the name of Otbert is not mentioned; and we ſhould rather accuſe than admire the patient loyalty of the Marquis. Before he renounced his obedience and gratitude, the unrepenting tyrant had accompliſhed the meaſure of his ſins; the Church and State, the rich and the poor, were the indiſcriminate victims of the cruelty and avarice of Berengarius. 2. In his firſt victorious expedition, the prudence or magnanimity of Otho had declined the rigour of abſolute conqueſt, and was content to be ſtyled the Protector of an injured nation. A proſtrate enemy was ſpared and forgiven: after waiting three days before the palace gates, Berengarius was admitted to the royal preſence, and the golden ſceptre of the kingdom of Italy was again delivered to his hands. But he pronounced an oath of fidelity, a ſolemn engagement, that he would be ready, in council and in the field, to obey the commands of his ſovereign, and that he would govern his people with more equity and mildneſs than he had hitherto diſplayed. By this unequal treaty, the right of Otho was eſtabliſhed, to judge and puniſh the crimes of his feudatory: the Marquis Otbert is no longer a rebel, who ſolicits the aid of a foreign Prince, and all the vaſſals of Italy might lawfully appeal from their immediate to their ſupreme lord. 3. The appeal was urged by the moſt reſpectable deputies of the Church and State, and their voice was the voice of the kingdom of Italy. The Roman Pontiff diſpatched his apoſtolical legates to complain of the temporal and ſpiritual wrongs which St. Peter and St. Paul had long ſuffered from the tyranny of Berengarius. An Archbiſhop of Milan ſtood before the King of Germany, to deliver the

ſentiments of the oppreſſed clergy. The *illuſtrious* Marquis Otbert (I copy the words of the hiſtorian) ſpoke in the name and in the cauſe of his peers; and the powers of theſe ambaſſadors were ratified by the ſecret letters and meſſengers of almoſt all the Counts and Biſhops of Italy. 4. In the ſecond, as in the firſt expedition, Otho yielded to the call of juſtice and freedom: but in the paſſes of the Trentine Alps, his march was ſtopped a day and a night by the ſeeming oppoſition of ſixty thouſand Italians. The ſuſpicions of Berengarius had been appeaſed by their ready obedience to his ſummons; and in this martial aſſembly they were the maſters of the throne and the repreſentatives of the people. A temperate negociation was, however, propoſed: the timely abdication of the father might have ſoftened their hatred; and they had conſented to acquieſce under the government of his ſon Adalbert. The obſtinate deſpair of the old King provoked them to abjure his name and family: they ſheathed their ſwords, and opened their gates: a hundred banners waved round the royal ſtandard of Saxony: the deliverer was ſaluted King of Italy, and he received the *Iron Crown* in the cathedral of Milan. The Pope confirmed the revolution; and after a vacancy of twenty-eight years, the title of Emperor of Romans was revived in the perſon of Otho the Great. 5. The benefits or miſchiefs which might ariſe from the union of Italy and Germany could be decided only by experience; nor could the foreſight of the Marquis Otbert anticipate the experience of three hundred years. It was enough for a mortal ſtateſman to obey the wiſhes, and conſult the happineſs, of the preſent generation, by placing in the hands of wiſdom and power the ſceptre of the Italian kingdom.

In one of the annual odes which ſtill adorn or diſgrace the birth-days of our Britiſh King, the Laureat, with ſome degree of courtly, and even poetic art, has introduced the founder of the Brunſwick race:

> "When Otbert left the Italian plain,
> "And ſoft Ateſte's green domain,
> "Attendant on Imperial ſway,
> "Where Fame and Otho led the way,
> "The Genius of the Julian Hills,
> "(Whoſe piny ſummits nod with ſnow,
> "Whoſe Naiads pour their thouſand rills,
> "To ſwell th' exulting Po,)
> "An eager look prophetic caſt,
> "And hail'd the hero as he paſs'd."

By a lofty prediction of fame and empire, this benevolent genius exalts the courage of the hero, and diſplays the future greatneſs of his poſterity, from the nuptials of Azo, to the ſucceſſion of Britiſh kings :

" Proceed. Rejoice. Deſcend the vale,
" And bid the future monarchs hail!
" Hail, all hail, the hero cried,
" And Echo, on her airy tide,
" Purſu'd him, murmuring, down the mountain's ſide."

I ſhall not preſume to enquire whether ſuch diſtinct and diſtant views of futurity may not ſurpaſs the preſcience of a mountain god: but I am compelled to vindicate my own accuracy, by obſerving ſome geographical and hiſtorical errors of the mortal bard. The poſſeſſions of Otbert were not ſituate in the Venetian plain, but among the mountains of Tuſcany; and we ſhall ſoon diſcover, that the green domain of Eſte, or Ateſte, was acquired by the marriage of his grandſon. In his attendance, " where Fame and " Otho led the way," he would have paſſed, not the Julian, but the Rhætian Alps; he muſt have followed the high road of Verona and Trent, the great and cuſtomary paſſage between Italy and Germany. The name of the Julian Alps is confined to a low range of hills, ſoon bounded by the north eaſtern extremity of the Adriatic, and which oppoſed, in the tenth century, a feeble barrier to the inroads of the wild Hungarians. The ſtreams which iſſue from thoſe hills are loſt in the ſea, or intercepted by the neighbouring rivers; and of their thouſand rills, not a drop can be mingled with the waters of the Po. Even the motive and the date of the paſſage of Otbert are wantonly corrupted. The patriot, entruſted with the cauſe of Italy, is degraded into an adventurer, who ſeeks his fortune in the Emperor's ſervice: and he bids an everlaſting farewell to the country which he was moſt impatient to reviſit and deliver. The poet may deviate from the truth of hiſtory, but every deviation ought to be compenſated by the ſuperior beauties of fancy and fiction.

Among the followers of his triumphal car, the ſervants of his fortune, Otho could diſtinguiſh the patriot fugitives who had riſqued their lives and eſtates to aſſert his rights, and the freedom of Italy. The moſt illuſtrious of theſe, the Marquis Otbert, was rewarded with riches and honours; and there is ſome reaſon to believe that his vague title was applied to the province of Liguria, which, according to the Roman geography, included the

cities

cities of Milan and Genoa. But the deſcendant of Adalbert I. might advance an equitable, though not a legal claim, to the Duchy of Tuſcany: and ſome ſuſpicion will taint the pedigree of a favourite, who neglects to aſk, or fails to obtain, the reſtitution of a patrimonial dignity. Our ſurpriſe will be increaſed and removed by the diſcovery of the ſame fact. Hugh, King of Italy, had granted the Tuſcan Duchy, firſt to his brother, and then to his baſtard; it was inherited by the ſon of that baſtard; and ſucceeding monarchs, the tyrant Berengarius, and the German Otho, reſpected the poſſeſſion of theſe fallen and unpopular princes. So ſtrange an indulgence muſt have been founded on ſome ſecret, but powerful motive; and the ſame motive, could it now be revealed, might explain either the modeſt indifference, or the unavailing requeſt, of Otbert himſelf. But the Marquis (ſhall I ſay?) of Liguria was inveſted with an office far more worthy of his abilities, and far more expreſſive of the royal confidence. The Count of the ſacred palace was the prime miniſter of the kingdom of Italy; and it was obſerved, in claſſic ſtyle, that the Dukes, the Marquiſſes, and the Counts ſubmitted to the pre-eminence of his conſular Faſces. In an age, when every magiſtrate was a noble, and every noble was a ſoldier, the Count Palatine often aſſumed the command of armies; but in his proper ſtation, he repreſented the judicial character of the Emperor, and pronounced a definitive ſentence, as the judge of all civil and criminal appeals. The city of Pavia, and the caſtle of Lomello, were his ordinary reſidence: but he viſited the provinces in frequent circuits, and all local or ſubordinate juriſdiction was ſuſpended in his preſence. This important office was exerciſed above twelve years by the Marquis Otbert: the public acts, the few that have eſcaped, announce the proceedings of his tribunal at Lucca, Verona, &c.; and he continued to deſerve and enjoy the favour of the Emperor. If, in the decline of life, the laſſitude of camps and courts had tempted him to ſeek a cool and independent ſolitude, I ſhould praiſe the temper of the philoſopher; but the firmeſt minds are enſlaved by the prejudices of the times, and the retreat of Otbert was inſpired by the baſeſt ſuperſtition. Under the monaſtic habit, in a Benedictine abbey which he had richly endowed, the Marquis laboured to expiate the ſins of his ſecular life. Pride and ambition are the vices of the world: humility is the firſt virtue of a monk; and the deſcendant of princes, the favourite of kings, the judge of nations, was conſpicuous among his brethren in the daily labour of collecting and feeding the hogs of the monaſtery. His ſanctity was applauded: but if he liſtened to that ap-

plauſe,

plauſe, the penitent was entangled in a more ſubtle ſnare of the dæmon of vanity.

After the reſignation of the Count Palatine, his office was given to favour or merit: but his patrimonial eſtates were inherited by the Marquis Otbert, who can only be diſtinguiſhed by the epithet of the Second, from the ſimilar name and title of his father. The life of the ſecond Otbert was tranquil or obſcure: he was rich in lands, in vaſſals, and in four valiant ſons, Azo, Hugh, Adalbert, and Guido: but their valour embittered his old age, and involved the family in treaſon and diſgrace. The reigns of the three Othos, a period of forty years, had been a tranſient ſeaſon of proſperity and peace. But on the failure of their direct line, the Germans maintained their right of conqueſt, the Italians revived the claim of independence, and both were ambitious and reſolute to eſtabliſh a king of their own nation and choice. The princes and lords of Italy were all of barbaric origin; but as it happens, in the progreſs of nobility, the ſtrangers of the ſecond were deſpiſed by thoſe of the third or fourth generation: and the old ſettlers, who could boaſt ſome ages of uſurpation, eſteemed themſelves the ancient natives, the true proprietors of the ſoil. In the hoſtile diets of Mentz and Pavia, two hoſtile kings were elected, Henry the Saxon, and Arduin the Lombard; and they diſputed the Iron Crown in a civil, or rather a ſocial war, of ten years. The German invaders were long checked, and ſometimes defeated, in the paſſes of the Alps: but their ſtrength and numbers finally prevailed. The fortunate Henry obtained the title of Emperor, and afterwards of Saint; Arduin was degraded and ſaved by the monaſtic habit: and his adherents were pardoned or puniſhed, according to the meaſure of their guilt or power. Among theſe adherents, the firſt to erect the ſtandard, and the laſt to bow the knee, were the Marquis Otbert II., his four ſons, and his grandſon Azo II., the immediate founder of the lines of Brunſwick and Eſte. The diſtance of their fields of battle may prove the extent of their influence, and the obſtinacy of their ſtruggle; they made a vigorous ſtand in the neighbourhood of Pavia, they raiſed a dangerous inſurrection at Rome, and they were vanquiſhed and made priſoners in the plains of Apulia. A judicial act recites their crimes, and pronounces their condemnation. The ſix Marquiſſes were convicted, by the law of the Lombards, of conſpiring againſt the king's life: and ſuch conſpiracy was puniſhed, according to the ſame law, with confiſcation and death. Their collateral offences, murder, rapine, and ſacrilege, are the inevitable conſequences of civil war: but the violation of ſome oath which had been

been extorted in the hour of diſtreſs, expoſed them to the more ignominious reproach of treaſon and perjury. Yet their lives were ſpared by the clemency of the pious Emperor: the portion of their lands which had been dedicated to pious uſes, he could not reſtore; but he generouſly forgave the ample forfeiture which had devolved to the ſtate: and when they reſumed their ſeats in the aſſembly of the peers, they profeſſed themſelves the grateful and loyal ſervants of their benefactor.

But as the Saxon Henry left neither children nor kinſmen to inherit their obedience and gratitude, the ſons of Otbert II. uſed, or abuſed their freedom, and again oppoſed the election of Conrad the Firſt, emperor of the Franconian line. In the hope of foreign aid they offered the iron crown, and promiſed the Roman Empire, to Robert king of France: and the Marquis Hugo, the ſecond brother, was intruſted with this important embaſſy: but the ſon of Hugh Capet was of an inactive temper: his new kingdom was unſettled; and with his approbation, the Italian deputies transferred their offer to William of Aquitain, a vaſſal not leſs powerful than his ſovereign. The Duke of Aquitain behaved on this momentous occaſion with a juſt temperance of courage and diſcretion. He accepted the crown for his family, proteſting that under his reign Italy ſhould enjoy ſuch days as ſhe had never known. His foremoſt troops were diſpatched beyond the Alps, and he viſited Rome under the pretence of a pilgrimage. But on a nearer proſpect of the ſcene, the Duke of Aquitain was ſatisfied that he could neither encounter his antagoniſt, nor confide in his party. The temporal peers were inclined to his cauſe, but the Archbiſhop of Milan, and the moſt important prelates, had been promoted by the Houſe of Saxony: they were ſteady to the German intereſt; and William rejected the ſole effectual meaſure, that of filling their vacant ſeats with his own eccleſiaſtics. He prudently withdrew from the unequal and ruinous conteſt. In a farewell epiſtle, he acknowledges the truth and conſtancy of *one* Italian lord, and this ſingular expreſſion involves the ſons of Otbert in the national reproach of levity or falſehood. During his embaſſy in France, the Marquis Hugo had been preſſed by the monks of Tours to reſtore ſome abbey lands which he had uſurped in the neighbourhood of Milan. At the diſtance of ſix hundred years and ſix hundred miles, that ſuperſtitious rebel was ſubdued by the apprehenſion of the vengeance of St. Martin.

By ſuch exploits the memory, or at leaſt the names of the four ſons of Otbert II. has been preſerved from oblivion. Azo I. the eldeſt brother, propagated the race;

race; and by his firſt marriage with the niece of Hugo, Marquis of Tuſcany, that chief acquired a rich patrimony, and a commanding influence in the Venetian province. The character of Hugo, his power, and his long reign, had given him a reſpectable place among the princes of the times: but the title of *Great*, the title of Alexander, Pompey, and Charlemagne, becomes ridiculous when it is neceſſary to aſk, and difficult to find, the reaſon of the appellation. From the upper to the lower ſea, his command extended over the middle regions of Italy: with the right he graſped the Duchy of Tuſcany, with the left that of Spoleto; till on the voluntary or compulſive reſignation of the latter, he contracted his domain within the limits of hereditary ſway. In the exerciſe of arms Hugo was ſtrong and fortunate, and in the ſiege and chaſtiſement of Capua he appeared with dignity as the miniſter of imperial juſtice; but the ſame ſword might be turned againſt his ſovereign; and Otho III. is ſaid to have betrayed a ſecret ſatisfaction when death delivered him from ſo formidable a vaſſal. Far different were the feelings of the clergy and people of Tuſcany. The former bewailed an humble votary and a liberal benefactor; a convent at Florence, in which his tomb has been long ſhewn, is one of the ſeven monaſteries which he richly endowed with lands, ſlaves, and gold and ſilver plate, for the ſervice of the altar. In the opinion of the age theſe virtues were more pleaſing in the eye of the deity, than the juſtice and humanity which he diſplayed in his temporal adminiſtration. The Marquis of Tuſcany loved praiſe, and hated flattery: a nice touchſtone which diſcriminates vanity from the love of fame. In the chaſe, on a march, he often rode away from his attendants; viſited the cottages; converſed with the peaſants and paſſengers, to whom his perſon was unknown; queſtioned them freely concerning the character and government of their prince; and enjoyed the ſincere and ſimple effuſions of their gratitude and veneration. The birth of Hugo may at once be ſtiled baſe and illuſtrious; ſince he was the doubtful offſpring of the baſtard ſon of the King of Italy of the ſame name; but his life was deemed of ſuch importance to mankind, that the knowledge of its approaching term was communicated from heaven to earth by a ſpecial revelation. After his deceaſe, the Dutchy of Tuſcany was delegated to a ſtranger; but a female might ſucceed to his private eſtates; and his ſiſter had married Peter Candianus the Fourth, Doge or Duke of Venice, of his name and family. In that early period of the republic the magiſtrates were arbitrary and feeble, and the elective Dukes were alternately the tyrants and victims of a tumultuous democracy. By

this connection with the Tuſcan Marquis, the pride of Candianus was elated: he aſſumed the manners of a feudal lord; levied a body of Italians, and inſulted a free city with the arms and licentiouſneſs of his mercenary guard. A furious multitude encompaſſed his palace: the gates and the ſoldiers reſiſted their aſſault: they fired the adjacent houſes, and in the attempt to eſcape, the Duke and his infant ſon were tranſpierced with a thouſand wounds. Such ſcenes were then frequent at Venice: they may reconcile our minds to the ſilent and rigid order of the modern ariſtocracy. The duties of the widow of Peter Candianus were to revenge an huſband, and to educate a daughter of the ſame name, as her own. The daughter, Valdrada, became the wife of the Marquis Albert-Azo the Firſt; and it is apparent from the date of the birth of their eldeſt ſon, Albert-Azo II. that theſe nuptials were conſummated in the lifetime, and approved by the conſent of a wealthy and childleſs uncle, who could only hope to live in the poſterity of his niece.

The north-eaſtern region of Italy, which began to be vivified by the riſing induſtry and ſplendour of Venice, extends from the ſhores of the Adriatic to the foot of the Alps. Had experience confirmed the prolific virtues of the climate; did the Venetian hens lay one or two eggs every day; did the ewes drop their lambs twice or thrice in a year; were the women delivered of two or three infants at a birth, the land muſt ſoon be over-ſtocked and exhauſted. After tranſlating the Greek fables into ſimple truth, we ſhall ſtill acknowledge one of the moſt pleaſant and plentiful regions of Italy, a ſoil productive of graſs, corn and vines, a generous breed of horſes, and innumerable flocks of ſheep, more precious by the fineneſs of their wool. Padua, the firſt of the fifty cities of Venetia, had been ſo often trampled by the paſſage of the barbarians, that few veſtiges remained of the ancient ſplendour, which, in the tide of human affairs, ſhe afterwards recovered and ſurpaſſed. Fifteen miles to the ſouth of Padua, Albert-Azo the Firſt fixed his permanent and principal ſeat, in the caſtle and town of Ateſte, or *Eſte*, formerly a Roman colony of ſome note: and by an harmleſs anticipation we may apply to his deſcendants the title of Marquis of Eſte; which they did not however aſſume till the end of the twelfth century. From Eſte their new eſtates, the inheritance of Hugo the Great, extended to the Adege, the Po, and the Mincius. Their farms and cattle were ſcattered over the plain: many of the heights, Montagnana, Monſelice, &c. were occupied by their forts and garriſons; and they poſſeſſed a

valuable tract of marſh land, the iſland (as it may be ſtyled) of Rovigo, which almoſt reaches to the gates of Ferrara. The firſt ſtep in the emigrations of the family was from the neighbourhood of the Tuſcan, to that of the Adriatic ſea.

The name and character of the Marquis, Albert-Azo the Second, ſhine conſpicuous through the gloom of the eleventh century. The moſt remarkable features in the portrait are, 1. His Ligurian marquiſate. 2. His riches. 3. His long life. 4. His marriages. 5. His rank of nobility in the public opinion. The glory of his deſcendants is reflected on the founder; and Azo II. claims our attention as the ſtem of the two great branches of the pedigree; as the common father of the Italian and German princes of the kindred lines of Eſte and Brunſwick.

1. The fair conjecture that the two Otberts, the father and ſon, commanded at Milan and Genoa with the title and office of Marquis, acquires a new degree of probability for Azo I. and aſcends to the level of hiſtoric truth in the perſon of Azo II. Before the middle of the eleventh century the ruins of Genoa had been reſtored; its active inhabitants excelled in the arts of navigation and trade: their arms had been felt on the African coaſt, and their credit was eſtabliſhed in the ports of Egypt and Greece. Their riches increaſed with their induſtry, and their liberty with their riches. Yet they continued to obey, or at leaſt to revere, the majeſty of the emperors. In an act, as it ſhould ſeem of the year one thouſand and forty-eight, the Marquis Albert-Azo preſides at Genoa in a court of juſtice, and his aſſeſſors, the magiſtrates of the city, are proud to ſtyle themſelves the conſuls and judges of the ſacred palace. The royal dignity of Pavia was gradually eclipſed by the wealth and populouſneſs of Milan, the firſt of the Italian cities that dared to erect the ſtandard of independence. The government of Milan was divided between the two repreſentatives of St. Ambroſe and of Cæſar. The veneration of the flock for the ſhepherd was fortified by the temporal ſtate and privileges of the archbiſhop, and his annual revenue of fourſcore thouſand pieces of gold ſupplied an ample fund for benevolence or luxury. The civil and military powers were exerciſed by the Duke or Marquis of Milan (for theſe titles were promiſcuouſly uſed), and the voice of tradition is clear and poſitive that this hereditary office was veſted in the anceſtors of the houſe of Eſte. Some of the prerogatives which they aſſumed are expreſſive of the rigour of the feudal ſyſtem: they were the heirs of all who died childleſs and inteſtate, and a fine was paid on the birth of

each infant who defeated their claim: their officers levied a tax on the markets, and their minute inquiſition exacted the firſt loaf of bread from each oven, and the firſt log of wood from every cart-load that entered the gates. Yet an old hiſtorian, more forcibly affected with the calamities of his own days, deplores the long loſt felicity of their golden age, which had been equally praiſed by the bleſſings of the feeble and the curſes of the ſtrong. They drew their ſwords for the ſervice of the prince and people, but their reign was diſtinguiſhed by long intervals of proſperity and peace. The diſtant poſſeſſions and various avocations of the Duke or Marquis often diverted him from the exerciſe of this municipal truſt: his powers were devolved on the viſcounts and captains of Milan; theſe ſubordinate tyrants formed an alliance, or rather conſpiracy, with the *valvaſſors*, or nobles of the firſt claſs; and the people was afflicted by the diſcord or the union of a lawleſs oligarchy. A private inſult exaſperated the patience of the plebeians: they roſe in arms, and their numbers and fury prevailed in the bloody conteſt. The captains and nobles retired; but they retired with a ſpirit of revenge; collected their vaſſals and peaſants of the adjacent country; encompaſſed the city with a circumvallation of ſix fortreſſes, and in a ſiege or blockade of three years reduced the inhabitants to the laſt extremes of famine and diſtreſs. By the interpoſition of the Emperor and the Archbiſhop the peace of Milan was reſtored: the factions were reconciled: they wiſely refuſed a garriſon of four thouſand Germans; but they acquieſced in the civil government of the empire. The Marquis again aſcended his tribunal, and that Marquis is Albert-Azo the Second. A judicial act of the year one thouſand and forty-five atteſts his title and juriſdiction; and as the repreſentative of the Emperor, he impoſes a fine of a thouſand pieces of gold. The progreſs of Italian liberty reduced his office to the empty name of Marquis of Liguria, and ſuch he is ſtyled by the hiſtorians of the age. In the next century, his grandſon, Obizo I. is inveſted by the Emperor Frederic I. with the honours of Marquis of Milan and Genoa, as his grandfather Azo held them of the empire; but this ſplendid grant commemorates the dignity, without reviving the power, of the Houſe of Eſte.

2. Like one of his Tuſcan anceſtors, Azo the Second was diſtinguiſhed among the princes of Italy by the epithet of the *Rich*. The particulars of his rent-roll cannot now be aſcertained: an occaſional, though authentic deed of inveſtiture, enumerates eighty-three fiefs or manors which he held of the empire in Lombardy and Tuſcany, from the marquiſate of Eſte to

the county of Luni: but to theſe poſſeſſions muſt be added the lands which he enjoyed as the vaſſal of the church, the ancient patrimony of Otbert (the *Terra Obertenga)* in the counties of Arezzo, Piſa, and Lucca, and the marriage portion of his firſt wife, which, according to the various readings of the manuſcripts, may be computed either at twenty, or at two hundred thouſand Engliſh acres. If ſuch a maſs of landed property were now accumulated on the head of an Italian nobleman, the annnal revenue might ſatisfy the largeſt demands of private luxury or avarice, and the fortunate owner would be rich in the improvement of agriculture, the manufactures of induſtry, the refinement of taſte, and the extent of commerce. But the barbariſm of the eleventh century diminiſhed the income, and aggravated the expence, of the Marquis of Eſte. In a long ſeries of war and anarchy, man and the works of man had been ſwept away; and the introduction of each ferocious and idle ſtranger had been over-balanced by the loſs of five or ſix perhaps of the peaceful induſtrious natives. The miſchievous growth of vegetation, the frequent inundations of the rivers, were no longer checked by the vigilance of labour; the face of the country was again covered with foreſts and moraſſes; of the vaſt domains which acknowledged Azo for their lord, the far greater part was abandoned to the wild beaſts of the field, and a much ſmaller portion was reduced to the ſtate of conſtant and productive huſbandry. An adequate rent may be obtained from the ſkill and ſubſtance of a free tenant, who fertilizes a grateful ſoil, and enjoys the ſecurity and benefit of a long leaſe. But faint is the hope, and ſcanty is the produce of thoſe harveſts, which are raiſed by the reluctant toil of peaſants and ſlaves, condemned to a bare ſubſiſtence, and careleſs of the intereſts of a rapacious maſter. If his granaries are full, his purſe is empty; and the want of cities or commerce, the difficulty of finding or reaching a market, obliges him to conſume on the ſpot a part of his uſeleſs ſtock, which cannot be exchanged for merchandize or money. The member of a well-regulated ſociety is defended from private wrongs by the laws, and from public injuries by the arms of the ſtate; and the tax which he pays is a juſt equivalent for the protection which he receives. But the guard of his life, his honour, and his fortune was abandoned to the private ſword of a feudal chief; and if his own temper had been inclined to moderation and patience, the public contempt would have rouſed him to deeds of violence and revenge. The entertainment of his vaſſals and ſoldiers, their pay and rewards, their arms and horſes, ſurpaſſed the meaſure of the moſt oppreſſive

preſſive tribute, and the deſtruction which he inflicted on his neighbours was often retaliated on his own lands. The coſtly elegance of palaces and gardens was ſuperſeded by the laborious and expenſive conſtruction of ſtrong caſtles, on the ſummits of the moſt inacceſſible rocks; and ſome of theſe, like the fortreſs of Canoſſa in the Appenine, were built and provided to ſuſtain a three years ſiege againſt a royal army. But his defence in this world was leſs burthenſome to a wealthy lord than his ſalvation in the next: the demands of his chapel, his prieſts, his alms, his offerings, his pilgramages, were inceſſantly renewed; the monaſtery choſen for his ſepulchre was endowed with his faireſt poſſeſſions, and the naked heir might often complain, that his father's ſins had been redeemed at too high a price. The Marquis Azo was not exempt from the contagion of the times: his devotion was amuſed and inflamed by the frequent miracles which were performed in his preſence; and the monks of Vangadizza, who yielded to his requeſt the arm of a dead ſaint, were ignorant of the value of that ineſtimable jewel. After ſatisfying the demands of war and ſuperſtition, he might appropriate the reſt of his revenue to uſe and pleaſure. But the Italians of the eleventh century were imperfectly ſkilled in the liberal and mechanic arts: the objects of foreign luxury were furniſhed at an exorbitant price by the merchants of Piſa and Venice; and the ſuperfluous wealth, which could not purchaſe the real comforts of life, was idly waſted on ſome rare occaſions of vanity and pomp. Such were the nuptials of Boniface, Duke or Marquis of Tuſcany, whoſe family was long afterwards united with that of Azo, by the marriage of their children. Theſe nuptials were celebrated on the banks of the Mincius, which the fancy of Virgil has decorated with a more beautiful picture. The princes and people of Italy were invited to the feaſt, which continued three months: the fertile meadows, which are interſected by the ſlow and winding courſe of the river, were covered with innumerable tents, and the bridegroom diſplayed and diverſified the ſcenes of his proud and taſteleſs magnificence. All the utenſils of ſervice were of ſilver, and his horſes were ſhod with plates of the ſame metal, looſely nailed, and careleſsly dropped, to indicate his contempt of riches. An image of plenty and profuſion was expreſſed in the banquet: the moſt delicious wines were drawn in buckets from the well; and the ſpices of the Eaſt were ground in water-mills like common flour. The dramatic and muſical arts were in the rudeſt ſtate; but the Marquis had ſummoned the moſt popular ſingers, harpers, and buffoons, to exerciſe their talents on this ſplendid theatre. Their exhibitions were ap-

plauded, and they applauded the liberality of their patron. After this feſtival, I might remark a ſingular gift of the ſame Boniface to the Emperor Henry III., a chariot and oxen of ſolid ſilver, which were deſigned only as a vehicle for a hogſhead of vinegar. If ſuch an example ſhould ſeem above the imitation of Azo himſelf, the Marquis of Eſte was at leaſt ſuperior in wealth and dignity to the vaſſals of his compeer. One of theſe vaſſals, the Viſcount of Mantua, preſented the German monarch with one hundred falcons, and one hundred bay horſes, a grateful contribution to the pleaſures of a royal ſportſman. In that age, the proud diſtinction between the nobles and *princes* of Italy was guarded with jealous ceremony: the Viſcount of Mantua had never been ſeated at the table of his immediate lord: he yielded to the invitation of the Emperor; and a ſtag's ſkin, filled with pieces of gold, was graciouſly accepted by the Marquis of Tuſcany as the fine of his preſumption.

3. The temporal felicity of Azo was crowned by the long poſſeſſion of honours and riches: he died in the year one thouſand and ninety-ſeven, aged upwards of an hundred years; and the term of his mortal exiſtence was almoſt commenſurate with the lapſe of the eleventh century. The character, as well as the ſituation of the Marquis of Eſte, rendered him an actor in the revolutions of that memorable period: but time has caſt a veil over the virtues and vices of the man, and I muſt be content to mark ſome of the æras, the mile-ſtones of his life, which meaſure the extent and intervals of the vacant way. Albert-Azo the Second was no more than ſeventeen when he firſt drew the ſword of rebellion or patriotiſm, when he was involved with his grand-father, his father, and his three uncles, in a common proſcription. In the vigour of manhood, about his fiftieth year, the Ligurian Marquis governed the cities of Milan and Genoa, as the miniſter of Imperial authority. He was upwards of ſeventy when he paſſed the Alps to vindicate the inheritance of Maine for the children of his ſecond marriage. He became the friend and ſervant of Gregory VII., and in one of his epiſtles, that ambitious pontiff recommends the Marquis Azo as the moſt faithful and beſt beloved of the Italian princes; as the proper channel through which a king of Hungary might convey his petitions to the apoſtolic throne. In the mighty conteſt between the crown and the mitre, the Marquis Azo and the Counteſs Matilda led the powers of Italy, and when the ſtandard of St. Peter was diſplayed, neither the age of the one, nor the ſex of the other, could detain them from the field. With theſe two affectionate

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clients the Pope maintained his ſtation in the fortreſs of Canoſſa, while the Emperor, bareſoot on the frozen ground, faſted and prayed three days at the foot of the rock: they were witneſſes to the abject ceremony of the penance and pardon of Henry IV.; and in the triumph of the church, a patriot might foreſee the deliverance of Italy from the German yoke. At the time of this event the Marquis of Eſte was above fourſcore; but in the twenty following years he was ſtill alive and active amidſt the revolutions of peace and war. The laſt act which he ſubſcribed is dated above a century after his birth; and in that act the venerable chief poſſeſſes the command of his faculties, his family, and his fortune. In this rare prerogative of longevity Albert-Azo II. ſtands alone; nor can I recollect in the *authentic* annals of mortality a ſingle example of a king or prince, of a ſtateſman or general, of a philoſopher or poet, whoſe life has been extended beyond the period of an hundred years. Nor ſhould this obſervation, which is juſtified by univerſal experience, be thought either ſtrange or ſurpriſing. It has been found, that of twenty-four thouſand new-born infants, ſeven only will ſurvive to attain that diſtant term; and much ſmaller is the proportion of thoſe who will be raiſed by fortune or genius, to govern or afflict, or enlighten, their age or country. The chance that the ſame individual ſhould draw the two great prizes in the lottery of life, will not eaſily be defined by the powers of calculation. Three approximations, which will not haſtily be matched, have diſtinguiſhed the preſent century, Aurungzeb, Cardinal Fleury, and Fontenelle. Had a fortnight more been given to the philoſopher, he might have celebrated his ſecular feſtival; but the lives aad labours of the Mogul king and the French miniſter were terminated before they had accompliſhed their ninetieth year. A ſtrong conſtitution may be the gift of Nature; but the few who ſurvive their contemporaries muſt have been ſuperior to the paſſions and appetites which urge the ſpeedy decay and diſſolution of the mind and body. The Marquis of Eſte may be preſumed, from his riches and longevity, to have underſtood the œconomy of health and fortune.

4: I remember a Perſian tale of three old men, who were ſucceſſively queſtioned by a traveller as he met them on the road. The youngeſt brother, under the load of a wife and a numerous family, was ſinking into the grave before his time. The ſecond, though much older, was far leſs infirm and decrepid: he had been left a widower and without children. But the laſt and eldeſt of the three brothers ſtill preſerved, at an incredible age, the

the vigour and vivacity of the autumnal ſeaſon: he had always preferred a life of celibacy. The enjoyment of domeſtic freedom could not however contribute to the longevity of the Marquis Azo: he married three wives; he educated three ſons; and it is doubtful whether chance or prudence delayed his firſt nuptials till he had at leaſt accompliſhed the fortieth year of his age. Theſe nuptials were contracted with Cuniza, or Cunegonda, a German maid, whoſe anceſtors, by their nobility and riches, were diſtinguiſhed among the Suabian and Bavarian chiefs; whoſe brother was inveſted by the Emperor Henry III. with the Dutchy of Carinthia, and the Marquiſate of Verona, on the confines of the Venetian poſſeſſions of the Houſe of Eſte. The marriage of Azo and Cunegonda was productive of a ſon, who received at his baptiſm the name of GUELPH, to revive and perpetuate the memory of his uncle, his grandfather, and his firſt progenitors, on the maternal ſide. I have already defined the ample domain which was given as a marriage-portion to the daughter of the Guelphs: but on the failure of heirs male, her fortunate ſon inherited the patrimonial eſtates of the family, obtained the dukedom of Bavaria, and became the founder of the eldeſt, or German branch, of the Houſe of Eſte, from which the Dukes of Brunſwick, the Electors of Hanover, and the Kings of Great Britain, are lineally deſcended. After the deceaſe of Cunegonda, who muſt have departed this life in the flower of her age, the Marquis of Eſte ſolicited a ſecond alliance beyond the Alps: but his delicacy no longer inſiſted on the choice of a virgin; the widower was contented with a widow; and he excuſed the ambiguous ſtain which might adhere to his bride by a divorce from her firſt huſband. Her name was Garſenda, the daughter, and at length the heireſs of the Counts of Main. She became the mother of two ſons, Hugo and Fulk, and the younger of theſe is the acknowledged parent of the Dukes of Ferrara and Modena. The ſame liberal fortune which had crowned the offſpring of the firſt, ſeemed to attend the children of the ſecond nuptials of the Marquis Azo: but *their* fortune was hollow and fallacious, and after the loſs of their Gallic inheritance, the ſons of Garſenda reluctantly acquieſced in ſome fragments of their Italian patrimony. Matilda, the third wife of Azo, was another widow of noble birth, ſince ſhe was his own couſin in the fourth degree; but this conſanguinity provoked the ſtern and impartial juſtice of Gregory VII. His friend was ſummoned to appear before a ſynod at Rome: the inflexible prieſt pronounced a ſentence of divorce, and whatſoever idea may be formed of the Marquis's vigour, at the

the age of ſeventy-eight, he might ſubmit, without much effort, to the canons of the church. Beſides his three ſons, Azo had a daughter named Adelais, who was educated in the family of the Counteſs Matilda. But the damſel is only mentioned to atteſt the miraculous virtue of Anſelm Biſhop of Lucca: ſhe was relieved in the night from a violent fit of the cholic, by the local application of a pillow, on which the Saint had formerly repoſed his head.

V. A wealthy Marquis of the eleventh century muſt have commanded a proud hereditary rank in civil ſociety. In the judgment of the Pope, the Emperor, and the Public, Albert-Azo was diſtinguiſhed among the princes, and the firſt princes, of the kingdom of Italy. His double alliance in Germany and France may prove how much he was known and eſteemed among foreign nations; and he ſtrengthened his political importance by a domeſtic union with the conquerors of Apulia and Sicily. I ſhall not repeat the ſtory of the Norman adventurers, nor ſhall I again delineate the character and exploits of Robert Guiſcard, which, to the readers of the Hiſtory of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, are ſufficiently familiar. But as Duke Robert had four daughters, the choice of his other three ſons-in-law may ſerve as a teſt, a touchſtone, of the comparative weight and value of the Houſe of Eſte. Michael, Emperor of the Greeks, was the firſt name in the Chriſtian world. Raymond, Count of Barcelona, was the independent ſovereign of a warlike people; and the meaneſt of the three, a French Baron, of military renown, was the couſin of the Kings of France and Jeruſalem, the brother-in-law of the King of Navarre and Arragon. Such were three of the ſons, by alliance, of the Norman conqueror, who had previouſly rejected a propoſal for the eldeſt ſon of the Emperor Henry IV.: the marriage of a fourth daughter will be moſt accurately repreſented in the words of the Apulian poet: "While the hero "reſided within the walls of the Trojan city, he received the viſit of a cer- "tain noble Lombard Marquis, accompanied by many nobles of his coun- "try. Azo was his name. The object of his journey was to requeſt that "the Duke's daughter might be granted as a wife to Hugo, his *illuſtrious* "ſon. The Duke convened an aſſembly of his chiefs, and with their con- "ſent and advice, the daughter of Robert was delivered to the ſon of Azo. "The nuptial rites were ſolemnized in due form, and the feſtival was cele- "brated with gifts and banquets. After the conſummation of the marriage, "the Duke ſolicited his Counts and powerful vaſſals to beſtow a free gift,

" which might grace the joyful departure of the bride and bridegroom, and " he enforced his demand, by reminding them that no ſubſidy whatſoever " had been given to her ſiſter, the Greek Empreſs. The demand of a tri- " bute was entertained with a murmur of ſurpriſe and diſcontent; but all " oppoſition was fruitleſs, and they preſented their ſovereign with mules and " horſes, and various offerings. He beſtowed them on the huſband of his " daughter, with an addition from his own treaſures: a fleet was prepared, " and both the father and ſon were tranſported with great honour to their " native ſhores." This evidence of a contemporary poet, or rather hiſtorian, who had no temptation to flatter the Princes of Eſte, would alone be ſufficient to eſtabliſh the nobility and ſplendour of their family, the family of Brunſwick, beyond the diſtant term of ſeven hundred years. If the Marquis Azo were the firſt of his race whoſe name and memory had been preſerved, we might acquieſce in our ignorance, with a juſt perſuaſion of the dignity and power of his unknown anceſtors. Of theſe illuſtrious anceſtors, the zeal and diligence of Leibnitz and Muratori have diſcovered four probable, and four certain degrees. After the examination of their proofs, a ſcrupulous critic may ſuſpect, that in deriving the Marquiſſes of Eſte from thoſe of Tuſcany, " the aſcent of reaſon has been aided by the " wings of imagination;" but he muſt confeſs, that ſince the beginning of the tenth century, the ſeries of generations flows in a clear and unbroken ſtream.

SECTION III.

The eldeſt of the three ſons of the Marquis Azo, the fortunate Guelph, was tranſplanted from his native ſoil, to become the root of the German, and, in the fullneſs of time, of the Britiſh line, of the family of Eſte. By his two younger brothers, Hugo and Fulk, the Italian ſucceſſion was propagated: but the race of Hugo expired in the ſecond degree; the poſterity of Fulk ſtill ſurvives in the twentieth generation. The anceſtors of Guelph, on the father's and the mother's ſide, and the ſeries of his deſcendants in Bavaria and Saxony, form the antiquities of the Houſe of Brunſwick, and the proper ſubject of this hiſtorical diſcourſe: but our curioſity will naturally embrace the collateral branch of the Princes of Eſte, Ferrara, and Modena,

who have not been unworthy of their firſt progenitors, and more powerful kinſmen. Without confining myſelf to the rigid ſervitude of annals, without reſting on every ſtep of a long pedigree, I ſhall conciſely diſplay the moſt intereſting ſcenes of their various fortunes.

As the right of female ſucceſſion began to prevail in the feudal ſyſtem of France, Garſenda, the ſecond wife of Azo, might claim the dutchy or county of Maine, which had been ſucceſſively poſſeſſed by her father, her brother, and her nephew. Her pretenſions were legitimate; but the heireſs of Maine had been married into a diſtant land: her arms were feeble, her vaſſals factious, her neighbours unjuſt. William Duke of Normandy, a famous name, was tempted by the proſpect of a fertile and adjacent territory: he muttered ſome pretence of a gift or alliance: but ambition was his only motive, and his only title was ſuperior ſtrength. Four years the Cenomani, the people of Maine, reluctantly bowed under his iron ſceptre; but after the forces of Normandy had been tranſported beyond the ſea, they were encouraged by the abſence, rather than awed by the ſucceſs and glory of the conqueror of England. They ſolicited the Marquis of Liguria to aſſert the rights of his wife and ſon. Azo liſtened to their call: after the expulſion or maſſacre of the Normans, the cities and caſtles were delivered into his hands, the Biſhop eſcaped to the Engliſh court, and his new ſubjects admired the riches and liberality of their deliverer. But in a ſhort time the reign of a ſtranger became odious and contemptible to the haughty Franks: they diſcovered that his treaſures were exhauſted; he perceived that their faith was wavering; and Azo fondly imagined that all diſcontents would be appeaſed, and that all parties would be reconciled by his own departure. In the vain hope that the Cenomani would be attached to the daughter and the heir of their ancient princes, he left Garſenda and her infant Hugo under the care of a powerful baron, the guardian of his ſon, and the huſband, as it were, of his wife. But this ſuſpicious or ſcandalous connection provoked the indignation of the people; the young Prince was diſmiſſed to Italy; Garſenda diſappears; and the county of Maine was torn by domeſtic feuds, till the preſence of the conqueror united his rebels in the calm of ſervitude. Azo ſtill retained a bitter remembrance of his loſs and diſgrace; and his enemy the Biſhop, on a pilgrimage to Rome, was arreſted by the revenge, and releaſed by the piety, of the Ligurian Marquis. The death of King William, and the diſcord of his ſons, revived the ſpirit of the Cenomani, and their deputies invited the ſons of Azo to reſume the peaceful poſſeſſion of their

lawful inheritance. Hugo again paſſed the Alps; but the firſt acclamations again degenerated into the murmurs of the people, and the anathemas of the clergy. The new Count was deſtitute of every reſource that could reward the ſervice, engage the eſteem, or enforce the obedience, of his turbulent vaſſals. The honour of his alliance with the daughter of Robert Guiſcard had been ſoon obliterated by the ſhame and ſcandal of a divorce; his countrymen expoſed him, with pleaſure, to the toils and dangers of a tranſalpine reign; and the warlike natives of Gaul deſpiſed the effeminate manners of an Italian lord. His fears were encreaſed, and his flight was haſtened, by the artful eloquence of a rival, who inſinuated that his mild and moderate temper was ill formed to ſtruggle with the furious paſſions of the Barbarians. The ſon of Garſenda trembled at the approach or the ſound of an hundred thouſand Normans, ſold his patrimony for a ſum of ten thouſand pounds, and eſcaped to Italy, where he ſoon loſt a battle and an army, in the ſervice of the Counteſs Matilda. A writer of the times, who has preſerved the memory of this ignominious event, contraſts the treaſon or cowardice of the man with the nobility of his race. I muſt retract the aſſertion, that all the Princes of Eſte have been worthy of their name and anceſtry: Hugo is an exception; but in the ſpace of ſeven hundred years Hugo is a ſingle exception.

After the deceaſe of his father Azo, the ſtar of the Houſe of Eſte appears "ſhorne of its beams;" their riches and power are viſibly diminiſhed; and the *Marquiſſes* of that name no longer ſtand foremoſt in the revolutions of Italy. In the annals of the twelfth century their actions are ſeldom recorded: and as this oblivion coincides with the encreaſing light of hiſtory, we muſt ſeek the probable cauſes in the diviſion of their property, and the aſcendant of the municipal republics. 1. After the acquiſition of the Duchy, or rather kingdom of Bavaria, Guelph, the ſon of Azo, might have generouſly waved the right of primogeniture, and reſigned to his younger brothers the Italian eſtates of the family, as an equivalent for the loſs of their Gallic inheritance. But ſuch generoſity is ſeldom found in the ſelfiſh conduct of Princes or brothers; and inſtead of offering, or accepting, an equal and equitable partition, he claimed as his own the entire property of their common parent. If Guelph were an hypocrite, he might colour his avarice by a pious attachment to the relics of his fathers: and a demand, ſo repugnant to the maxims of natural juſtice, ſeems, however, to have been ſupported by the matrimonial contract of his mother Cunegonda, which had left no

proviſion for the children of a ſecond marriage. In that lawleſs age, a civil proceſs was decided by the ſword. Hugo and Fulk had the advantage of actual poſſeſſion and perſonal influence, and the latter of theſe princes was the heir, the ſole heir, of the courage of their anceſtors: they armed their vaſſals, occupied the paſſes of the Alps, and oppoſed the deſcent of the Duke of Bavaria, though he was aſſiſted by the allied powers of the Duke of Carinthia and the Patriarch of Aquileia. The ſons of Garſenda yielded, at length, to the weight of numbers; but their reſiſtance procured more favourable conditions. They preſerved a rich domain, from the banks of the Mincius to the Adriatic ſea; they reſigned the ample eſtates of Lombardy and Tuſcany to their elder kinſmen, the German Guelphs, and their ſupreme dominion was acknowledged by the Marquiſſes of Eſte, till the yoke was lightened and removed by time and diſtance, and the rapid downfall of Henry the Lion. The law of the Lombards, which was ſtill profeſſed in the Italian branch, diſclaimed all right of primogeniture, and the portion of Hugo and Fulk was again divided into equal lots among their eight ſons. In the beginning of the thirteenth century, theſe collateral lines were indeed united in the perſon of Azo VI., the great-grandſon of Fulk; but he was far from uniting the whole inheritance of his anceſtors. Many feudal poſſeſſions had devolved on the failure of heirs male to the ſuperior lord: many allodial eſtates had been conveyed, by marriage, into ſtrange families. Much wealth had been conſumed, much land had been alienated, to ſupply the expence of luxury and war: and of all that had been conſecrated to pious uſes, not an atom could revert to the temporal ſucceſſor. 2. As I am not writing the hiſtory of Italy, I ſhall not here attempt to delineate the riſe and progreſs of the republics, which revived in that country the ſpirit of popular freedom and commercial induſtry. Their revolt againſt the Cæſars of Germany was embraced as a national cauſe: in the ſucceſsful war againſt Frederic Barbaroſſa, their independence was maintained by the authority of the church, and the arms of the nobles; and among the nobles, the Marquiſſes of Eſte were ſtill conſpicuous in their decay. Obizo the youngeſt, but the laſt ſurvivor of the five ſons of Fulk, appeared at the congreſs of Venice A. D. 1177. with a retinue of an hundred and eighty followers: he had been engaged in the league of Lombardy; and ſuch was his patriotic guilt, that when the Emperor had yielded every thing in the peace of Conſtance, the pardon of the Marquis Obizo was one of the laſt acts of his clemency. As we may not A. D. 1183. ſuſpect theſe feudal lords of any tender regard for the liberties of mankind,

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it may be fairly ſuppoſed that they acted from the paſſion or the intereſt of the moment, without diſcerning that they themſelves would be trampled under the feet of the plebeian conquerors. Their pride was inſulted, and their poverty was expoſed, by the private and public luxury of trade: their ſubjects of the open country were encouraged to rebel, or tempted to deſert; and as ſoon as the prejudice of rank had been diſſolved, the ſcale of power was rudely weighed down by the laſt and moſt numerous claſs of ſociety. Even the inhabitants of Eſte, his peculiar patrimony, preſumed to diſpute the juriſdiction of the Marquis: and at the diſtance of fifteen miles, they found an example and a ſupport in the populous city of Padua, which was able to levy an army, and to ſupport a loſs of eleven thouſand of her ſons. The inſtitution of the univerſity muſt have contributed to the wealth, and perhaps the improvement, of Padua: from the provinces of Italy, from the kingdoms of France, Spain, and England, many thouſand ſtudents were annually attracted by the reputation of the various profeſſors; and more than five hundred houſes were requiſite for the accommodation of the ſtrangers. The leſſons of the ſchools might ſerve only to perpetuate the reign of prejudice, but the inhabitants were enriched and enlightened by a familiar intercourſe with the nations of Europe. In this city, the haughty anceſtors of Obizo I. had erected their tribunal, as the lieutenants of the Emperor: but Obizo himſelf was honoured by the choice of a free people, who elected him their *podeſta*, or ſupreme magiſtrate. In the time of his great-grandſon Aldobrandino, a diſpute had ariſen between the city of Padua and the Marquis of Eſte. The Paduans raiſed an army, ſummoned their allies of Vicenza, invaded his territory, beſieged the caſtle of Eſte, battered the walls, and even the palace, with their military engines, and impoſed the terms of a hard and humiliating capitulation. The Marquis was reduced to adopt the name and obligations of a ſimple burgher, to ſwear that he would faithfully obey the laws and ordinances of the commons, and to reſide ſome months or weeks of every year, within the walls of a democracy, in which the loweſt magiſtrate was his ſuperior, and the pooreſt fellow-citizen his equal. The ſhame of this temporary ſubmiſſion could only be alleviated by the example of his equals: the Patriarch of Aquileia, with two ſuffragan biſhops, had ſolicited the honour of being admitted among the citizens of Padua; and the Count of the Sacred Palace, the immediate repreſentative of Imperial majeſty, was detained as a captive and a ſubject, within the walls of Pavia. The popular ſtates of Lombardy triumphed in the fall of the

the ariſtocracy; and the Marquis of Montſerrat was the only noble who had ſtrength and courage to maintain his hereditary independence.

Liberty had raiſed the minds of the Italians; but faction, her ugly and inſeparable ſiſter, corrupted the peace and proſperity of the growing republics. They fought againſt the Emperor, againſt their neighbours, againſt themſelves: the neceſſity of order and diſcipline compelled them to name a foreign dictator; and the nobles, moſt eminent in arms, in policy, in power, often became the captains, and ſometimes the tyrants, of the independent cities. The Marquiſſes of Eſte, and the Eccelins of Romano, were the two leading families of the Treviſane or Veroneſe March: the memory of their anceſtors, and the habits of command, inſpired that lofty and martial demeanor which ſtruck the plebeian with involuntary awe; and they were ſure to gain the hearts of the multitude, when they ſoftened their pride into artful and popular condeſcenſion. The firſt Eccelin was a gallant knight, and a dextrous politician: in Paleſtine and Lombardy he was elected ſtandard-bearer or general of the confederate armies; and in the great rebellion againſt Frederic I., he deſerved the confidence of the cities, without forfeiting the eſteem of the Emperor. The civil and military virtues of his ſon, Eccelin the Second, were adorned with the gifts of eloquence: he was the public and private adverſary of the Houſe of Eſte; and as ſoon as the Marquis Azo VI. had declared himſelf chief of the Guelphs, the Ghibelline faction acknowledged the Count of Romano for their leader. When the Emperor Otho IV. deſcended into Italy, his court was attended by the rival chiefs; and their interview deſcribes the manners of the time. Eccelin complained, that in a neutral city, in a moment of truce or friendſhip, his life had been treacherouſly attacked. "I was walking," ſaid he, "with the Marquis of "Eſte, on the place of St. Mark in Venice. On a ſudden I was aſſaulted by "the ſwords and daggers of his followers: my friends were ſlain or made "priſoners in my ſight; and it was with extreme difficulty that I could diſ-"engage my right arm from the ſtrong graſp of my perfidious companion." The Marquis explained or denied the fact: but in theſe hoſtile altercations, Azo twice declined a challenge of ſingle combat. He could not draw his ſword againſt Eccelin, without violating the majeſty of the Imperial preſence; and among his vaſſals he had many more noble than Salinguerra. His reaſons might be good; his courage was unqueſtionable; but—Azo twice declined a challenge of ſingle combat. The next day, as the two leaders were riding on either ſide of the Emperor, he commanded them to

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ſalute each other. "Sir Eccelin, ſalute the Marquis; Sir Marquis, ſalute "Eccelin;" and the command was given in the French tongue, which even in that age appears to have been the faſhionable dialect. They obeyed: but the ſuperior dignity of the Marquis was maintained, by his receiving and returning the compliment without vailing his bonnet to the humble ſalute of Eccelin. They ſoon joined in familiar converſe; and before they had rode two miles, the ſuſpicious Emperor, who had been alarmed by their diſcord, began to be apprehenſive of their union. His apprehenſions were groundleſs; and their deadly feuds, in council, in the field, in the cities, continued to rage, with alternate ſucceſs, till they both ſlept in the tranquillity of the grave. Their poſſeſſions and their quarrels were inherited by their ſons, Azo VII. and Eccelin the Third; but in a conteſt of forty years, the Marquis of Eſte was long oppreſſed by the genius and fortune of his rival. The excommunication of Frederic II. exaſperated and juſtified the hoſtilities of the two factions. From a ſermon, a bull, or a cruſade, the chief of the Guelphs, the friend of the Pope, might derive ſome occaſional aid: but the leader of the Ghibellines was more ſtrongly ſupported by the power, and often by the preſence, of a warlike Prince, who filled the Treviſane March with his armies of Germans and Saracens. By the authority of the Emperor, his own arts, and the aſſiſtance of foreign troops, Eccelin became the captain and tyrant of the cities of Verona, Vicenza, Padua, Trevigi, Feltri, Belluno, Trent, and Breſcica: after the loſs of his patron, he maintained ten years his independent reign, and proudly boaſted, that ſince Charlemagne, no prince had poſſeſſed ſuch abſolute ſway over the Lombard ſtates. The utmoſt efforts of his malice and revenge were directed againſt the Marquis of Eſte. "Strike the head of the ſerpent, and you are "maſter of the body," was his frequent exhortation; from a hill near Padua, he pointed to the towers of Eſte, and ſhewed the Emperor the hoſtile territories which were ſpread over the plain. Deſtitute of ſtrength and ſuccour, Azo was compelled to ſolicit pardon, to ſwear fidelity, and to purchaſe a precarious reſpite, by the captivity, perhaps the death, of Rinaldo, his only ſon, who was delivered, as an hoſtage, into the hands of Frederic the Second. The town and caſtle of Eſte were at length beſieged by the forces of Eccelin: his artillery conſiſted of fourteen great battering engines, which caſt ſtones of twelve hundred pounds weight; and his pioneers, who were drawn from the ſilver mines of Carinthia, opened a ſubterraneous paſſage for the entrance of five hundred ſoldiers. The garriſon capitulated; and in-

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ſtead of a total ruin, the fortifications were repaired by Eccelin, who affected to reverence the dignity of the place. He had been praiſed as an hero; he was gradually, and at length generally, abhorred as a tyrant. The ſeeming virtues of his youth were ſtained by the jealous and unrelenting cruelty of his old age: and whatſoever deductions may be allowed on a liſt of fifty thouſand victims, his name will be for ever recorded with the ſavage monſters of Sicily and Rome. The hatred of mankind began to prevail over their fears; and after a long perſecution, and a firm reſiſtance, Azo found the moment of victory and revenge. His odious rival had been invited by one of the factions of Milan: the conſpiracy was diſcovered, the enterprize failed: but on his return to Breſcia, in the paſſage of the Adda, at the well-known bridge of Caſſano, he was intercepted by the troops of Mantua, Cremona, and Ferrara, under the banner of the Marquis of Eſte. After a ſhort combat, the valiant Eccelin (he deſerves that praiſe) was wounded in the foot, and taken priſoner: the few remaining days of his life were embittered by the inſults of the multitude, and the more inſulting pity of the conqueror. Azo VII. was hailed as the ſaviour of Lombardy: but he derived more glory than advantage from the tyrant's fall. The cauſe of the Ghibellines revived under new leaders; the cities of the Treviſane March were uſurped by the new families of Scala and Carrara; and inſtead of aſſerting their ancient right to the government of Milan, the riſing ambition of the Viſconti was promoted by the arms and alliance of the Marquiſſes of Eſte.

It was in the ſtate of Ferrara that they firſt eſtabliſhed a princely dominion, on the baſis, and finally on the ruins, of a popular government. The flat country, which is interſected by the branches of the Po, had formerly been a wild moraſs, impervious to the Roman highways. About the middle of the ſeventh century, twelve ſolitary villages coaleſced into a fortified town, on the banks of the river: the ſafe and convenient ſituation attracted a crowd of ſettlers; their labours were rewarded by the converſion of the fens into rich and productive land; and the riſing colony was diſtinguiſhed by the ſeat of a biſhop, and the privileges of a city. After the death of the Counteſs Matilda, Ferrara taſted the bleſſings and the miſchiefs of liberty: the patricians and plebeians, the Guelphs and the Ghibellines, diſputed, in arms, the command of the republic: thirty-two towers of defence were erected within the walls; and in forty years the factions were ten times alternately expelled. Among the thirty-four noble families of Ferrara, the

pre-eminence of wealth and power was claimed by the rival houſes of the Adelardi and Taurelli. About the year one thouſand one hundred and eighty, the former were reduced to an infant daughter: the propoſal of a conciliatory marriage was rejected by their adherents: the heireſs was delivered into the hands of Obizo I.: and his grandſon Azo VI. was elected as the future huſband of the maid; and the future chief of the name and party of the Adelardi. Marcheſella died at the age of eight years, before nature would allow her to produce a child, or the law would permit her to ſubſcribe a will: but the whole inheritance of her fathers was yielded to the Marquis of Eſte, and his gratitude, or ambition, diſtributed the fiefs among his friends and followers. By this ſtep, he acquired a commanding influence at Ferrara: Azo VI. was declared perpetual lord and governor of the republic; and the act, which is ſtill extant, betrays the madneſs of party, by the grant of abſolute and unconditional power. From this power, his ſon was degraded to the humiliating permiſſion of an annual viſit; a popular and proſperous ſtate was again eſtabliſhed by the Ghibellines, and it was not till after thirty-two years of revolutions that the ſovereignty of the Houſe of Eſte was fixed by the valour and conduct of the ſeventh Azo. At the head of the confederate forces of the Pope, of Venice, and of Bologna, he marched againſt Ferrara: but a humane conqueror might lament that the revolution was effected by the calamities of a ſiege, and condemned by the retreat of fifteen hundred citizens. Theſe evils were indeed compenſated by the wiſdom and juſtice of twenty-four years: his funeral was honoured by the tears of the oppoſite faction; and at the age of ſeventeen, his grandſon, Obizo II., ſucceeded to the office, or rather the inheritance, of his father. The reputation of Obizo II. engaged the turbulent republics of Modena and Reggio to accept him for their prince; and at the time of his deceaſe, three populous cities, with their ample territories, were ſubject to the ſway of the Marquiſſes of Eſte. Modena and Reggio were indeed loſt by the imprudence of his ſon, the levity of the people, and the arts of the Ghibellines; and the ſeparation laſted thirty years in the one, and an hundred in the other, before the rebellious children were reconciled to their parent. But the ſubmiſſion of Ferrara was pure and permanent, and the lapſe of time inſenſibly eraſed the forms and maxims of the old republic. After the death of Azo VIII., whoſe laſt will preferred a baſtard to a brother, Ferrara was oppreſſed by the avarice of the Venetians, the ambition of the Pope, and the Catalan mercenaries of the king of Naples: but the ſpirit of patriotiſm and loyalty ſtill lived in the

A. D. 1208.

A. D. 1240.

A. D. 1264.

A. D. 1308.

hearts

hearts of the citizens, and they ſoon roſe to the deliverance and defence of their country under the banner of the *white eagle*. This conſtant affection is at once the praiſe of the ſubject and ſovereign. This praiſe is the more precious, as it muſt almoſt be confined to the ſubjects of the Marquiſſes of Eſte. They were ranked among the princes of Italy at a time when the families which afterwards emerged to greatneſs were confounded with the meaneſt of the people. They were the firſt who after the twelfth century acquired by popular election the dominion of a free city. And they ſtill ſubſiſt with ſplendour and dignity, while the tyrants more conſpicuous in their day have left only a name, and for the moſt part an odious name, to the annals of their country.

The ſtates of Ferrara, Modena, and Reggio were fairly won and recovered by the labour and fortune of the Marquiſſes of Eſte. But the liberality of the popes and emperors was an eaſy and profitable virtue: they granted the right to thoſe who had the actual poſſeſſion, beſtowed the title where the ſubſtance was loſt, and confirmed their pretenſions by reſigning to others what they were unable to obtain or to hold for their own uſe. The Court of Rome was informed of the merit and reputation of Azo VI.; and he accepted from the two ſovereigns of Chriſtendom, from Pope Innocent III. and the Emperor Otho IV. a double inveſtiture of the marquiſate of Ancona, which extended over twelve dioceſes and counties between the Adriatic and the Apennine. But this ſplendid gift was no more than the right without the power of ſubduing a warlike people, in ſtrong oppoſition to the church and the empire. This enterprize, which might ſeem above the ſtrength of Azo, was vigorouſly proſecuted by his eldeſt ſon the Marquis Aldobrandino, who raiſed the ſupplies of the war by pawning his younger brother to the uſurers of Florence. The war was ſuſpended by his untimely death; the conqueſt was never atchieved; the pledge was never redeemed, and in the third generation the vain title of Marquis of Ancona was ſilently diſmiſſed. The fens of Ferrara might have been included within the limits of the exarchate, the ſucceſſors of St. Peter might allege the donations of Conſtantine, of Pepin, of Charlemagne, and of the Counteſs Matilda: but in the firſt century after their election, the Marquiſſes of Eſte acknowledged no ſuperior, ſave God and the people. It was in a moment of diſtreſs and exile, that they accepted from Clement V. the title of Vicars of the Church: that they ſubmitted to hold the feudatory poſſeſſion of Ferrara by an annual payment of ten thouſand gold florins. They regained

their ſovereignty without the aid, and againſt the efforts, of the court of Rome: the treaty was however ratified, and if the tribute ſuffered ſome occaſional abatement, they could never break the chain of feudal dependence, which was at length fatal to the Houſe of Eſte. After the recovery of Modena and Reggio, they obtained on more eaſy terms the title of Vicars of the empire: and the natives of Italy, like thoſe of India, continued to reverence the ſeal and ſubſcription of their impotent king. Before the end of the fourteenth century, the German emperors, who had been accuſtomed to the traffic of avarice and vanity, were tempted to revive in Italy the long-
A. D. 1395. forgotten title of Duke: and at the price of an hundred thouſand gold florins the Viſconti of Milan were exalted above the heads of their equals. Twenty-two years afterwards, the excluſive dignity of the Dukes of Milan was
A. D. 1417. ſomewhat impaired by the ſimilar honours of the Dukes of Savoy. The third candidate was Borſo Marquis of Eſte, the twelfth in lineal deſcent from the old Marquis Albert-Azo the Second: his reign was wiſe and fortunate, and the proverb which he left behind him "This is not the time of Duke "Borſo," is far more glorious than all the trappings of mortal pride. In the year one thouſand four hundred and fifty-two, by the Emperor Frederic the Third, he was created Duke of Modena and Reggio. Eighteen years afterwards the ambitious imitation of Pope Paul the Second conferred on Borſo the ſuperior title of Duke of Ferrara; and the crowns, the mantles, and the ſceptres uſed in theſe pompous inveſtitures, were ſecond only to the majeſty of kings. In the ſixteenth century, a duke was impoſed on the republic of Florence by the arms and authority of Charles V.; and the genius of the great Coſmo ſoon gave him a rank in the political ſyſtem of Europe. A diſpute for precedency aroſe between the Dukes of Ferrara and Florence; and if the Eſte could boaſt the nobility of their race, and the priority of their creation, the Medici might plead the wealth, the extent, and perhaps the independence, of the ſtate over which they reigned. The courts of Rome and Vienna long balanced their reſpective claims without riſquing a final ſentence; and the diſpute could be appeaſed only by the invention of
A. D. 1569. the new title and prerogatives of Grand Duke of Tuſcany. In this frivolous conteſt the powers of France and Spain were intereſted, and had it been decided by arms, ſuch a war would have added a chapter to the annals of human vanity.

While the honours of the Eſte were multiplied by popes and emperors, a republic inſulted and almoſt oppreſſed the Dukes of Ferrara. Had Venice been

been prudent, Venice would have been content with the riches of commerce and the command of the ſea. But this maritime empire ſerved only to ſtimulate the ambition of an Italian conqueſt: diſcipline and wealth obtained an eaſy victory over weakneſs and diſcord; and in the fifteenth century the provinces of *Terra Firma* were added to the dominion of St. Mark. Nicholas the Third, Marquis of Eſte, and Lord of Ferrara, made a feeble effort to aſſiſt the Carrara princes, and to ſave the important barrier of Padua. The Venetians inſtantly filled the Po with armed veſſels; A. D. 1405. his territories were ravaged; his capital was ſtarved, till he left his allies to their fate; implored the mercy of the ſenate, and reſigned himſelf to ſuch conditions as reſentment and avarice could impoſe. After a ſervitude of fourſcore years, his ſon Hercules I. was accuſed of a generous, or criminal revolt: the ſuperior forces of Venice encompaſſed Ferrara by ſea and land, and if a league of the Italian powers protected him from total ruin, the Duke was bound by the new treaty in a cloſer and more weighty chain. 1. A ſuperior title, and more ample ſway, might compenſate for the loſs of property and command in the neighbourhood of Padua. A. D. 1482—1484. But ESTE was ſtill dear and ſacred to the princes of that name: the tranſient recovery of the caſtle, the town, and the fief, had delighted their hereditary A. D. 1389. pride, and it was not without regret that they beheld that ancient poſſeſſion, the ſource of their title, for ever melted into the Venetian ſtate. The *Poleſine*, or iſland of Rovigo, which had once been mortgaged for ſixty thouſand ducats to the Venetians, was irrevocably ceded by Hercules I.; and not a veſtige remained of the patrimonial eſtates to the north of the Po, which had been acquired five hundred years before by the marriage of Albert-Azo I. 2. The goods and perſons of the Venetians who deſcended the Po, were exempt from all tolls and duties whatſoever: every ſtranger was ſhielded under that reſpectable name; and even the peaſants of the borders began to claim the immunities of St. Mark. The ſame grievance which impaired the revenue, attacked the ſovereignty of the Duke of Ferrara, ſince he was forbidden to raiſe any forts or barriers, which might obſtruct a free paſſage through his territories either by land or water. 3. With the avarice of a trading power, Venice aſpired to a monopoly of ſalt in the Adriatic Gulph. The Duke was rigorouſly deprived of the uſe and profits of his ſalt-works of Commachio; and his ſubjects were compelled to purchaſe in a foreign market one of the neceſſaries of life, which Nature had ſo profuſely ſcattered on their own ſhores. 4. A citizen of Venice re-

ſided at Ferrara with the title of *Vicedominus*; he was the proper judge of his countrymen; but the arrogance of his behaviour inſulted the prince, his daily uſurpations interrupted the courſe of juſtice, and his laſt act was the impriſonment of a native and a prieſt. Peace was oppreſſive; but war might have been fatal to the Houſe of Eſte. The three laſt ſovereigns of Padua, a father and his two ſons, had been ſtrangled in the priſons of Venice; the remains of the Carrara and Scala families were proſcribed; and the deliberate cruelty of the ſenate was juſtified by the examples of ancient Rome.

Twenty-five years after the laſt treaty of Hercules I. his ſon and ſucceſſor Alphonſo I. embraced the faireſt hope of liberty and revenge. In the league of Cambray, the four great potentates of Europe united their arms againſt a ſingle republic; the Pope, Julius II.; the Emperor, Maximilian of Auſtria; Lewis XII. King of France and Duke of Milan; and Ferdinand King of Arragon and Naples. Each of the allies had ſuffered ſome injuries, had loſt ſome territories, and they all conſidered the proſperity of Venice with the ſame ſentiments of indignation and envy which are excited in the breaſt of a noble by the luxury and inſolence of a wealthy merchant. While Maximilian delayed, while Ferdinand diſſembled, while the Pope pronounced his excommunications, the King of France, at the head of his invincible cavalry, had paſſed the Alps, and on the banks of the Adda, the mercenary bands of St. Mark were trampled under their horſes feet. The firmneſs of Rome after a great defeat was not imitated by the ſenators of Venice: they deſpaired of the republic, evacuated in a day the conqueſts of an age, and abandoned to the confederates the diviſion of the ſpoil. Under the wing of theſe confederates, Alphonſo Duke of Ferrara had acceded to the league of Cambray, and accepted the office, or rather the title, of Standard-bearer or General of the Church. The firſt act of hoſtility was to vindicate his independence: the county of Rovigo yielded to his attack; and he received from the Emperor the inveſtiture of Eſte. In this public ſhipwreck Venice was ſaved by the zeal of her nobles, and the fidelity of her ſubjects: the nobles ſacrificed their lives, or at leaſt their fortunes, in their own cauſe; the ſubjects, without ſpeculating on the theory of government, had long enjoyed, and now regretted, the wiſdom and juſtice of a parental ariſtocracy. The metropolis was impregnable and rich; the tranſmarine provinces were untouched; the navy was entire; new armies were purchaſed; the allies began to feel ſuſpicion, and to affect pity; and the

the deliverance of Padua announced the riſing fortunes of the republic. While the Venetians ſtrove to reſiſt or diſarm their more formidable enemies, the rebel Alphonſo (ſuch was the ſtyle of the ſenate) was marked as the object of vengeance, to which his ſtation expoſed him on every ſide. Againſt the advice of their wiſeſt counſellors, their admiral Angelo Treviſano, with eighteen gallies and a train of brigantines, entered the mouth of the Po, ſpread deſolation on either bank, and prepared with forts and bridges the paſſage of the army and the ſiege of Ferrara. But the army was called away by a ſeaſonable diverſion; and the fleet was deſtroyed by the valour and conduct of the Duke himſelf, and his brother the Cardinal Hippolito. Under the ſhelter of the dykes they had planted their long batteries, which ſupported an inceſſant fire: and the affrighted Venetians were ſuddenly oppreſſed by the armed veſſels which iſſued from the city. The admiral ignominiouſly fled with the great ſtandard of St. Mark; two gallies eſcaped, three were burnt or ſunk, and the remaining thirteen followed the triumph of the conqueror, who immediately aſſaulted and demoliſhed all the works of the ſiege. His victory might be aſcribed to his ſuperior artillery, and that ſuperiority was the effect of his own ſkill and induſtry. Three hundred cannons were caſt in his foundery, and depoſited in his arſenal: he liberally entertained the beſt engineers; and the well-adapted fortifications of ſtone, of earth, and of water, had rendered Ferrara one of the ſtrongeſt places in Italy. The French, who ſerved with their ally, celebrate the politeneſs, the knowledge, the magnificence of the Duke: and Alphonſo expended above three hundred thouſand ducats to reward the ſervice, and to ſecure the friendſhip, of the Gallic chiefs.

But their friendſhip ſoon became dangerous to the Houſe of Eſte, when the ſame confederates who had joined with France for the deſtruction of Venice, conſpired with Venice for the expulſion of the French. The new A. D. 1512. league was formed and ſanctified by Julius II., who ſecretly aſpired to deliver Italy from the barbarians: and the fidelity of the Duke of Ferrara to his firſt engagements exaſperated the fierceſt and moſt ambitious of the ſucceſſors of St. Peter. Alphonſo was degraded from the rank of a vaſſal and a Chriſtian: his rich forfeiture was devoured by the avarice perhaps of a papal nephew, and his ſentence of condemnation was extended to both worlds. Againſt him the temporal and ſpiritual arms of Rome were equally directed: his city of Modena was occupied: in the depth of a ſevere winter A. D. 1513. the preſence of Julius animated the troops, and the aged father of the

Chriſtians preſſed the ſiege of Mirandola with the vigour of a youthful ſoldier. Ferrara however was ſaved by its own ſtrength and the Gallic ſuccours: the army of Lewis XII. invaded the eccleſiaſtical ſtate under the
A. D. 1512. command of his nephew, the valiant Gaſton of Foix: in the battle of Ravenna the fury of the French cavalry was encountered by the firmneſs of the Spaniſh infantry, and the ſucceſs of the day might be attributed in ſome degree to the Duke of Ferrara, who led the vanguard, and directed the infantry. But after the loſs of Gaſton, the ſtrange retreat of the victorious army, and the rapid evacuation of Italy, the ſolitary and humble client of France remained without defence under the hand of a mercileſs oppreſſor. While he waited as a ſuppliant in the Vatican, his city of Reggio was ſurprized and ſtolen; he was inſulted by the propoſal of yielding Ferrara for a poor and precarious exchange; and even the validity of his ſafe conduct was queſtioned by a perfidious court. The liberty, and perhaps the life of Alphonſo were reſcued by the grateful friendſhip of the Colonna: they forced the Lateran Gate, lodged him in the caſtle of Marino, and watched over his eſcape in the various diſguiſes of a huntſman, a ſervant, and a
A. D. 1513. friar. A ſingle event could ſuſpend his ruin; and by that event was his ruin ſuſpended. Julius II. expired: his paſſions were buried in his tomb; but his policy with a milder aſpect ſtill reigned in the councils of his ſucceſſors. Leo X. was too generous to be juſt; and the ambition of his family was concealed by the ſacred veil of the honour and intereſt of the church. After
A. D. 1515. the victory of Marignan, Francis I. might have diſcharged his obligations by an act of equity and power: but inſtead of commanding he negociated with the court of Rome. The reſtitution of Modena and Reggio to his long-ſuffering ally, was often promiſed, and as often eluded: the failure of a ſecret conſpiracy provoked the Roman pontiff to thunder a new ſentence of excommunication and forfeiture; and one of the medals of Alphonſo atteſts his miraculous deliverance from the *lion*'s paw. Adrian VI. had a conſcience, a faculty long dormant in the vicars of Chriſt: but his ſcruples were removed by the Italian caſuiſts; and he found it more eaſy to abſolve the ſins than to reſtore the ſtates of the Houſe of Eſte. Clement VII. an illegitimate ſon, adopted the politics of the Medici; and had his arts been ſucceſsful, Machiavel, who was ſtill alive, might have been proud of his diſciple. After a tedious and treacherous delay, the ſword of Alphonſo vindicated his own rights; and his prudence ſeized the fortunate moments of the conclave and the captivity of Clement VII. The gates of Modena

and

and Reggio were joyfully opened to their native prince: and on a payment to the Pope of an hundred thouſand ducats, his poſſeſſion was confirmed by the ſentence of the Emperor Charles V. whoſe intereſt prompted him to eſtabliſh the peace of Italy. During theſe revolutions the Duke of Ferrara concluded a truce, and finally a treaty, with the Venetians: his patrimonial eſtates of Eſte and Rovigo were for ever loſt: but he no longer felt or feared the tyranny of a republic which had been trained to moderation in the ſchool of adverſity.

Among the noble marriages of the Eſte, two princes, Azo VIII. and Hercules I., had been allied to the crown of Naples in the rival houſes of Anjou and Arragon. But theſe lofty connections had not been productive of any ſolid benefit, and the Venetians ſignified their diſpleaſure that the Duke of Ferrara had preferred the daughter of a king, inſtead of chuſing a ſenator for his father and patron. In the next generation, the Houſe of Eſte was ſullied by a ſanguinary and inceſtuous race; by the nuptials of Alphonſo I. with Lucretia, a baſtard of Alexander VI., the Tiberius of Chriſtian Rome. This modern Lucretia might have aſſumed with more propriety the name of Meſſalina; ſince the woman who can be guilty, who can even be accuſed, of a criminal commerce with a father and two brothers, muſt be abandoned to all the licentiouſneſs of venal love. Her vices were highly coloured by a contempt for decency: at a banquet in the apoſtolical palace, by the ſide of the Pope, ſhe beheld without a bluſh the naked dances and laſcivious poſtures of fifty proſtitutes: ſhe diſtributed the prizes to the champions of Venus, according to the number of victories which they atchieved in her preſence. Hercules I. was unwilling to accept ſuch a conſort for his eldeſt ſon, but he was apprehenſive of the bulls and daggers of the Borgia family: he was tempted by the ſum of one hundred and twenty thouſand ducats, the city and diſtrict of Cento, and the reduction of his annual tribute to a ſlight quit-rent of an hundred florins. The marriage articles were ſigned; and as the bed of Lucretia was not then vacant, her third huſband, a royal baſtard of Naples, was firſt ſtabbed, and afterwards ſtrangled in the Vatican. Perhaps the youth of Lucretia had been ſeduced by example; perhaps ſhe had been ſatiated with pleaſure; perhaps ſhe was awed by the authority of her new parent and huſband: but the Dutcheſs of Ferrara lived ſeventeen years without reproach, and Alphonſo I. believed himſelf to be the father of three ſons. The eldeſt, his ſucceſſor, Hercules II. expiated this maternal ſtain by a nobler choice; and his fidelity was rewarded by mingling the blood of Eſte with that of France. By his ſecond

marriage with Anne Dutcheſs of Brittany, Lewis XII. left only two daughters: Claude, the eldeſt, became the wife of his ſucceſſor Francis I. and Renée her younger ſiſter, who had once been promiſed to Charles V. was beſtowed on Hercules II., hereditary prince, and after his father's deceaſe, Duke of Ferrara. Her portion of two hundred and fifty thouſand crowns was paid in a territorial equivalent, the dukedoms of Chartres and Montargis: but Renée was perhaps the true heireſs of Brittany, ſince the agreement which ſecured the perpetual independence of the dutchy, might be applied with as much reaſon to a ſecond daughter as to a ſecond ſon. The French princeſs, whoſe mind was more beautiful than her perſon, continued above thirty years to adorn the court of Ferrara: her liberal underſtanding was improved by the learning of the age; nor was it *her* fault if in the learning of the age ſhe diſcovered and ſtudied the vain ſcience of aſtrology. During a long exile ſhe cheriſhed a tender remembrance of her native country: every Frenchman, according to his degree, who viſited Ferrara, either praiſed her magnificence, or bleſſed her charity: and the relics of a Neapolitan expedition, ten thouſand naked and hungry fugitives, were relieved by the profuſe alms of the Dutcheſs. When her treaſurer repreſented the enormous expence, "They are my countrymen," Renée generouſly replied, "and had God given me a beard, they would be now my ſubjects." But theſe virtues were the ſplendid ſins of a heretic. From her cradle and in her marriage, the daughter of Lewis XII., the daughter-in-law of Alphonſo I., had learned to hate the tyranny of the Pope: her firm and curious underſtanding was not afraid of religious inquiries; and ſhe liſtened to the new teachers, who profeſſed to revive the old truths of the goſpel. Cle-
A. D. 1535. ment, Marot, and John Calvin were hoſpitably entertained at Ferrara; in the converſion of the Dutcheſs, the eloquence of the preacher was ſeconded by the wit of the poet; and the apoſtle of Geneva was proud to ſpread his conqueſts on the verge of the realm of Antichriſt. But this ſpark, which might have kindled a flame in Italy, was quickly extinguiſhed by the diligence of the inquiſitors, and Hercules II. was apprehenſive of the temporal, as well as the ſpiritual puniſhment of the guilt of hereſy. Calvin and Marot fled beyond the mountains: Renée heard with ſullen conſtancy the ſermons of the popiſh doctors; but after ſuffering the diſmiſſion of her French ſervants, and the hardſhips of a priſon, ſhe ſubmitted with a ſigh to wear the maſk of diſſimulation. A more open profeſſion of Calviniſm after her huſband's death, determined and haſtened her departure from Ferrara: and

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the laſt fifteen years of Renée of France were ſpent in her native country. In the bloody ſcenes of perſecution and war, the Dutcheſs maintained her dignity and protected her brethren. Her caſtle of Montargis, near Paris, was a ſure aſylum for the Huguenots; and when it was threatened with a ſiege, ſhe boldly replied, "the Catholics may aſſault my reſidence, they will find "me ſtanding in the breach, and prepared to try whether they will fire on "the daughter of a king of France." She was the daughter of a king; but the wife of her ſon Alphonſo II. was the daughter and ſiſter of two emperors, of Ferdinand I. and Maximilian II. of the Houſe of Auſtria.

The five Dukes of Ferrara, Borſo, Hercules I., Alphonſo I., Hercules II., and Alphonſo II., ſeem to have been magnified in the eyes of Europe, far beyond the meaſure of their wealth and power. Their merit was ſuperior to their fortune; they ſupported with firmneſs the calamities of war; they improved and enjoyed the proſperity of peace. Near a century before the end of their reign, Alexander VI. in his bull of inveſtiture, applauds the uſeful labours of Hercules I.; which had increaſed the numbers and happineſs of his people, which had adorned the city of Ferrara with ſtrong fortifications and ſtately edifices, and which had reclaimed a large extent of unprofitable waſte. The vague and ſpreading branches of the Po were confined in their proper channels by moles and dykes; the intermediate lands were converted to paſture and tillage; the fertile diſtrict became the granary of Venice; and the corn exports of a ſingle year were exchanged for the value of two hundred thouſand ducats. The triangular iſland or *delta* of Meſola, at the mouth of the Po, had been recovered from the waters by Alphonſo II., who ſurrounded it with a wall nine miles in circumference: a palace, with its dependencies of ſtables and gardens, aroſe in this new creation, and it was reſerved by the founder for his favourite amuſements of hunting and fiſhing. Ferrara became one of the moſt flouriſhing of the Italian cities: the walls and buildings have ſurvived the loſs of the inhabitants, which are now reduced from fourſcore thouſand to a tenth part: the works of ſuperſtition were enriched by each generation: the arſenal, in a long peace, was ſucceeded by theatres and palaces, and if the hand of the princely architect be moſt conſpicuous, many vacant houſes are the monuments of private opulence and taſte. Modena and Reggio, more favourably treated by nature, were not abandoned by the Houſe of Eſte: the courſe of the Po opened much inland, and ſome foreign trade; and a colony of Flemiſh exiles attempted to revive the declining arts of the loom. I am not inſtructed to define the

revenue of the Dukes of Ferrara: but it is the praiſe of Alphonſo I., that he left a treaſure, without increaſing his taxes; it is the reproach of Alphonſo II., that, with an increaſe of taxes, he left behind him a conſiderable debt. The court of theſe princes was at all times polite and ſplendid: on extraordinary occaſions, a birth, a marriage, a journey, a feſtival, the paſſage of an illuſtrious ſtranger, they ſtrove to ſurpaſs their equals, and to equal their ſuperiors; and the vanity of the people was gratified at their own expence. Seven hundred horſes were ranged in Borſo's ſtables; and in the ſport of hawking, the Duke was attended to the field by a hundred falconers. In his Roman expedition, to receive the ducal inveſtiture, his train of five hundred gentlemen, his chamberlains and pages, one hundred menial ſervants, and one hundred and fifty mules, were clothed, according to their degree, in brocade, velvet, or fine cloth: the bells of the mules were of ſilver, and the dreſſes, liveries, and trappings, were covered with gold and ſilver embroidery. The martial train of Alphonſo II. in his campaign in Hungary, conſiſted of three hundred gentlemen, each of whom was followed by an eſquire and two *arquebuſiers* on horſeback; and the arms and apparel of this gallant troop were ſuch as might provoke the envy of the Germans, and the avarice of the Turks. Did I poſſeſs a book, printed under the title of the *Chivalries of Ferrara*, I ſhould not pretend to deſcribe the nuptials of the ſame Duke with the Emperor's ſiſter: the balls, the feaſts, and tournaments of many buſy days; and the final repreſentation of the Temple of Love, which was erected in the palace garden, with a ſtupendous ſcenery of porticos and palaces, of woods and mountains. That the laſt ſhew ſhould continue ſix hours, without appearing tedious to the ſpectators, is perhaps the moſt incredible circumſtance. In each generation of the Houſe of Eſte, a younger brother, with the rank of Cardinal, held ſome of the richeſt biſhoprics and abbies in Italy and France. Theſe noble and wealthy eccleſiaſtics were the patrons of every art: the *Villa Eſtenſe* at Tivoli, near Rome, is the work of Cardinal Hippolitus, brother to Hercules II.: the palace gardens and water-works exhibit, in their preſent decay, the ſpirit of a prince and the taſte of the age.

A philoſopher, according to his temper, may laugh or weep at this oſtentatious and oppreſſive ſplendour; nor will he be diſarmed by the patronage and perfection of the finer arts, which flouriſhed in Italy in the ſixteenth century. But he will approve the modeſt encouragement of learning and genius, an expence which can never drain the treaſures of a prince. An univerſity

verſity had been founded at Padua by the Houſe of Eſte, and the ſcholaſtic ruſt was poliſhed away by the revival of the literature of Greece and Rome. The ſtudies of Ferrara were directed by ſkilful and eloquent profeſſors, either natives or foreigners: the ducal library was filled with a valuable collection of manuſcript and printed books; and as ſoon as twelve new comedies of Plautus had been found in Germany, the Marquis Lionel of Eſte was impatient to obtain a fair and faithful copy of that ancient poet. Nor were theſe elegant pleaſures confined to the learned world. Under the reign of Hercules I., a wooden theatre, at the moderate coſt of a thouſand crowns, was conſtructed in the largeſt court of the palace; the ſcenery repreſented ſome houſes, a ſea-port, and a ſhip, and the Menechmi of Plautus, which had been tranſlated into Italian by the Duke himſelf, was acted before a numerous and polite audience. In the ſame language, and with the ſame ſucceſs, the Amphytrion of Plautus, and the Eunuch of Terence, were ſucceſſively exhibited; and theſe claſſic models, which formed the taſte of the ſpectators, excited the emulation of the poets of the age. For the uſe of the court and theatre of Ferrara, Arioſto compoſed his comedies, which were often played with applauſe, which are ſtill read with pleaſure: and ſuch was the enthuſiaſm of the new arts, that one of the ſons of Alphonſo I. did not diſdain to ſpeak a prologue on the ſtage. In the legitimate forms of dramatic compoſition the Italians have not excelled: but it was in the court of Ferrara that they invented and refined the *paſtoral comedy*, a romantic arcadia, which violates the truth of manners, and the ſimplicity of nature, but which commands our indulgence, by the elaborate luxury of eloquence and wit. The *Aminta* of Taſſo was written for the amuſement, and acted in the preſence, of Alphonſo II.; and his ſiſter Leonora might apply to herſelf the language of a paſſion, which diſordered the reaſon, without clouding the genius, of her poetical lover. Of the numerous imitations, the Paſtor Fido of Guarini, which alone can vie with the fame and merit of the original, is the work of the Duke's ſecretary of ſtate: it was exhibited in a private houſe at Ferrara: but the retreat of the author, from the ſervice of his native prince, has beſtowed on Turin the honour of the firſt public repreſentation. The father of the Tuſcan muſes, the ſublime, but unequal Dante, had pronounced that Ferrara was never honoured with the name of a poet: he would have been aſtoniſhed to behold the chorus of bards, of melodious ſwans, (their own alluſion,) who now peopled the banks of the Po. In the court of Duke Borſo and his ſucceſſor, Boïardo, Count of Scandiano, was reſpected as a noble,

noble, a ſoldier, and a ſcholar: his vigorous fancy firſt celebrated the loves and exploits of the Paladin Orlando; and his fame has at once been preſerved and eclipſed by the brighter glories of the continuation of his work. Ferrara may boaſt, that on her claſſic ground, Arioſto and Taſſo lived and ſung; that the lines of the *Orlando Furioſo*, and the *Gieruſalemme Liberate*, were inſcribed in everlaſting characters under the eye of the firſt and ſecond Alphonſo. In a period of near three thouſand years, five great epic poets have ariſen in the world: and it is a ſingular prerogative, that two of the five ſhould be claimed as their own, by a ſhort age, and a petty ſtate.

A. D. 1597. October 27. But the glory of Ferrara, and perhaps the *legitimate* race of the Eſte, expired with Alphonſo II. As he left neither children nor brothers, his firſt couſin, Don Cæſar, the ſon of a younger ſon of Alphonſo I., was the next in the lineal order of deſcent. His claim to the ſucceſſion was ratified by the will of the late Duke, who had obtained from the Emperor, though not from the Pope, the privilege of chooſing an heir in his own family. And the ſenate of Ferrara, which ſtill preſerved a ſemblance of election, preſented him, with apparent loyalty, the ſword of juſtice, and the ſceptre of dominion. The people ſubmitted to a prince, who ſeemed to unite the various titles of birth, donation, and of the pubic choice; the acceſſion of Don Cæſar was announced to the courts of Italy and Europe; and his reign might have been peaceful and proſperous, had not the ambition of Clement VIII. revived the deſign of reſtoring Ferrara to the eccleſiaſtical ſtate. In the confidence of right, or at leaſt of power, the Roman pontiff ſternly rejected the ambaſſador and obedience of a pretended Duke, who had not expected the approbation of the Holy See. A monitory, or ſummons, to appear in fifteen days, was affixed on the church doors; and the Apoſtolical Chamber demanded the poſſeſſion of the fief, till the vaſſal ſhould have cleared his birth and title in the court of his ſupreme lord. It was in vain that the Duke of Ferrara ſolicited a delay, that he provoked an inquiry, that he negotiated a compromiſe, that he ſubmitted his cauſe to the arbitration of a neutral judge. "The ho-" nour and intereſt of the Church," ſaid the inexorable pontiff, "muſt not " be deſerted. In the vindication of St. Peter's patrimony, I will ſell the " laſt chalice of the altar; I am ready to march in perſon againſt the ſacri-" legious rebel; and I would die in the ditch of Ferrara, with the holy ſa-" crament in my hands." This generous reſolution was applauded by the Cardinals, and they proteſted, that if Clement VIII. ſhould be taken from the world, they would impoſe, by a common oath, the ſame obligation on

the future Pope. Some forms of judicial proceeding were haſtily diſpatched; and before two months had elapſed from the death of Alphonſo II., a tremendous bull, of forfeiture, excommunication, and interdict, was thundered againſt the pretended Duke and his impious adherents. At the ſame time, the military preparations were urged with inceſſant vigour, and an army of ſixteen thouſand horſe and foot, which fame had ſoon magnified to twenty-five thouſand, was aſſembled near Faenza, under the command of Cardinal Aldobrandini, the Pope's nephew and legate. The ſtate of Europe was moſt favourable to the ambition of Rome, and the proſpects of Don Cæſar were on all ſides black and comfortleſs. The Emperor Rodolph II. might be a well-wiſher to the Houſe of Eſte, but his remote and inſufficient forces were occupied by the Turks in Hungary. If the rival monarchs of France and Spain ſhould deign to interfere in this pigmy war, the enmity of the one would not enſure the ſupport of the other. Henry IV. had been perſuaded, by a ſelfiſh agent, to prove the ſincerity of his converſion, in the ſacrifice of an old and faithful ally; Philip II., the demon of the ſouth, was now anxious to leave his ſon and his dominions in peace; but the revolution was conſummated before he could ſignify his intentions: and the Spaniſh miniſters in Italy were ſuſpected of a ſecret conſpiracy againſt the Imperial fiefs of Reggio and Modena. The Italian princes balanced between fear and envy: Venice was leaſt deſirous of the neighbourhood, and leaſt apprehenſive of the reſentment, of the Pope: but her words were ambiguous, and her actions were ſlow. Don Cæſar had been left without troops or treaſures; the fortifications of Ferrara were neglected in a long peace: the people was aggrieved by taxes; the clergy was ſeduced by the prejudice of conſcience, or the hopes of preferment; the emiſſaries of Rome were buſy and perſuaſive; and the ancient loyalty to the Houſe of Eſte was corrupted by the promiſe of a golden age.

But the inſtant cauſe of his ruin was in the character of the Duke himſelf. Had Don Cæſar been endowed with the ſpirit and conſtancy of his anceſtors, he might have been ſaved by the reſolution to fall. Had he liſtened to the advice of a veteran, a bold ſally on the half-formed camp of Faenza might have diſſipated the Pope's ſoldiers, who would ceaſe to be formidable, when they ceaſed to be feared. The ſiege of Ferrara was an arduous enterprize: courage would have given him time, time would have given him friends; the Venetians would have armed for his intereſt and their own; many brave adventurers of France and Italy would have drawn their ſwords in his quarrel;

rel; and the novelty of danger, the laſſitude of war, the weight of expence, the chances of mortality, would have inclined his enemies to a ſafe and honourable peace. Far different were the feelings of the ſucceſſor of Alphonſo: he had been educated remote from the council and the field, in the boſom of luxury and devotion: his mild and timid diſpoſition was aſtoniſhed by the thunder of ſpiritual and temporal arms; nor could he expect from others the ſupport which he denied to himſelf. When he entered the cathedral, the prieſts interrupted their rites, and fled from the altars; his venal miniſters exaggerated the danger, and concealed the reſources; he was alarmed each hour by the intelligence of ſecret treaſon; and a Jeſuit perſuaded him that Modena and Reggio, that his life, and even his ſoul, could only be ſaved by an immediate capitulation. The terms were dictated in the camp by the imperious legate. That Don Cæſar ſhould deliver his eldeſt ſon as an hoſtage, reſign the ducal ſceptre in the preſence of the magiſtrate, divide his artillery with the Pope, and ſurrender the *poſſeſſion* of the dutchy of Ferrara, with all its dependencies; and that in return for his ſubmiſſion, he ſhould be abſolved from all eccleſiaſtical cenſures, and permitted to enjoy the Diamond Palace, with the perſonal effects and allodial eſtates of the Houſe of Eſte. After the concluſion of the treaty, the conqueror was eager to reign, and the exile was anxious to depart. On the twenty-eighth of January, one thouſand five hundred and ninety-eight, Don Cæſar evacuated a city, in which his anceſtors had reigned near four hundred years. A ſplendid, but mournful proceſſion, of his family and houſehold, paſſed ſlowly through the ſtreets: the Duke of Modena (his remaining title) was ſeated in an open coach; his eyes were caſt down on a letter which he ſeemed to read, as if deſirous of eſcaping the view of thoſe objects which he muſt ſee no more. The minds of the people were already changed: their curioſity was melted into pity: they had neglected the defence, they deplored the loſs, of their native prince; and the firſt evening of his departure, five thouſand perſons were deprived of their daily bread, which they received from the charity or magnificence of the ducal court. Theſe melancholy reflections were ſuſpended by the triumph of the legate, and the ſpeedy viſit of Clement VIII., who was impatient to behold his new conqueſt. But as ſoon as the feſtival of the revolution had ſubſided, Ferrara was left to the ſolitude and poverty of a provincial town, under the government of prieſts: a citadel was erected, to fix the inconſtancy of the inhabitants; and within ſeventeen years after the death of Alphonſo II., a fourth of his capital was already in ruins.

Nor were the loſſes of Don Cæſar confined to the ſacrifice of Ferrara: the territory, ſalt-works, and fiſhery of Commachio, an Imperial fief, were ſeized by the hand of power: his allodial property was diminiſhed and diſputed by the chicanery of law. Even the duchy of Chartres, and the mortgages of the Houſe of Eſte in France, were withheld from the heir and creditor, under pretence that he was a foreigner. It was a juſt obſervation of the Grand Duke of Tuſcany, that his brother-in law Don Cæſar might have reſiſted his enemies, if the million and a half of gold, which his predeceſſors truſted to the Moſt Chriſtian King, had been ſafely depoſited in the treaſury of Ferrara.

In this ſingular tranſaction, ambition and avarice were the motives of Rome. Her forms of judicial proceeding were precipitate, and violent: without evidence or trial, ſhe judged in her own cauſe, ſhe pronounced in her own favour, and ſhe forcibly ſeized, for her own uſe, the valuable object in diſpute. But as it is poſſible, and barely poſſible, that truth and juſtice may be ſupported by the means moſt adverſe to their nature, I ſhall freely examine the deſcent of Don Cæſar, and his right of ſucceſſion, without any intereſt to corrupt, or any prejudice to miſlead, the equity of my decree. After the deceaſe of Lucretia Borgia, his ſecond wife, Alphonſo I., who was ſtill in the manly vigour of life, embraced a decent mode of ſatisfying his paſſions, without injuring his family. Inſtead of ſeeking a third alliance in the courts of Europe, he purchaſed a maiden of Ferrara, of obſcure parentage and exquiſite beauty. Laura was entertained ſeveral years in the ſtate of a concubine: but this illegal union might in ſome degree be excuſed by the dignity of her lover, and her own imitation of conjugal virtue. She became the mother of two ſons, Don Alphonſo and Don Alphonſino, a title and a name which had been lately introduced into Italy by the prevailing influence of the Spaniards. Their birth is acknowledged to have been illegitimate. In the teſtament of their father, which is dated fourteen months before his death, they ſimply are ſtyled the children of a free man by a free woman; nor did he add, in his laſt illneſs of ſeveral weeks, any clauſe or codicil to declare a change of their condition. That, according to the laws of the church and ſtate, theſe baſtards were legitimated by a ſubſequent marriage, is ſuppoſed by their advocates; but the ſuppoſition cannot be juſtified by the regular proof of a contract, a certificate, or a witneſs. In default of ſuch evidence, Muratori produces a large body of preſumptions and circumſtances: with an artful ſuggeſtion, that much more would have been found

by a more early ſcrutiny: but it was the intereſt as well as the duty of Laura to eſtabliſh her own marriage, and the legitimacy of her ſons; and if her neglect be not aſcribed to conſcious guilt, it muſt not, however, militate, as an argument in her behalf. Her faithful champion, the librarian of Modena, has collected many teſtimonies of poets, orators, hiſtorians, and genealogiſts, ſome of whom could not miſtake the truth, and others could not have any temptation for falſehood: and from their conſent he infers the belief and tradition of the times, that the concubine of Alphonſo I. was finally promoted to the rank of his wife. The ſame favourable concluſion may be drawn from the honours which ſhe was permitted to enjoy near forty years, under the reigns of his ſucceſſors; the appellation, dreſs, and attendance of his relict or widow; the guardianſhip of her children; the princely ſtyle of moſt excellent and illuſtrious; and, above all, the family name of Eſte, which ſhe ſubſcribed on all public and private occaſions. The title of Ducheſs of Ferrara was alone wanting; and when pride and envy were no more, that title was beſtowed in the ſolemn pomp of her funeral, which was attended by the Duke Alphonſo II. his brother the Cardinal, the court, the clergy, and the *arts* or corporations of the city. The five ſons of Alphonſo I., with the ſole diſtinction of primogeniture, were educated as equals and companions. Don Alphonſo, the firſt-born of Laura, was treated as a prince, both at home and abroad: he was inveſted with the Marquiſate of Montecchio, and the French order of St. Michael; and his wife, the mother of Don Cæſar, was the daughter of the reigning Duke of Urbino. The ſame honours were tranſmitted to Don Cæſar himſelf: he obtained an alliance ſtill more ſplendid, the ſiſter of the Grand Duke of Tuſcany: and, both in his life-time and at his death, Alphonſo II. acknowledged him as his couſin and ſucceſſor. Could we diveſt our minds of a ſecret ſuſpicion, ariſing from the indulgence which, in ſo many courts and countries, has been laviſhed on the baſtards of princes, ſuch preſumptions might amount to the moral, if not the legal proof of a legitimate deſcent. But the intereſt, though not the honour, of the Dukes of Modena, repoſes on a firmer baſis, which would not be ſhaken by the quality of their female anceſtor. The Popes are pleaſed to forget that they firſt granted the Duchy of Ferrara to Borſo, a natural ſon of the Marquis Nicholas III., and that the bull of Alexander VI. extends the right of ſucceſſion to all the deſcendants whatſoever of Hercules I. They were compelled to renounce the poſſeſſion of Ferrara, but they have never ceaſed to aſſert the juſtice of their claim. The argu-

ments which the court of Rome has disdained, may one day be heard in the louder tone of the Austrian cannon, and a severe account may be required of the arrears and damages of two hundred years.

The abdication of Don Cæsar is related by Muratori, a loyal servant, under the name of the Tragedy of Ferrara: and in the melancholy tale I have myself been affected by the sympathy which we so generously indulge, to the real or imaginary distresses of the great. Yet, on a cooler survey, I am inclined to doubt whether the last Duke of Ferrara was the most unfortunate of men. His life and liberty were safe: he was neither beheaded on the public scaffold, nor dragged at the chariot wheels of the conqueror, nor cast into a deep and perpetual dungeon. By the soldiers and statesmen of the age he was indeed despised, for the feeble defence and hasty desertion of his ancient seat. But as contempt is seldom deserved where it is felt, it is seldom felt where it is deserved: Don Cæsar was unconscious of the public reproach, and the orators of his reign reserved their panegyric for the milder virtues of discretion and patience. He had lost the most precious jewel of his family: but an easy journey of two days conveyed his court from the palace of Ferrara to that of Modena, where he lived, in prosperity and peace, above thirty years: by the Tuscan Princess he became the father of six sons and three daughters; and the reigning Duke is the fourth in descent, and the sixth in succession, from the eldest of his sons. In this last period of decline, the House of Este has still preserved the external advantages of rank, riches, and power: and these advantages were illustrated by the antiquity of their name and title. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, an Emperor and six Kings were respected as the Chiefs of the Christian republic: but the Dukes of Modena maintained an honourable place in the second class of the Princes of Europe. Their pride was seldom mortified by the presence of a superior: as long as the isles of Sicily and Sardinia were attached to the Spanish monarchy, Italy was not dignified with a regal title; a profane layman was not degraded by kneeling to the Pope, or yielding the precedency to his Cardinals; nor was the native pre-eminence of hereditary rank disputed by the ministerial honours of a doge or a viceroy. After the loss of Ferrara, the successors of Alphonso II. continued to reign over the united duchies of Modena and Reggio; and their territory, about thirty leagues in length, about ten in breadth, was afterwards enlarged by the lordship of Corregio, and the duchy of Mirandola. Their revenue is vaguely computed at one hundred thousand pounds sterling, a sum inadequate to the extraordinary de-

mands of war, but which might ſupport, with decent œconomy, the expences of a court and government. Perhaps the latter were ſometimes ſacrificed to the former. When Addiſon traverſed the principalities of Modena and Parma, he was ſcandalized by the magnificence of thoſe petty courts: he was amazed to ſee ſuch a profuſion of wealth laid out in coaches, trappings, tables, cabinets, and the like precious toys, in which there are few princes in Europe who equal them, while, at the ſame time, they have not had the generoſity to make bridges over the rivers of their countries, for the convenience of their ſubjects, as well as ſtrangers. Yet the annals of Modena deſcribe many public works of uſe as well as ornament: the plenty of gold and ſilver is expreſſed in a ſingle coinage of Francis I., of near half a million ſterling: but I am ignorant whether the two hundred and thirty thouſand ducats, and the two hundred thouſand Spaniſh doubloons, which were paid to the Emperor for the inveſtitures of Corregio and Mirandola, ſhould be placed to the account of treaſure or of debt. In the narrow ſphere of their dominions, the Eſte princes were abſolute; nor do I find any example of reſiſtance to their reaſon or paſſion. The vanity of the human heart is flattered by the degree, rather than by the extent, of authority: and if the ſovereign was conſcious of his duties, the man might tremble at accepting the truſt of one hundred and fifty thouſand of his equals. His equals by nature, they were many of them his ſuperiors in merit: the natives of Modena were diſtinguiſhed in the arts and ſciences; and like the paſtoral comedy, the mock-heroic poetry of the Italians was invented by Taſſoni, a ſubject of the Houſe of Eſte. The ſtate of ſuch a prince would perhaps be the moſt deſirable in human life, if it were accompanied with that domeſtic ſecurity which a wealthy nobleman enjoys under the protection of a great empire. The long peace of Italy, in the ſeventeenth century, was interrupted only by ſome ſhort and bloodleſs hoſtilities: but in the three great wars between the Auſtrian and Bourbon powers, the Duke of Modena has been thrice reduced to the alternative of ſlavery or exile. His neutrality was violated, his dominions were occupied by foreign troops, his ſubjects were oppreſſed by military contributions, and the miſchievous expence of fortifications only ſerved to expoſe his cities to the calamities of a ſiege.

I have long delayed, and I ſhould willingly ſuppreſs, three diſgraceful anecdotes, three criminal actions, which ſully the honour of the name of Eſte: of theſe, the firſt and the third are piouſly diſſembled by the Librarian of Modena. 1. In his deſcent to the infernal regions, in the ninth circle of hell,

hell, the poet Dante beheld the condemnation of ſanguinary and rapacious men: they were deeply immerſed in a river of blood, and their eſcape was prevented by the arrows of the centaurs. Among the tyrants, he diſtinguiſhed the ancient forms of Alexander and Dionyſius: of his own countrymen, he recognized the black Eccelin, and the fair Obizo of Eſte, the latter of whom was diſpatched by an unnatural ſon to this place of torment. This Obizo can be no other than the ſecond Marquis of that name, who died only ſeven years before the real or imaginary date of the *Divine Comedy* (A. D. 1300): his life does not afford the character of a tyrant: but he was one of the pillars of the Guelph faction; and were he not aſſociated with a Ghibelline chief, we might impute his ſentence to the prejudices, rather than the juſtice, of the Tuſcan bard. But the parricide of his ſon, a crime of a much deeper dye, is atteſted by the commentary of Benvenuto of Imola, who obſerves from an old chronicle, that Azo VIII. was apprehenſive of the ſame treatment which he had inflicted on his father. It muſt be added, that this commentary on Dante, which was compoſed only fourſcore years after the event, is dedicated to Nicholas II., Marquis of Eſte, and great-grandſon of Obizo II., who tacitly ſubſcribes to the guilt of his anceſtors. 2. Under the reign of Nicholas III., Ferrara was polluted with a domeſtic tragedy. By A. D. 1425. the teſtimony of a maid, and his own obſervation, the Marquis of Eſte diſcovered the inceſtuous loves of his wife Pariſina, and Hugo his baſtard ſon, a beautiful and valiant youth. They were beheaded in the caſtle, by the ſentence of a father and huſband, who publiſhed his ſhame, and ſurvived their execution. He was unfortunate, if they were guilty: if they were innocent, he was ſtill more unfortunate: nor is there any poſſible ſituation in which I can ſincerely approve the laſt act of the juſtice of a parent. 3. Guicciardini, the graveſt of the Italian hiſtorians, records a bloody ſcene, which, in his own time, had ſullied the court of Ferrara; the deed might revive the A. D. 1505. memory of the Theban brothers; "and the motive was ſtill more frivolous, "if love," ſays he, "be a more frivolous motive than ambition." The Cardinal Hippolito was enamoured of a fair maiden of his own family: but her heart was engaged by his natural brother; and ſhe imprudently confeſſed to a rival, that the beauteous eyes of Don Julio were his moſt powerful attraction. The deliberate cruelty of the Cardinal meaſured the provocation and the revenge: under a pretence of hunting, he drew the unhappy youth to a diſtance from the city, and there compelling him to diſmount, his

his eyes, thoſe hated eyes, were extinguiſhed by the command, and in the preſence of an amorous prieſt, who viewed with delight the agonies of a brother. It may however be ſuſpected that the work was ſlightly performed by the leſs ſavage executioners, ſince the ſkill of his phyſicians reſtored Don Julio to an imperfect ſight. A denial of juſtice provoked him to the moſt deſperate counſels: and the revenge of Don Julio conſpired with the ambition of Don Ferdinand againſt the life of their ſovereign and eldeſt brother Alphonſo I. Their deſigns were prevented, their perſons ſeized, their accomplices were executed; but their ſentence of death was moderated to a perpetual priſon, and in their fault the Duke of Ferrara acknowledged his own. Theſe dark ſhades in the annals of the Houſe of Eſte muſt not be excuſed by the example of the Italian tyrants; whoſe courts and families were perpetually defiled with luſt and blood, with inceſt and parricide; who mingled the cruelty of ſavages with the refinements of a learned and polite age. But it may be fairly obſerved, that ſingle acts of virtue and of vice can ſeldom be weighed againſt each other: that it is far more eaſy to fall below, than to riſe above, the common level of morality: that three or four guilty days have been found in a period of two hundred years: and, that in the general tenor of their lives, the Marquiſſes of Eſte were juſt, temperate, and humane; the friends of each other, and the fathers of their people.

In a more ſuperſtitious age, I ſhould boldly oppoſe to the ſins of twenty generations the monaſtic virtues of Alphonſo III., the ſon and ſucceſſor of Don Cæſar. Yet even theſe virtues were produced by the blind impulſe of repentance and fear. The nature of Alphonſo was impetuous and haughty; and a deep indignant regret for the loſs of Ferrara was the firſt ſentiment of his childhood. As ſoon as he had releaſed himſelf from the authority of a governor whom he hated, and a father whom he deſpiſed, the hereditary prince became the ſlave of his paſſions and the terror of Modena: his appetite for blood was indulged in the chace, and the city; and he ſoon conſidered the life of a man and of a ſtag as of equal value. One of the moſt conſiderable private families in Italy (ſuch is the dark language of Muratori) was provoked by ſome ſecret motive to form a deſign of aſſaſſinating Alphonſo. Their dagger was turned aſide from his breaſt; their chief was ſacrificed to his juſtice; he threatened to extirpate the whole race; nor could the interceſſion of princes, or of the Pope himſelf, avert the rage of perſecution and revenge. The only voice that could ſooth the paſſions of the

ſavage

ſavage was that of an amiable and virtuous wife, the ſole object of his love; the voice of Donna Iſabella, the daughter of the Duke of Savoy, and the grand-daughter of Philip II. King of Spain. Her dying words ſunk deep into his memory: his fierce ſpirit melted into tears, and after the laſt embrace, Alphonſo retired into his chamber, to bewail his irreparable loſs, and to meditate on the vanity of human life. But inſtead of reſolving to expiate his ſins, and to ſeek his ſalvation in the public felicity, he was perſuaded that the habit and profeſſion of a Capuchin were the only armour that could ſhield him from hell-fire. The two years from the death of his wife to the deceaſe of his father, were dedicated to prayer and penance, and no ſooner had Alphonſo attained the rank of a ſovereign, than he aſpired to deſcend below the condition of a man. With the approbation and bleſſing of the Pope, who might poſſibly ſmile at this voluntary ſacrifice, the Duke of Modena, after a reign of ſix months, reſigned the ſceptre to Francis his eldeſt ſon, a youth of nineteen years of age, and ſecretly departed to a Franciſcan convent among the mountains of Trent. By a ſpecial privilege, his noviciate and profeſſion were conſummated in the ſame day: the auſtere and humble friar atoned for the pride and luxury of the prince, and it was the wiſh of *brother* John Baptiſt of Modena to forget the world and to be forever forgotten. But obedience was now his firſt duty, and the noble captive, for the honour of the order and of religion, was exhibited to the Emperor, the Archdukes, and the people of the Auſtrian provinces, by whom he was contemplated with curioſity and devotion. Three years he wandered between Venice and Vienna as an itinerant preacher: he had the pleaſure in one of his journies to be half drowned in a river, and half ſtarved on a rock, and he vainly hoped to convert the heretics of the North, or to receive from their hands the crown of martyrdom. During the laſt twelve years he was ſtationed in the convent of Modena, the humble ſlave of the ſubjects of his ſon: the city and country were edified by his miſſions and ſermons; and as often as he appeared in the pulpit, the contraſt of his dignity and dreſs moſt eloquently preached the contempt of this world. The converſion of the Jews, the reformation of manners, the maintenance of the poor, afforded a daily exerciſe to the zeal of the abdicated Duke: but that zeal was always chargeable, often troubleſome, and ſometimes ridiculous: his death was a relief to the court and people; nor have the Princes of Eſte been ambitious of adorning their family with the name and honours of

A. D. 1626. Auguſt 22.

A. D. 1632—1634.

of a ſaint. The Capuchin might behold, perhaps with pity, and perhaps with envy, the temporal proſperity of his ſon. In peace and war, in Italy and Spain, in the Auſtrian and French alliance, the Duke of Modena ſupported the dignity of his character: and Francis I. in a larger field, would have ranked among the generals and ſtateſmen of an active age.

A. D. 1629–1658.

The name of Rinaldo, a name immortalized by Taſſo in epic ſong, had been applied to the youngeſt ſon of Duke Francis I.: he might faintly remember the laſt days of his father, and the ſhort government of his brother Alphonſo IV.: but he was no more than ſeven years of age when his infant nephew Francis II. ſucceeded to the ducal title. In his early youth Rinaldo was propoſed as a candidate for the crown of Poland, a wild, and had it not failed, a ruinous attempt: the example of ſo many of his kinſmen ſuggeſted a more rational purſuit; and in the thirty-ſecond year of his age he was promoted to the dignity of Cardinal, at the requeſt of James II. King of Great Britain, who had married his niece. The long reign and ſhort life of her brother Francis II. was an helpleſs ſtate of minority and diſeaſe: he died without children, and had the right female ſucceſſion prevailed, the unfortunate race of the Stewarts might have found a ſafe and honourable refuge in the inheritance of Modena. But as the order of inveſtiture preferred the more diſtant males, Cardinal Rinaldo aſcended without a queſtion the vacant throne of his nephew. The reſignation of his hat was accepted by the Pope; but he might marry without a diſpenſation, a princeſs of Brunſwick, his couſin in the nineteenth degree; and this alliance was ſoon dignified by the nuptials of her ſiſter with Joſeph King of the Romans, the ſon and ſucceſſor of the Emperor Leopold. The life of Rinaldo I. Duke of Modena, was extended beyond the term of eighty-three years: in the various fortunes of his long reign he ſupported a double exile with fortitude and patience; and in the intervals of peace the country was reſtored by a wiſe and paternal government. His ſon Francis III. was of a more active ſpirit. He ſignalized his valour in the wars of Hungary; followed the ſtandard of the Houſe of Bourbon; commanded, or ſeemed to command, in ſeveral battles and ſieges, and extorted the confeſſion, that, had his advice been followed, the events of the war would have been more ſucceſsful. His wife was a princeſs of Orleans, the daughter of the regent: ſhe was noble, beautiful, and rich; but in the true eſtimate of honour the meaneſt virgin among his ſubjects would have been a more worthy conſort. Their ſon

Hercules III., the reigning Duke, acquired a valuable and convenient territory with the heireſs of Maſſa Carrara. Their only daughter, by the command of his inexorable father, was delivered to the Archduke Ferdinand, the Emperor's brother; the marriage has been fruitful in children of both ſexes, and the Dutchies of Modena, Reggio, and Mirandola, will ſoon be the patrimony of a younger branch of the new family of Auſtria. In the decline of life, Hercules III. is the ſole remaining male of the Houſe of Eſte, and the long current of their blood muſt ſpeedily be loſt in a foreign ſtream.

AN ADDRESS, &c.

THAT Hiſtory is a liberal and uſeful ſtudy, and that the Hiſtory of our own country is beſt deſerving of our attention, are propoſitions too clear for argument, and too ſimple for illuſtration. Nature has implanted in our breaſts a lively impulſe to extend the narrow ſpan of our exiſtence, by the knowledge of the events that have happened on the ſoil which we inhabit, of the characters and actions of thoſe men from whom our deſcent, as individuals or as a people, is probably derived. The ſame laudable emulation will prompt us to review, and to enrich our common treaſure of national glory: and thoſe who are the beſt entitled to the eſteem of poſterity, are the moſt inclined to celebrate the merits of their anceſtors. The origin and changes of our religion and government, of our arts and manners, afford an entertaining, and often an inſtructive ſubject of ſpeculation; and the ſcene is repeated and varied by the entrance of the victorious ſtrangers, the Roman and the Saxon, the Dane and the Norman, who have ſucceſſively reigned in our ſtormy Iſle. We contemplate the gradual progreſs of ſociety, from the loweſt ebb of primitive barbariſm, to the full tide of modern civilization. We contraſt the naked Briton who might have miſtaken the ſphere of Archimedes for a rational creature *, and the contemporary of Newton, in whoſe ſchool Archimedes himſelf would have been an humble diſciple. And we compare the boats of oſier and hides that floated along our coaſts, with the formidable navies which viſit and command the remoteſt ſhores of the ocean. Without indulging the fond prejudices of patriotic vanity, we may aſſume a conſpicuous place among the inhabitants of the earth. The Engliſh will be ranked among the few nations who have culti-

* I allude to a paſſage in Cicero (de Naturâ Deorum, L. ii. C. 34.) Quod ſi in Britanniam, ſphæram aliquis tulerit hanc, quam nuper familiaris noſter effecit Poſidonius, cujus ſingulæ converſiones idem efficiunt in ſole, et in luna, et in quinque ſtellis errantibus, quod efficitur in cœlo ſingulis diebus et noctibus: quis in illa barbarie dubiter, quin ea ſphæra ſit perfecta ratione?

vated with equal ſucceſs the arts of war, of learning, and of commerce: and Britain perhaps is the only powerful and wealthy ſtate which has ever poſſeſſed the ineſtimable ſecret of uniting the benefits of order with the bleſſings of freedom. It is a maxim of our law, and the conſtant practice of our courts of juſtice, never to accept any evidence, unleſs it is the very beſt which, under the circumſtances of the caſe, can poſſibly be obtained. If this wiſe principle be transferred from juriſprudence to criticiſm, the inquiſitive reader of Engliſh Hiſtory will ſoon aſcend to the firſt witneſſes of every period, from whoſe teſtimonies the moderns, however ſagacious and eloquent, muſt derive their whole confidence and credit. In the proſecution of his inquiries, he will lament that the tranſactions of the Middle Ages have been imperfectly recorded, and that theſe records have been more imperfectly preſerved: that the ſucceſſive conquerors of Britain have deſpiſed or deſtroyed the monuments of their predeceſſors; and that by their violence or neglect ſo much of our national antiquities has irretrievably periſhed. For the loſſes of hiſtory are indeed irretrievable: when the productions of fancy or ſcience have been ſwept away, new poets may invent, and new philoſophers may reaſon; but if the inſcription of a ſingle fact be once obliterated, it can never be reſtored by the united efforts of genius and induſtry. The conſideration of our paſt loſſes ſhould incite the preſent age to cheriſh and perpetuate the valuable relics which have eſcaped, inſtead of condemning the MONKISH HISTORIANS (as they are contemptuouſly ſtyled) ſilently to moulder in the duſt of our libraries; our candour, and even our juſtice, ſhould learn to eſtimate their value, and to excuſe their imperfections. Their minds were infected with the paſſions and errors of their times, but thoſe times would have been involved in darkneſs, had not the art of writing, and the memory of events, been preſerved in the peace and ſolitude of the cloiſter. Their Latin ſtyle is far removed from the eloquence and purity of Salluſt and Livy; but the uſe of a permanent and general idiom has opened the ſtudy, and connected the ſeries of our ancient chronicles, from the age of Bede to that of Walſingham. In the eyes of a philoſophic obſerver, theſe monkiſh hiſtorians are even endowed with a ſingular, though accidental merit; the unconſcious ſimplicity with which they repreſent the manners and opinions of their contemporaries: a natural picture, which the moſt exquiſite art is unable to imitate.

Books, before the invention of printing, were ſeparately, and ſlowly copied by the pen; and the tranſcripts of our old hiſtorians muſt have been

rare;

rare; ſince the number would be proportioned to the number of readers capable of underſtanding a Latin work, and curious of the hiſtory and antiquities of England. The groſs maſs of the laity, from the baron to the mechanic, were more addicted to the exerciſes of the body than to thoſe of the mind: the middle ranks of ſociety were illiterate and poor, and the nobles and gentlemen, as often as they breathed from war, maintained their ſtrength and activity in the chaſe or the tournament. Few among them could read, ſtill fewer could write; none were acquainted with the Latin tongue; and if they ſometimes liſtened to a tale of paſt times, their puerile love of the marvellous would prefer the romance of Sir Launcelot or Sir Triſtram, to the authentic narratives moſt honourable to their country and their anceſtors. Till the period of the reformation, the ignorance and ſenſuality of the clergy were continually increaſing: the ambitious prelate aſpired to pomp and power; the jolly monk was ſatisfied with idleneſs and pleaſure; and the few ſtudents of the eccleſiaſtical order, perplexed rather than enlightened their underſtandings with occult ſcience and ſcholaſtic divinity. In the monaſtery in which a chronicle had been compoſed, the original was depoſited, and perhaps a copy; and ſome neighbouring churches might be induced, by a local or profeſſional intereſt, to ſeek the communication of theſe hiſtorical memorials. Such manuſcripts were not liable to ſuffer from the injury of uſe; but the caſualty of a fire, or the ſlow progreſs of damp and worms, would often endanger their limited and precarious exiſtence. The ſanctuaries of religion were ſometimes profaned by ariſtocratic oppreſſion, popular tumult, or military licence; and although the cellar was more expoſed than the library, the envy of ignorance will riot in the ſpoil of thoſe treaſures which it cannot enjoy.

After the diſcovery of printing, which has beſtowed immortality on the works of man, it might be preſumed that the new art would be applied without delay, to ſave and to multiply the remains of our national chronicles. It might be expected that the Engliſh, now waking from a long ſlumber, ſhould bluſh at finding themſelves ſtrangers in their native country; and that our princes, after the example of Charlemagne and Maximilian I. would eſteem it their duty and glory to illuſtrate the hiſtory of the people over whom they reigned. But theſe rational hopes have not been juſtified by the event. It was in the year 1474 that our firſt preſs was eſtabliſhed in Weſtminſter Abbey, by William Caxton: but in the choice of his authors, that liberal and induſtrious artiſt was reduced to comply with the vicious taſte of his

his readers; to gratify the nobles with treatiſes on heraldry, hawking, and the game of cheſs, and to amuſe the popular credulity with romances of fabulous knights, and legends of more fabulous ſaints. The father of printing expreſſes a laudable deſire to elucidate the hiſtory of his country; but inſtead of publiſhing the Latin chronicle of Radulphus Higden, he could only venture on the Engliſh verſion by John de Treviſa; and his complaint of the difficulty of finding materials for his own continuation of that work, ſufficiently atteſts that even the writers, which we now poſſeſs of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, had not yet emerged from the darkneſs of the cloiſter. His ſucceſſors, with leſs ſkill and ability, were content to tread in the footſteps of Caxton; almoſt a century elapſed without producing one original edition of any old Engliſh hiſtorian; and the only exception which I recollect is the publication of Gildas (London 1526) by Polydore Virgil, an ingenious foreigner. The preſſes of Italy, Germany, and even France, might plead in their defence, that the minds of their ſcholars, and the hands of their workmen, were abundantly exerciſed in unlocking the treaſures of Greek and Roman antiquity; but the world is not indebted to England for one *firſt* edition of a claſſic author. This delay of a century is the more to be lamented, as it is too probable that many authentic and valuable monuments of our hiſtory were loſt in the diſſolution of religious houſes by Henry the Eighth. The proteſtant and the patriot muſt applaud our deliverance; but the critic may deplore the rude havoc that was made in the libraries of churches and monaſteries, by the zeal, the avarice, and the neglect, of unworthy reformers.

Far different from ſuch reformers was the learned and pious Matthew Parker, the firſt proteſtant Archbiſhop of Canterbury, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. His apoſtolical virtues were not incompatible with the love of learning, and while he exerciſed the arduous office, not of governing, but of founding the Church of England, he ſtrenuouſly applied himſelf to revive the ſtudy of the Saxon tongue, and of Engliſh antiquities. By the care of this reſpectable prelate, four of our ancient hiſtorians were ſucceſſively publiſhed: the *Flores* of Matthew of Weſtminſter (1570); the *Hiſtoria Major* of Matthew Paris (1571); the *Vita Elfridi Regis*, by Aſſerius; and the *Hiſtoria Brevis*, and *Upodigma Neuſtriæ*, by Thomas Walſingham. After Parker's death, this national duty was for ſome years abandoned to the diligence of foreigners. The eccleſiaſtical hiſtory of Bede had been printed and reprinted on the continent as the common property of the Latin church;

and it was again inſerted in a collection of Britiſh writers (Heidelberg 1587), ſelected with ſuch critical ſkill, that the romance of Jeffrey of Monmouth, and a Latin abridgment of Froiſſard, are placed on the ſame level of hiſtorical evidence. An edition of Florence of Worceſter, by Howard, (1592,) may be ſlightly noticed; but we ſhould gratefully commemorate the labours of Sir Henry Saville, a man diſtinguiſhed among the ſcholars of the age by his profound knowledge of the Greek language and mathematical ſciences. A juſt indignation againſt the baſe and plebeian authors of our Engliſh chronicles, had almoſt provoked him to undertake the taſk of a general and legitimate hiſtory: but his modeſt induſtry declining the character of an architect, was content to prepare materials for a future edifice. Some of the moſt valuable writers of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were reſcued by his hands from dirt, and duſt, and rottenneſs (*e ſitu ſqualore et pulvere*), and his collection, under the common title of *Scriptores poſt Bedam*, was twice printed; firſt in London (1596), and afterwards at Frankfort (1601). During the whole of the ſeventeenth, and the beginning of the eighteenth centuries, the ſame ſtudies were proſecuted with vigour and ſucceſs: a miſcellaneous volume of the *Anglica Normanica*, &c. (Frankfort 1603), and the *Hiſtoria Nova* of Eadmer (London 1623), were produced by Camden and Selden, to whom literature is indebted for more important ſervices. The names of Wheeler and Gibſon, of Watts and Warton, of Dugdale and Wilkins, ſhould not be defrauded of their due praiſe: but our attention is fixed by the elaborate collections of Twyſden and Gale: and their titles of *Decem* and *Quindecim Scriptores* announce that their readers poſſeſs a ſeries of twenty-five of our old Engliſh hiſtorians. The laſt who has dug deep into the mine was Thomas Hearne, a clerk of Oxford, poor in fortune, and indeed poor in underſtanding. His minute and obſcure diligence, his voracious and undiſtinguiſhing appetite, and the coarſe vulgarity of his taſte and ſtyle, have expoſed him to the ridicule of idle wits. Yet it cannot be denied that Thomas Hearne has gathered many gleanings of the harveſt; and if his own prefaces are filled with crude and extraneous matter, his editions will be always recommended by their accuracy and uſe.

I am not called upon to enquire into the merits of foreign nations in the ſtudy of their reſpective hiſtories, except as far as they may ſuggeſt a uſeful leſſon, or a laudable emulation to ourſelves. The patient Germans have addicted themſelves to every ſpecies of literary labour; and the diviſion of their

their vaſt empire into many independent ſtates would multiply the public events of each country, and the pens, however rude, by which they have been ſaved from oblivion. Beſides innumerable editions of particular hiſtorians, I have ſeen (if my memory does not fail me) a liſt of more than twenty of the voluminous collections of the *Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum*; ſome of theſe are of a vague and miſcellaneous nature; others are relative to a certain period of time; and others again are circumſcribed by the local limits of a principality or a province. Among the laſt I ſhall only diſtinguiſh the *Scriptores Rerum Brunſwicenſium*, compiled at Hanover in the beginning of this century by the celebrated Leibnitz. We ſhould ſympathize with a kind of domeſtic intereſt in the fortunes of a people to whom we are united by our obedience to a common ſovereign; and we muſt explore with reſpect and gratitude the origin of an illuſtrious family, which has been the guardian near fourſcore years of our liberty and happineſs. The antiquarian, who bluſhes at his alliance with Thomas Hearne, will feel his profeſſion ennobled by the name of Leibnitz. That extraordinary genius embraced and improved the whole circle of human ſcience; and after wreſtling with Newton and Clark in the ſublime regions of geometry and metaphyſics, he could deſcend upon earth to examine the uncouth characters and barbarous Latin of a chronicle or charter. In this, as in almoſt every other active purſuit, Spain has been outſtripped by the induſtry of her neighbours. The beſt collection of her national hiſtorians was publiſhed in Germany: the recent attempts of her royal academy have been languid and irregular, and if ſome memorials of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries are lately printed at Madrid, her five oldeſt chronicles after the invaſion of the Moors ſtill ſleep in the obſcurity of provincial editions (Pamplona, 1615, 1634; Barcelona, 1663.) Italy has been productive in every age of revolutions and writers; and a complete ſeries of theſe original writers, from the year five hundred to the year fifteen hundred, are moſt accurately digeſted in the *Scriptores Rerum Italicarum of Muratori*. This ſtupendous work, which fills twenty-eight folios, and overflows into the ſix volumes of the *Antiquitates Italiæ Medii Ævi*, was atchieved in [illegible] years by one man; and candour muſt excuſe ſome defects in the plan and execution, which the diſcernment, and perhaps the envy of criticiſm has too rigorouſly expoſed. The antiquities of France have been elucidated by a learned and ingenious people: the original hiſtorians, which Ducheſne had undertaken to publiſh, were left imperfect by his death, yet had reached the end of the thirteenth century; and his additional volume

(the ſixth) comes home to ourſelves, ſince it celebrates the exploits of the Norman Conquerors and Kings of England. About years ago the deſign of publiſhing *Les Hiſtoriens des Gaules et de la France*, was reſumed on a larger ſcale, and in a more ſplendid form; and although the name of Dom Bouquet ſtands foremoſt, the merit muſt be ſhared among the veteran Benedictines of the Abbey of St. Germain des Prez at Paris. This noble collection may be propoſed as a model for ſuch national works: the original texts are corrected from the beſt manuſcripts; and the curious reader is enlightened, without being oppreſſed, by the perſpicuous brevity of the prefaces and notes. But a multitude of obſtacles and delays ſeems to have impeded the progreſs of the undertaking; and the *Hiſtorians of France* had only attained to the twelfth century, and the thirteenth volume, when a general deluge overwhelmed the country, and its ancient inhabitants. I might here conclude this enumeration of foreign ſtudies, if the *Scriptores Rerum Danicarum* of Langebek and his ſucceſſors, which have lately appeared at Copenhagen, did not remind me of the taſte and munificence of a court and country, whoſe ſcanty revenues might have apologized for their neglect.

It is long, very long indeed, ſince the ſucceſs of our neighbours, and the knowledge of our reſources, have diſpoſed me to wiſh, that our Latin memorials of the Middle Age, the *Scriptores Rerum Anglicarum*, might be publiſhed in England, in a manner worthy of the ſubject and of the country. At a time when the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire has intimately connected me with the firſt hiſtorians of France, I acknowledged (in a note) the alue of the Benedictine Collection, and expreſſed my hope that ſuch a national work would provoke our own emulation. My hope has failed, the provocation was not felt, the emulation was not kindled; and I have now ſeen, without an attempt or a deſign, near thirteen years, which might have ſufficed for the execution. During the greateſt part of that time I have been abſent from England: yet I have ſometimes found opportunities of introducing this favourite topic in converſation with our literary men, and our eminent bookſellers. As long as I expatiated on the merits of an undertaking, ſo beneficial to hiſtory, and ſo honourable to the nation, I was heard with attention; a general wiſh ſeemed to prevail for its ſucceſs: but no ſooner did we ſeriouſly conſult about the beſt means of promoting that ſucceſs, and of reducing a pleaſing theory into a real action, than we were ſtopped, at the firſt ſtep, by an inſuperable difficulty—the choice of an editor. Among the authors already known to the public, none, after a fair review, could be

found, at once poſſeſſed of ability and inclination. Unknown, or at leaſt untried abilities could not inſpire much reaſonable confidence: ſome were too poor, others too rich; ſome too buſy, others too idle: and we knew not where to ſeek our Engliſh Muratori; in the tumult of the metropolis, or in the ſhade of the univerſity. The age of Herculean diligence, which could devour and digeſt whole libraries, is paſſed away; and I ſat down in hopeleſs deſpondency, till I ſhould be able to find a perſon endowed with proper qualifications, and ready to employ ſeveral years of his life in aſſiduous labour, without any ſplendid proſpect of emolument or fame.

The man is at length found, and I now renew the propoſal in a higher tone of confidence. The name of this editor is Mr. John Pinkerton; but as that name may provoke ſome reſentments, and revive ſome prejudices, it is incumbent on me, for his reputation, to explain my ſentiments without reſerve; and I have the ſatisfaction of knowing that he will not be diſpleaſed with the freedom and ſincerity of a friend. The impulſe of a vigorous mind urged him, at an early age, to write and to print, before his taſte and judgment had attained to their maturity. His ignorance of the world, the love of paradox, and the warmth of his temper, betrayed him into ſome improprieties, and thoſe juvenile ſallies, which candour will excuſe, he himſelf is the firſt to condemn, and will perhaps be the laſt to forget. Repentance has long ſince propitiated the mild divinity of Virgil, againſt whom the raſh youth, under a fictitious name, had darted the javelin of criticiſm. He ſmiles at his reformation of our Engliſh tongue, and is ready to confeſs, that in all popular inſtitutions, the laws of cuſtom muſt be obeyed by reaſon herſelf. The Goths ſtill continue to be his choſen people, but he retains no antipathy to a Celtic ſavage; and without renouncing his opinions and arguments, he ſincerely laments that thoſe literary arguments have ever been embittered, and perhaps enfeebled, by an indiſcreet mixture of anger and contempt. By ſome exploſions of this kind, the volatile and fiery particles of his nature have been diſcharged, and there remains a pure and ſolid ſubſtance, endowed with many active and uſeful energies. His recent publications, a Treatiſe on Medals, and the edition of the early Scotch Poets, diſcover a mind replete with a variety of knowledge, and inclined to every liberal purſuit; but his decided propenſity, ſuch a propenſity as made Bentley a critic, and Rennel a geographer, attracts him to the ſtudy of the Hiſtory and Antiquities of Great Britain; and he is well qualified for this ſtudy, by a ſpirit of criticiſm, acute, diſcerning, and ſuſpicious. His edition

of the original Lives of the Scottiſh Saints has ſcattered ſome rays of light over the darkeſt age of a dark country: ſince there are ſo many circumſtances in which the moſt daring legendary will not attempt to remove the well-known landmarks of truth. His Diſſertation on the Origin of the Goths, with the Antiquities of Scotland, are, in my judgment, elaborate and ſatisfactory works; and were this a convenient place, I would gladly enumerate the important queſtions in which he has rectified my old opinions concerning the migrations of the Scythic or German nation from the neighbourhood of the Caſpian and the Euxine to Scandinavia, the eaſtern coaſts of Britain, and the ſhores of the Atlantic ocean. He has ſince undertaken to illuſtrate a more intereſting period of the Hiſtory of Scotland; his materials are chiefly drawn from papers in the Britiſh Muſeum, and a ſkilful judge has aſſured me, after a peruſal of the manuſcript, that it contains more new and authentic information than could be fairly expected from a writer of the eighteenth century. A Scotchman by birth, Mr. Pinkerton is equally diſpoſed, and even anxious, to illuſtrate the Hiſtory of England: he had long, without my knowledge, entertained a project ſimilar to my own; his twelve letters, under a fictitious ſignature, in the Gentleman's Magazine (1788), diſplay the zeal of a patriot, and the learning of an antiquarian. As ſoon as he was informed, by Mr. Nicol the bookſeller, of my wiſhes and my choice, he advanced to meet me with the generous ardour of a volunteer, conſcious of his ſtrength, deſirous of exerciſe, and careleſs of reward; we have diſcuſſed, in ſeveral converſations, every material point that relates to the general plan and arrangement of the work; and I can only complain of his exceſſive docility to the opinions of a man much leſs ſkilled in the ſubject than himſelf. Should it be objected, that ſuch a work will ſurpaſs the powers of a ſingle man, and that induſtry is beſt promoted by the diviſion of labour, I muſt anſwer, that Mr. Pinkerton ſeems one of the children of thoſe heroes, whoſe race is almoſt extinct; that hard aſſiduous ſtudy is the ſole amuſement of his independent leiſure; that his warm inclination will be quickened by the ſenſe of a duty reſting ſolely on himſelf; and that he is now in the vigour of age and health; and that the moſt voluminous of our hiſtorical collections was the moſt ſpeedily finiſhed by the diligence of Muratori alone. I muſt add, that I know not where to ſeek an aſſociate; that the operations of a ſociety are often perplexed by the diviſion of ſentiments and characters, and often retarded by the degrees of talent and application; and that the editor will be

always ready to receive the advice of judicious counſellors, and to employ the hand of ſubordinate workmen.

Two queſtions will immediately ariſe, concerning the title of our hiſtorical collection, and the period of time in which it may be circumſcribed. The firſt of theſe queſtions, whether it ſhould be ſtyled the *Scriptores Rerum Britannicarum*, or the *Scriptores Rerum Anglicarum*, will be productive of more than a verbal difference: the former impoſes the duty of publiſhing all original documents that relate to the hiſtory and antiquities of the Britiſh iſlands; the latter is ſatisfied with the ſpacious, though leſs ample, field of England. The ambition of a conqueror might prompt him to graſp the whole Britiſh world, and to think, with Cæſar, that nothing was done while any thing remained undone.

Nil actum reputans dum quid ſupereſſet agendum.

But prudence ſoon diſcerns the inconvenience of increaſing a labour already ſufficiently arduous, and of multiplying the volumes of a work, which muſt unavoidably ſwell to a very reſpectable ſize. The extraneous appendages of Scotland, Ireland, and even Wales, would impede our progreſs, violate the unity of deſign, and introduce into a Latin text a ſtrange mixture of ſavage and unknown idiom. For the ſake of the Saxon Chronicle, the editor of the *Scriptores Rerum Anglicarum* will probably improve his knowledge of our mother tongue; nor will he be at a loſs in the recent and occaſional uſe of ſome French and Engliſh memorials. But if he attempts to hunt the old Britons among the iſlands of Scotland, in the bogs of Ireland, and over the mountains of Wales, he muſt devote himſelf to the ſtudy of the Celtic dialects, without being aſſured that his time and toil will be compenſated by any adequate reward. It ſeems to be almoſt confeſſed, that the Highland Scots do not poſſeſs any writing of a remote date; and the claims of the Welſh are faint and uncertain. The Iriſh alone boaſt of whole libraries, which they ſometimes hide in the faſtneſſes of their country, and ſometimes tranſport to their colleges abroad: but the vain and credulous obſtinacy with which, amidſt the light of ſcience, they cheriſh the Mileſian fables of their infancy, may teach us to ſuſpect the exiſtence, the age, and the value of theſe manuſcripts, till they ſhall be fairly expoſed to the eye of profane criticiſm. This excluſion, however, of the countries which have ſince been united to the crown of England muſt be underſtood with ſome latitude: the Chronicle of Melroſs is common to the borderers of both kingdoms: the *Expugnatio*

Hiberniæ of Giraldus Cambrenſis contains the intereſting ſtory of *our* ſettlement in the weſtern iſle; and it may be judged proper to inſert the Latin Chronicle of Caradoc, (which is yet unpubliſhed,) and the code of native laws which were aboliſhed by the conqueror of Wales. Even the Engliſh tranſactions in peace and war with our independent neighbours, eſpecially thoſe of Scotland, will be beſt illuſtrated by a fair compariſon of the hoſtile narratives. The ſecond queſtion, of the period of time which this Collection ſhould embrace, admits of an eaſier deciſion; nor can we act more prudently, than by adopting the plan of Muratori, and the French Benedictines, who confine themſelves within the limits of ten centuries, from the year five hundred to the year fifteen hundred of the Chriſtian æra. The former of theſe dates coincides with the moſt ancient of our national writers; the latter approaches within nine years of the acceſſion of Henry VIII., which Mr. Hume conſiders as the true and perfect æra of modern hiſtory. From that time we are enriched, and even oppreſſed, with ſuch treaſures of contemporary and authentic documents in our own language, that the hiſtorian of the preſent or a future age will be only perplexed by the choice of facts, and the difficulties of arrangement. *Exoriatur aliquis*—a man of genius, at once eloquent and philoſophic, who ſhould accompliſh, in the maturity of age, the immortal work which he had conceived in the ardour of youth.

AN

AN

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FINIS.

ERRATA.

Page 2. line 13. *for* cette *read* cet
17. *for* ſuivis *read* ſuivi
5. — 8. *for* vue *read* vu
11. *for* de l'ordonnance et celles du détail *read* d'ordonnance et celles de détail
6. — 9. *read* Le Royaume de Naples
11. *for* change à *read* changa
13. *for* manque *read* manquent
8. — 1. *for* Quoiconque *read* Quiconque
12. — 16. *for* membreuſe *read* nombreuſe
16. — 6. *for* foedal *read* feodal
18. — 8. *for* ſolennelle *read* ſolemnelle
94. in the Engliſh title, *read* Extracts from *the* Journal
104. — 14. *for* il y ſe *read* ils ſe
112. — 4. *for* m'ont amuſé et m'ont diſtrait *read* m'a amuſé et m'a diſtrait *And for* la deſcription *read* les deſcriptions
121. — 18. *for* qu'un *read* qu'on
126. — 11. *for* d'agrémens *read* d'agrément
127. — 7. *for* grands *read* grandes
129. — 14. *for* donc *read* dont
130. — 1. *for* d'un lance *read* d'une lance
133. — 5. *for* une *read* un
139. — 5. *for* la Champ *read* le Champ
142. — 16. *for* un *read* une
143. — 19. *for* Theodorie *read* Theodoric
148. — 6. *for* d'un *read* d'une
154. — 11. *for* donc en *read* dont on
14. *for* Threſor *read* Treſor
157. — 6. *for* d'une *read* d'un
16. *for* un *read* une

Page 161. line 15. *for* de pere *read* du pere
166. — 4. *for* ce fut contenter *read* ſe fut contenté
171. — 13. *for* de *read* des
181. — 18. *for* fin *read* fini
182. — 14. *for* Geneve *read* Genevre
218. — 17. *for* pur *read* pour
224. — 14. *for* ce *read* de
230. — 5. *for* de dogme *read* le dogme
250. — 16. *for* Braneas *read* Brancas
253. — 5. *for* un peu *read* en peu
254. — 6. *for* etoit *read* etoient
9. *for* cette *read* cet.
259. — 6. *for* honneur *read* humeur
266. — 10. *for* utile *read* utiles
15. *for* Quelle *read* Quel
268. — 7. *for* un *read* une
272. — 6. *for* d'Encïde *read* de l'Encïde
279. — 15. *for* d'une *read* d'un
290. — 19. *for* avoient *read* avoit
293. — 19. *for* d'un *read* d'une
298. — 3. *for* où l'on apperçoit *read* on l'apperçoit
301. — 7. *for* d'une *read* d'un
305. — 9. *for* anciennes *read* anciens
315. — 6. *for* le *read* les
322. — 4. *for* même *read* mêmes
356. — 1. *for* Gaulios *read* Gaulois
16. *for* parl a *read* par la
360. — 6. *for* ley en avoit *read* il y en avoit
369. — 15. *for* Il *read* Ils
379. — 1. *for* malfaits eurs *read* malfaiteurs
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